THE

POLISH PEASANT

IN

EUROPE AND AMERICA

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SOME BORZOI TEXTS IN SOCIOLOGY

AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS
by Philip A. Parsons

THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA
by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki

THE RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION
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THE POLISH PEASANT
IN
EUROPE AND AMERICA

BY
WILLIAM I. THOMAS

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VOLUME TWO

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PART II

DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION IN POLAND

INTRODUCTION

In the first volume of this work we have studied the traditional primary-group organization of the Polish peasant as it has been handed down to the present generation from many past centuries. We noticed that this organization has been rapidly changing during the last fifty years, so that there is probably not a single peasant community where it could be found in a pure and unmixed form; everywhere new types are combined with it. We shall presently (pp. 1831 ff.) follow the life-history of an individual who, living amidst this process of change, finds in his environment no place for himself, for his fundamental attitudes correspond entirely to the old type of social organization whereas by his social status he no longer belongs to this organization and is thrown without any permanent guidance into various new conditions to which he can adapt himself always only partially and imperfectly.

We shall now try to determine in detail those new types of social organization which substitute themselves for the old ones, and investigate the process by which this substitution occurs. Although limited to the Polish peasant, our investigation will endeavor to reach conclusions which may serve as hypothetical general sociological laws, to be verified by a comparison with other societies. For the specific evolution leading from the primary-group to a social organization based upon rational co-operation is a very general phenomenon.

The primary-group is found not only in savage societies and among European peasants; it is not a survival of the past, but a spontaneous institution, found in all societies, in all classes, on all stages of cultural development, sometimes more, sometimes less isolated from the more complex and rational social systems, seldom, if ever, completely absorbing the interests of its members, but still constituting the most important form of social life for the immense majority of mankind. We must realize that only in a few large cities scattered over the world the primary-group has lost its importance, and even there this loss begins to be felt as a rather dangerous effect of social evolution, as is shown by the recent attempts to reconstruct the community in American cities. Of course, the relative influence of the primary-group as compared with the higher forms of social organization is stronger in the case of the savage than in that of the peasant, stronger in the case of the peasant than in that of a half intellectual inhabitant of a provincial town, and is reduced to a minimum in the life of a business man in a large city, of a politician, a scientist, an artist; but it is still only a matter of degree. Innumerable human interests all through the world are still on a stage where their pursuit is chiefly dependent on the direct social response and recognition of the primary-group which constitutes the individual's immediate environment. It is therefore most important, both for theoretic and for practical purposes, to study the social process by which these interests become independent, economic, political, moral, intellectual, religious, æsthetic aims, pursued for their own sake, and social groups become rationally organized for the purpose of an efficient common pursuit of these aims. Our

civilization, when taken not only in its highest manifestations but in its totality, is still in the midst of the same process of change which began half a century ago among the Polish peasants; it is on the average much more advanced, much more distant from the exclusive predominance of the primary-group type, but it is still very far from a thoroughgoing teleological systematization of values and a rational control of attitudes.

The evolution of the Polish peasant has with reference to this problem the specific importance of a social experiment in which certain essential processes are given in a relatively simple and isolated form—not merged in such a complexity of interfering phenomena as similar processes occurring in culturally more productive classes or in cultural centers with a more heterogeneous population, a richer stock of traditions, a more intense economic, political, intellectual life. We have even found that a further limitation of our subject in time and space was indispensable for methodical purposes. We are actually taking into account only a period of twenty to twenty-five years—the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries—and, except for certain important points where we use for comparison data collected in Posen under German domination, our materials are territorially limited to what was before the War Russian Poland, and in particular to that part of it which formed a separate administrative unit since the Congress of Vienna and was known as the Congress Kingdom.

During the period and in the territories which we are taking into account, the social evolution of the peasants went on, of course, in continual interaction with the wider social milieu with which the peasant com-

munity was getting more closely in touch. The gradual disappearance of the old isolation of these communities, the growing participation of the peasant in nation-wide and even world-wide social processes, his slow but progressive incorporation into Polish national and general human civilization, constitute the most essential features of this evolution. If we could leave out of consideration the dependence of the community on the state as manifested in tax-paying, military service and criminal prosecution, and ignore the few outside elements which the country nobleman, the priest, the merchant brought into community life, we might say that some 50 to 75 years ago a large part of the peasant communities in Poland were almost entirely self-sufficient. Their social organization, their intellectual and religious life, their economic activities would have been immediately very little affected if the rest of humanity had suddenly progressed or regressed two thousand years. Of course, there had been a continual infiltration of outside influences, particularly due to the contact with the higher classes; but this infiltration was so slow that the social values, though imperceptibly changing and broadening the content of social life, were completely assimilated by the community without requiring any reflective and planful adaptation and readjustment, without calling for institutional organization of the relations between the community and its wider social environment. All organization which existed within the community was exclusively concerned with the internal life of the latter and ignored the social world outside of its limits.

Under these conditions, the first result of the growing connection between the community and the outside world is naturally a more or less far-going process of

disorganization; new attitudes develop in the members of the group which cannot be adequately controlled by the old social organization because they cannot find an adequate expression in the old primary-group institutions. The group tries to defend itself against this disorganization by methods consciously tending to strengthen the influence of the traditional rules of behavior; but this endeavor, often efficient as long as the outside contacts remain limited to some particular field of interests, loses more and more of its effectiveness when these contacts continue to develop and extend gradually to all fields of social activity. The problem is then no longer how to suppress the new attitudes, but how to find for them institutional expression, how to utilize them for socially productive purposes, instead of permitting them to remain in a status where they express themselves merely in individual revolt and social revolution.

This problem is evidently common to all societies in periods of rapid change. We find it in a savage group brought in contact with western civilization, and in the most extensive and highly complicated modern national group where the rapid growth of new attitudes is no longer the effect of external influences but of the internal complexity of social activities. But in the case of the peasant community the solution of this problem is much easier than in the case of the savage group or in that of a whole complex national society. For the peasant community, however much isolated socially from its immediate environment, is territorially an integral part of a wider modern political unit, and the peasant class belongs culturally to a race whose upper strata have already produced a full national civilization. These

upper strata possess ready social institutions based in a large measure upon differentiated cultural interests, not merely upon primary-group attitudes, and therefore able to overcome any primary-group isolation. They include many individuals who consider the social isolation and the relatively low cultural level of the peasant communities an undesirable phenomenon, who tend to raise this level and to make the peasant participate in the cultural life of the nation, who are conscious of their aims and of their methods and thus able to become the leaders of the peasant class in social reconstruction. This is precisely what we find in Poland. Evidently, such a condition is only temporary, and one of the most interesting problems of the future is whether the growing cultural development of the peasants will lead to their unification *as a class* with their own specific interests and their own class-leaders, or to their gradual fusion with other classes. Both solutions seem possible; in political life, we find at this moment the first solution already clearly outlined and a powerful peasant party constituted, but at the same time, in spite of the politicians, in social life the old class system is slowly but continuously yielding to a new, more complex and more flexible one, in which there is no place for a peasant class but only for professional organizations.

The materials which we are using in this volume have naturally a much less direct and personal character than those used in the first volume. Most of them come from popular newspapers and institutions; some have been collected by ourselves in personal investigation; some are systematically presented by other writers. Almost every document, even a peasant letter written to a newspaper, was consciously made by its au-

thor to bear on some particular question, is a product of a more or less methodical reflection about social phenomena; none is as naïve and unflective as, for instance, a family letter. While this character of the documents makes their understanding relatively easy for the reader, it forces us to rely much less than in the earlier volumes on the intrinsic value of each document in particular and much more on their selection and systematic organization.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

The concept of social disorganization as we shall use it in this and the following volumes refers primarily to institutions and only secondarily to men. Just as group-organization embodied in socially systematized schemes of behavior imposed as rules upon individuals never exactly coincides with individual life-organization consisting in personally systematized schemes of behavior, so social disorganization never exactly corresponds to individual disorganization. Even if we imagined a group lacking all internal differentiation, *i. e.*, a group in which every member would accept all the socially sanctioned and none but the socially sanctioned rules of behavior as schemes of his own conduct, still every member would systematize these schemes differently in his personal evolution, would make a different life-organization out of them, because neither his temperament nor his life-history would be exactly the same as those of other members. As a matter of fact, such a uniform group is a pure fiction; even in the least differentiated groups we find socially sanctioned rules of behavior which explicitly apply only to certain classes of individuals and are not supposed to be used by others in organizing their conduct, and we find individuals who in organizing their conduct use some personal schemes of their own invention besides the traditionally sanctioned social rules. Moreover, the progress of social differentiation is accompanied by a growth of special in-

stitutions, consisting essentially in a systematic organization of a certain number of socially selected schemes for the permanent achievement of certain results. This institutional organization and the life-organization of any of the individuals through whose activity the institution is socially realized partly overlap, but one individual cannot fully realize in his life the whole systematic organization of the institution since the latter always implies the collaboration of many, and on the other hand each individual has many interests which have to be organized outside of this particular institution.

There is, of course, a certain reciprocal dependence between social organization and individual life-organization. We shall discuss in Part IV the influence which social organization exercises upon the individual; we shall see in this and in the following volumes how the life-organization of individual members of a group, particularly of leading members, influences social organization. But the nature of this reciprocal influence in each particular case is a problem to be studied, not a dogma to be accepted in advance.

These points must be kept in mind if we are to understand the question of social disorganization. We can define the latter briefly as a *decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group.* This decrease may present innumerable degrees, ranging from a single break of some particular rule by one individual up to a general decay of all the institutions of the group. Now, social disorganization in this sense has no unequivocal connection whatever with individual disorganization, which consists in a decrease of the individual's ability to organize his whole life for the efficient, progressive and

continuous realization of his fundamental interests. An individual who breaks some or even most of the social rules prevailing in his group may indeed do this because he is losing the minimum capacity of life-organization required by social conformism; but he may also reject the schemes of behavior imposed by his milieu because they hinder him in reaching a more efficient and more comprehensive life-organization. On the other hand also, the social organization of a group may be very permanent and strong in the sense that no opposition is manifested to the existing rules and institutions; and yet, this lack of opposition may be simply the result of the narrowness of the interests of the group-members and may be accompanied by a very rudimentary, mechanical and inefficient life-organization of each member individually. Of course, a strong group organization may be also the product of a conscious moral effort of its members and thus correspond to a very high degree of life-organization of each of them individually. It is therefore impossible to conclude from social as to individual organization or disorganization, or vice versa. In other words, social organization is not coextensive with individual morality, nor does social disorganization correspond to individual demoralization.

Social disorganization is not an exceptional phenomenon limited to certain periods or certain societies; some of it is found always and everywhere, since always and everywhere there are individual cases of breaking social rules, cases which exercise some disorganizing influence on group institutions and, if not counteracted, are apt to multiply and to lead to a complete decay of the latter. But during periods of social stability this continuous incipient disorganization is continuously neu-

tralized by such activities of the group as reinforce with the help of social sanctions the power of existing rules. The stability of group institutions is thus simply a dynamic equilibrium of processes of disorganization and *reorganization.* This equilibrium is disturbed when processes of disorganization can no longer be checked by any attempts to reinforce the existing rules. A period of prevalent disorganization follows, which may lead to a complete dissolution of the group. More usually, however, it is counteracted and stopped before it reaches this limit by a new process of reorganization which in this case does not consist in a mere reinforcement of the decaying organization, but in a production of new schemes of behavior and new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group; we call this production of new schemes and institutions *social reconstruction.* Social reconstruction is possible only because, and in so far as, during the period of social disorganization a part at least of the members of the group have not become individually disorganized, but, on the contrary, have been working toward a new and more efficient personal life-organization and have expressed a part at least of the constructive tendencies implied in their individual activities in an effort to produce new social institutions.

In studying the process of social disorganization we must, of course, in accordance with the chief aim of all science, try to explain it causally, *i. e.,* to analyze its concrete complexity into simple facts which could be subordinated to more or less general laws of causally determined becoming. We have seen in our first volume (Methodological Note) that in the field of social reality a causal fact contains three components, *i. e.,* an effect, whether individual or social, always has a composite

cause, containing both an individual (subjective) and a social (objective) element. We have called the subjective socio-psychological elements of social reality *attitudes* and the objective, social elements which impose themselves upon the individual as given and provoke his reaction *social values*. If we want to explain causally the appearance of an attitude, we must remember that it is never produced by an external influence alone, but by an external influence plus a definite tendency or predisposition, in other words, by a social value acting upon or, more exactly, appealing to some preexisting attitude. If we want to explain causally the appearance of a social value—a scheme of behavior, an institution, a material product—we cannot do it by merely going back to some subjective, psychological phenomenon of "will" or "feeling" or "reflection," but we must take into account as part of the real cause the preexisting objective, social data which in combination with a subjective tendency gave rise to this effect; in other words, we must explain a social value by an attitude acting upon or influenced by some preexisting social value.

As long as we are concerned with disorganization alone, leaving provisionally aside the following process of reconstruction, the phenomenon which we want to explain is evidently the appearance of such attitudes as impair the efficiency of existing rules of behavior and thus lead to the decay of social institutions. Every social rule is the expression of a definite combination of certain attitudes; if instead of these attitudes some others appear, the influence of the rule is disturbed. There may be thus several different ways in which a rule can lose its efficiency, and still more numerous ways in which an institution, which always involves several regulating schemes, can fall into decay. The causal ex-

planation of any particular case of social disorganization demands thus that we find, first of all, what are the particular attitudes whose appearance manifests itself socially in the loss of influence of the existing social rules, and then try to determine the causes of these attitudes. Our tendency should be, of course, to analyze the apparent diversity and complexity of particular social processes into a limited number of more or less general causal facts, and this tendency can be realized in the study of disorganization if we find that the decay of *different rules* existing in a given society is the objective manifestation of *similar attitudes,* that, in other words, many given, apparently different phenomena of disorganization can be causally explained in the same way. We cannot reach any laws of social disorganization, *i. e.,* we cannot find causes which always and everywhere produce social disorganization; we can only hope to determine laws of socio-psychological becoming, *i. e.,* find causes which always and everywhere produce certain definite attitudes, and these causes will explain also social disorganization in all those cases in which it will be found that the attitudes produced by them are the real background of social disorganization, that the decay of given rules or institutions is merely the objective, superficial manifestation of the appearance of these attitudes. Our task is the same as that of the physicist or chemist who does not attempt to find laws of the multiform changes which happen in the sensual appearance of our material environment, but searches for laws of the more fundamental and general processes which are supposed to underlie those directly observable changes, and explains the latter causally only in so far as it can be shown that they are the superficial manifestations of certain deeper, causally explicable effects.

In the next section, "Disorganization of the Family," we offer an explicit illustration of our method, analyzing in detail the problems raised by every document and showing the process by which the conclusion is reached. It would be, of course, superfluous for the professional sociologist and tiresome for the amateur reader if we pursued this exposition of the technique of research throughout the whole volume; in the following sections we state therefore only the general conclusions with just enough particular suggestions to make the bearing of the documents quite clear.

CHAPTER II

DISORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY

We have met in our first three volumes many cases of partial family disorganization. We did not attempt there to explain them completely but limited ourselves to a few general indications of their probable factors. In none of these cases did disorganization go farther than a loss of active solidarity and sometimes quarrelling. This is, of course, the usual situation; our materials represented an average picture of peasant life. Perhaps they even showed more disorganization than is found on the average among Polish peasants, since they were selected from letters written by emigrants and to emigrants, and wherever there is emigration, dissolution of the family is progressing more rapidly than in groups whose members remain territorially united and live in the same conditions as their forefathers did. In fact, even a rapid survey of the materials published in the preceding volumes shows clearly that emigration of individual family members abroad and emigration of whole families from the country to the city are the two main factors of familial disorganization. But it is evident that this generalization is too vague and superficial to be anything more than a starting-point of scientific research. Change of conditions is a factor, but not a cause of social happenings; it merely furnishes influences which will produce definite effects only when combined with definite preexisting attitudes and is a cause only together with the latter. In individual

emigration and in changes from country to city life certain new attitudes are produced by new social values acting in combination with certain preexisting attitudes and these new attitudes are the ultimate social realities which underlie family disorganization and which we must determine and explain causally. But these new attitudes often fail to appear in spite of changed conditions, and other attitudes, which do not undermine family life but only modify its form, may appear instead; on the other hand, attitudes which are back of family disorganization appear not only in individuals and families that have moved to the city or abroad, but also in many of those who are still living in the country, in their old communities, so that influences similar to those which affect family life in the city or abroad must be also active in country communities. The fact that family disorganization is less general in the latter than among individuals and families living outside of their primary social milieu admits two different explanations—either the influences which, in connection with certain preexisting attitudes, produce disorganization are less widely spread and less continuous in old country communities than in cities or foreign milieux, or the process of disorganization is there more efficiently counteracted by efforts of social reorganization. As a matter of fact, the two reasons coexist in various proportions.

The cases which we shall analyze show disorganization either verging on or passing into crime. Such cases are, of course, relatively rare. We have had almost none in the preceding three volumes; it must be added that we could hardly expect to receive any such data which collecting documents directly from the authors or the relatives of the authors. A large quantity of criminological materials is contained in some popular

newspapers. This is due to the social function of the popular newspaper destined particularly for the peasant class. As we shall see in detail later on, the peasant newspaper is a concrete bond unifying all the peasant communities throughout the country and creating a nation-wide peasant social opinion partly by imitating, partly by modifying the type of social opinion found in the primary community. It has regular or occasional peasant correspondents in every community who describe whatever things and events they consider important. As everybody knows, nothing stirs a primary group so much as a crime, precisely because of its social abnormality. It is not strange, therefore, that crimes constituted, particularly during the early period of the development of the peasant press, the main content of the informing letters which an editor received from his peasant correspondents. He had to publish them, for the peasant press in the beginning was forced to adapt itself to the attitudes of its public in order to obtain an influence which would permit it gradually to modify these attitudes. Thus, in the Congress Kingdom, only after 25 years of intense development some peasant newspapers could stop publishing news about crimes; this coincided with the constitutional evolution of 1905 and the following years, which gave some freedom of political activities and, by partly removing the prohibition of writing about political matters, permitted the popular newspaper to offer a more constructive material to the curiosity of its readers.

The data contained in popular newspapers are, of course, not very detailed, but this disadvantage is partly offset by the fact that they have been furnished by peasant members of the respective communities and thus every fact is described as seen by the community itself,

not by an outside observer. A few selected examples follow:

1. When the father keeps the farm and has 8 children, then he has bread enough, and moreover beautiful horses, cattle and model farming. But this cannot last for ever, for when the children grow up, the father thinks how to give them dowry. And when the time comes, he gives some 500 roubles to one child; for another he has perhaps only 100 or 200 roubles, so he borrows money and gives the dowry to this daughter and son, and the rest of the children remain at home. And so, when death comes and orders him to go to eternity, he leaves perhaps four or five children at home. They have everything in the granary and barn; quite enough. Then they begin to farm [in a new way]. One takes some sheaves from the barn secretly, before the second; the second snatches a bushel or two of corn from the brother, the brother snatches anything else before the sister and so the farming goes on in a way that is painful to see. One brother keeps a hog, the other brother keeps a second hog, the third brother keeps a foal, the sister keeps some chickens and geese for herself and so: "This is mine, and that is yours." And then they sell this "their own" and give the money away to Jews for German clothes, hats, watches. But when it becomes necessary to repair anything in the farm outfit, a cart, a plow, a harrow, then [everybody says]: "I am not the farm-owner." When the village-elder comes for taxes, Bartek sends him to Maciek, Maciek to Paweł or Gaweł, etc. At last the elder sees that he will not come to the end, and he levies on the farmstock, takes a horse or a cow. Then the farm-owner must show himself and pay. . . .

Letter from the archives of the newspaper *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

In the foregoing the writer is evidently describing a typical situation, not a particular case. Such cases occur almost regularly now when the parents die and the children are left together (Volume I, p. 684 ff.) for similar case). If the mother is alive, her presence acts as a check on the process of disorganization; even if she

is not the real manager of the farm; she is at least a bond keeping the group unified and solidary. When mother or even father is alive, there may be incipient or partial disorganization; only the latter is counterbalanced in its manifestations by other attitudes.

The situation here is very clear and very instructive. Disorganization is limited to the economic field alone. It consists in a decay of the institution of economic family solidarity which, as we know from Volume I, consisted in an actual (though never abstractly formulated) common ownership of property and common use of income. Here property is still common though individual members do not show as much interest in it as each would if it were his personal property, which is a sure sign of the decay of the spirit of communism that in its original unreflective form implies no conscious separation of individual and social interest. In the matter of income we find a complete individualization; every member tries to set aside as "his own" as large a part of the common income as possible. Under the old family system the normal tendency of the peasant was to have as many goods as possible pass from a lower to a higher economic category, to turn all property into land and as much as possible of income into property, whereas here the tendency is just the opposite: goods which would normally be classed as property (farm-stock) are treated as income, *i. e.,* are sold and the money used for personal expenses.

The fundamental attitudes back of this social disorganization are *new personal needs.* The personal character of these needs is due to the fact that they either are *hedonistic*—the individual wants pleasures which he cannot share directly with others without diminishing his own part, such as new and more varied

kinds of food, alcoholic drinks, tobacco, etc., or consist in a demand for social recognition based no longer on the importance of the family, but on the individual's "showing off" by fashionable clothes, jewelry, etc. These are then the attitudes whose origin must be explained in order to understand causally this type of family disorganization.

We remember that the process of disorganization of the old peasant social system has come as a result of the breakdown of the isolation of the peasant community. New needs are thus produced by the mere acquaintance with previously unknown values which appeal to certain preexisting attitudes. Thus, the new kinds of food, drinks, tobaccos which are obtained in the neighboring industrial center or during season emigration in Germany, by rousing previously unknown hedonistic reactions, develop a hedonistic tendency, a search for sensual pleasure for its own sake, which in matters of consumption makes the individual disassociate his own interests from those of his family, whereas these interests remained united as long as food was merely to satisfy hunger and restore strength. Perhaps also the mere fact of eating and drinking alone, away from the family group, contributed to the individualization of these needs. In the other type of needs —those developed on the ground of the desire for recognition—the break of community isolation acts in two ways. First, the individual who brings with him from the city or from abroad new clothes, jewels, etc., experiences recognition within the community (mixed in the beginning usually with unfavorable attention) which goes to himself alone, since it is known that his family had no share in obtaining these goods, as they had before wage work developed. The recognition which the

individual gets is æsthetic rather than economic and makes his appearance a purely personal matter and not an expression of family wealth. Secondly, the broader the field of the individual's social relations, the less can the family standing be relied upon as means of social recognition; outside of the community, where the individual's family is not known, he has to use ostentatious, external marks of distinction as means of obtaining recognition from strangers. Thus, interest in personal appearance takes more and more the place of the interest in the social rating of the family.

2. It is difficult to understand why lawsuits have become such a fashion. Everybody sees that hardly ever any benefit comes from them; on the contrary, the man who loves to ramble into the courts in most cases will ruin himself, will lose his time, will become lazy and a drunkard. And still there are people who can not live without law-suits. What the result is we can see from the following example.

In a certain village in the vicinity of Radom, a farmer before a notary public willed to his son a farm of 13 morgs; he had also married off his two daughters and given them dowries. He was quite wealthy and had some cash besides, so he gave them so much each as was just. They even agreed to the willing away of the farm to their brother. Everything was all right so long as the parents lived. They were old people of 90 years, so they could not work any longer, but their son supported them in an adequate way until their death. Suddenly, after the parents had died, the elder sister, who had married a drunkard and who herself liked to rinse her own throat, explained to her younger sister that the parents had harmed them, that the brother had received more and she instigated her to start a suit against the brother. The younger sister agreed and both brought a suit in the communal court for a partition of the farm. The brother did not defend the suit and the court, knowing nothing about the deed made in the presence of the notary, ordered an auction sale and a division of the proceeds between the brother and sisters. But the brother appealed and showed the deed, proving his title to the

farm. So the higher court reverses the decision and gives judgment for the brother. The sisters begin again to threaten a suit in the next court for an annulment of the deed. Thereupon the brother says, "Stop that suing; let us rather settle. Since you think you have been harmed, I will pay you a certain sum and we will live in peace." The younger sister sold her claim for 65 roubles, but the elder one still desired to go into court. So again she started a suit in the circuit court and since the deed had been made in another district and had not been confirmed by the proper judge just as the law requires, the circuit court set aside the deed. A new action was started in the communal court for a partition of the farm. A judgment of the same kind as the first was issued. Again the brother wants to buy the claim of the sister, but the sister asks 300 roubles. Seeing that a settlement is impossible, the brother appeals anew. The case has been dragging along nearly two years; the brother and sister have spent about 150 roubles each on lawyers, on costs and on journeys, they have lost a lot of time and have spoiled their health. . . . In reality sooner or later it must come to a partition, but as the proverb says: Before the sun rises, the dew ruins the eyes.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1895, 4.

In the above case disorganization has gone much farther than in the preceding one. It begins also with economic attitudes, but it is the traditional attitude toward family property instead of only the one toward family income which is broken. According to the old custom, the son in this case had the right to keep the farm, however disproportionate might have been the daughters' shares; indeed, in certain communities of Galicia, the dowry was gradually reduced by custom to an almost nominal sum. The matter was not to be put on the ground of abstract justice but on that of the welfare of the family as a whole, which in certain conditions might be better fostered by an equal division of the property, in other conditions by a concentration of the property in the hands of one. Money was never

considered the equivalent of land; and the very idea of selling the farm and dividing the money thus obtained is in complete opposition to the traditional standards.

Further, starting a lawsuit against a family member means breaking almost irremediably the original solidarity of the family group, for it not only introduces the element of fight but makes strangers and—what is worse—an abstract political institution, an arbiter of family relations.

There are clearly two different attitudes underlying this process of disorganization. The first, explicitly stated in the text, is indeed of the type we have characterized in the preceding note; it is a hedonistic attitude expressed in alcoholism. The "bad sister" and her husband are both drunkards, and it must be noted that such a hedonistic need acquires a particular power when it is shared by several individuals—husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc., for this gives it a kind of social sanction. Besides, alcoholism, by the physiologically destructive changes it produces, favors still more the disorganization of social traditions. This is a case where individual demoralization and social disorganization do go hand in hand, and it has been noticed that among peasants *in the country* drunkards furnish a disproportionately large number of socially disorganized individuals, whereas in cities the rôle of other factors becomes more important and alcoholism loses some of its predominance. Of course, drunkenness, except on ceremonial occasions, is itself a sign of partial social disorganization; it does not start the latter, but favors its further growth.

The other attitude which we find in this case is the feeling of having been wronged. In fact, this feeling

is always present in peasant quarrels, disputes and lawsuits, on both sides. Social relations are no longer controlled by one system of norms, but two, or even more, different system coexist in social consciousness and the individual subconsciously takes the standpoint of the system which makes his claim appear as justified. In our case the two systems are that of peasant custom and that of law. The acquaintance with the legal standpoint of abstract individualistic justice has contributed in a very large measure to the decay of the family tradition, and the development of litigation has been the consequence. This is particularly marked in Galicia, where acquaintance with law is older than in the Congress Kingdom. Exactly similar is the effect which the American laws on marriage, support of wife, divorce, etc., have in helping dissolve the Polish family life in this country, chiefly by giving the wife an exaggerated conception of her "rights."

3. In the village Soki lived the peasant family Kilijan, composed of an old mother and two sons, Jan, 50 years old, and Józef, 30 years old. It was a rather well-to-do family, religious and sober, but the greed and impetuosity of the older brother destroyed everything. On August 29th, Jan, after his morning-prayer, got angry with his brother for having used an unsuitable expression about his wife. He took a recently sharpened knife, rushed frantically at Józef and in the presence of the old mother and of the maid . . . in the twinkling of an eye cut his stomach open. The wounded man died the same day amidst terrible sufferings. The cause of the hate of Jan Kilijan toward his brother was the fact that their father, who died last year, bequeathed in the presence of witnesses the better *bryczka* (vehicle) and the new barn to his younger son Józef, whom he loved more. Neither their cousins nor their neighbors succeeded in reconciling the [brothers] at variance, and hate led to crime. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 41.

4. In a certain village, whose name had better be unknown, lived a father with two sons. The old father bequeathed the ground to the sons, but not justly. The older son got the smaller part, and furthermore, he was obliged to give his father some bushels of grain every year as a pension. The father did not claim his corn as he was not in need of it and the son did not give it to him as he did not feel obliged to. This lasted for some time. Suddenly the brothers, living in one neighborhood, got angry with each other. The younger brother, desiring to annoy the older, instigated his father to get the overdue pension by going to law. The unwise father agreed to that and gave the younger one an authorization for the law-suit. The court evidently adjudged the pension overdue. The older son, hearing that the younger was glad of the judgment, told him: "You drew from me my grain, but you will gather yours all over the world." Watching the proper moment, he set on fire the farm-buildings of his brother and sent all his property up in smoke. The brother ruined by the fire must go to friends and collect grain and straw in order to support his husbandry, as the older brother foretold him. However, he says aloud that he will not forgive his brother the harm and that he will shoot him at the first opportunity.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 47.

Documents 3 and 4 show the effect of maladjustment between the old and the new attitudes. The trouble starts with the two fathers who divide their property unequally without—as in case 2—any family reasons for such a division. Neither the old standard of group welfare nor the new standard of individual justice is complied with. The result is that the sons who have received the worse shares have an unmitigated feeling of being wronged: there is no recognized moral bond between them and their rivals who instigated the unjust division, which from the standpoint of the primary group psychology means that revenge, provided it is not excessive, will appear as justified.

This being established, the chief problem which pri-

mary group morality faces in these, and in all similar situations, is the problem of equivalence between original wrong and revenge. Every individual is inclined to exaggerate the wrong done to him in the measure in which his subjectively vital interests are affected, and thus we find, as in case 4, excessive revenge leading to reciprocal, also exaggerated retaliation, and so on up to the farthest limits of criminality—the typical indefinite progression of the vendetta. Now, in Polish peasant life there is no socially sanctioned vendetta system; the community, if still strong enough, takes the matter in its hands, limits revenge to what is in its opinion a proper compensation and prevents any further return of the injury, for its main interest is, just as was that of the political bodies in the Middle Ages, the preservation of "public peace." The vendetta principle appears thus among the Polish peasants only when the community is powerless, either because the vendetta takes a form sanctioned by the state—the form of indefinite litigation—or because public opinion has lost its influence in general. The latter seems to be the case in example 4.

But the intensity of the reaction in both examples still seems incomprehensible. In order to have a relatively slight injustice provoke a criminal reaction it must affect some very important interests, important at least subjectively. Now, the attitude manifestly predominant in each situation is that of "cupidity"; and this will be found the most important factor of family and community disorganization. We must try to define it and explain its origin now, when we meet it for the first time in its pure and complete form. In the preceding three cases it may have been present in some measure, but subordinated to other attitudes. For we cannot call

"cupidity" desire to obtain means for hedonistic or vanity satisfaction; economic values are here not independent aims, but instruments for the realization of other aims. In the exact sense, cupidity should be defined as desire for personal possession of economic values. There exists also what we may call "social cupidity"—the desire to see economic values possessed by the subject's social group—and this was very marked as family cupidity among the peasants under the family system. The chief differences between personal and family cupidity taken in their full development in Polish peasant life are: 1) family cupidity has full sanction in the opinion of the community as long as it does not interfere with the minimum of duties of solidarity supposed to exist between families belonging to the same community, whereas personal cupidity is still very distinctly disapproved of on moral grounds; 2) family cupidity attaches itself mostly to present, concrete economic values—a definite piece of land, a head of cattle, an agricultural implement, etc.—and the growth of family wealth is rather a gradual accumulation of values which are right within reach from moment to moment than a realization of wider economic plans; on the contrary, personal cupidity in the measure of its liberation from family bonds and of its own development, tends to express itself in far-seeing plans of economic advance and takes prevalently the form of a desire for the most abstract economic value—money. At a certain stage of the evolution from family to individual economy, cupidity becomes personal instead of social, in the sense of being a desire for personal, not for family possession, and yet it preserves some of the characters of family cupidity; it is, just as the latter, a desire for concrete values—land, stock, etc.—rather than for money, and

the individual whose moving spring it has become has no feeling of guilt connected with even the most radical of its manifestations, feels as righteous in pursuing his own personal profits at the expense of his environment as he would if he worked for the maintenance and prosperity of his family group. This is the stage where cupidity assumes in peasant life a surprising importance and power, dominates all other emotions and tendencies; and this is precisely the stage which we find in our two examples.

5. Maciej B., a wealthy farmer in his days, having given his son and daughter an equal share of his property, had a provision made whereby each of the children was to give him support until his death. As long as he was able to work both the son and son-in-law welcomed him, but as soon as he became feeble they began to upbraid him with being an unnecessary burden. He spent the latter part of his life at the home of his son. As he became ill and it was apparent that death would claim him almost any day, the wicked son, instead of calling a physician and a priest, removed the aged man secretly to an open field and left him to his fate. The unfortunate father, not being able to summon aid, lay on the ground nearly frozen to death. A boy from a neighboring village happened to pass by and at Maciej's request notified the daughter concerning the vile act of the son. Her father's condition did not excite her compassion and she was loath to take him to her home. Finally the neighbors, who learned the details from the boy, insisted that the son-in-law fetch the father home and give him a warm and comfortable bed, but instead he laid him on a bundle of brushwood in the stable. Others, taking pity on the old man in distress, brought bed-clothes and food and closed up the crevices in the walls to protect him against the cold. At last one of the neighbors decided to take the old man into his home, but the aged man breathed his last at the moment when he was about to be moved from the stable and died without receiving Extreme Unction. The old man would probably not have received a decent burial, had it not been for the village bailiff who ordered

the son to do so. This deed has provoked the entire parish to such a degree that they are threatening to bring a lawsuit against Maciej's children.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1894, 46.

6. In the village Bary, the farmer Michat Kapuściński had two years before married his daughter to Władysław Grabowski and willed to the young people his whole fortune—6 morgs of arable land and 4 morgs of forest. But he made the reservation that up to his death he would farm himself. It is evident that from such a will discord could easily arise. Kapuściński had during his whole life managed his property at will and thus even now, without asking his son-in-law, he started to cut trees in the forest. The son-in-law was angry with his father-in-law for arbitrarily dealing with his [the son-in-law's] goods. Quarreling and a hell began at home. Once, when Kapuściński was plowing in the field, a neighbor's runaway horses ran against him and nearly killed him. The son-in-law and the daughter, forgetting the fourth divine commandment, were secretly rejoicing at their father's accident, thinking that perhaps he would not bother them any longer. But nothing happened to the old man and in a few days he again went to plow. Then a terrible thought occurred to the son-in-law: "Since my father-in-law is so strong, he may even live longer than I; it is useless to wait till he dies himself, he must be removed from the world." He announced once to the village that he was going to his relatives a mile away and would stay there over night. He went indeed, but returned at night, crawled into the basement through a hole made for potatoes and having found in the dark his sleeping father-in-law, struck him with all his strength with an axe. But he hit the sleeping man upon the right hand instead of the head and cut three of his fingers off. The father-in-law became a cripple and the worthless son-in-law was condemned . . . to a settlement in Siberia to the end of his life.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1894, 46.

7. Jan Lewiński, a boy scarcely 19 years old, son of the mayor of the commune Brudno near Warsaw, . . . behaved badly and would not listen to any admonitions. His father told him that he would disinherit him and presently bequeath the whole

fortune to strangers. The son, fearing that his father would fulfill this threat, rushed upon him at night when he was asleep and killed him with an axe. The unhappy old man tried to defend himself and called for help; the murderer was afraid that the call was heard by the maid who slept in the kitchen and killed the maid also. But all this was of no avail; the next day it was discovered that he was the murderer . . . and when he saw what proofs were against him, he confessed his crime.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 18.

8. In the village Krzczonowice . . . lives an old man, owner of a well-managed farm of 12 morgs. Wanting to rest in his old days, he divided the farm between his children. He bequeathed one-half of the land and the building to his son, having reserved only one morg for himself and lodging until his death, and resolved to divide the rest between three daughters. But . . . two married daughters began to incite their father to leave his son and move to either one of them, for they hoped that the father would feel obliged to reward the one with whom he lived and would deprive the third unmarried daughter, a cripple, of her part. The father listened to these instigations, quarrelled with his son and went to live with one daughter. For some time everything was all right, but soon both married sisters began to urge their father to bequeath the part of the third sister to them. The father refused to agree [saying they had enough land already] . . . He went to the lawyer and bequeathed the whole 6 morgs to the crippled girl, having reserved here also one morg for himself, and after taking from this daughter 500 roubles in cash, gave to the two married daughters instead of land 200 roubles each and kept a hundred for himself. The daughter with whom he lived and the son-in-law, though dissatisfied, did not cease fawning upon their father in order to wheedle from him the 100 roubles and to sow the two morgs that he had reserved for himself. The father allowed them to profit of the land, but he did not give the 100 roubles; he wrapped them in a rag and concealed it in a barrel under feathers, saying to himself: "If the daughter is good to me, after having plucked the feathers, let her take the money." But the impatient daughter and son-in-law tried to guess where he had concealed the money and came to the conclusion that he gave it to a neighbor to keep. Hell

began at home, until finally things went so far that the unworthy son-in-law beat the old man. The poor fellow lay for about half an hour before he came back to consciousness. . . . He then took the money, went upon the street, called witnesses, unwrapped the money and said to his son-in-law and daughter: "You were wrong in reproaching me with having given the money to a neighbor. . . ." Then the son-in-law and the bad daughter began to wring their hands and to reproach each other until, finally, they had a fight. And the old father lay for a long time sick with his daughter, the cripple, where he has at least solicitous care.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 10.

9. Friday, June 12th, some strangers passing with a wagon through a forest near the village Pyry left an impotent, sick old woman that she might die there from hunger. Passers who saw it from afar but could not stop the wagon informed the inhabitants of the village about the old woman, and the latter was brought to the commune-office in Wilanów. It proved that the old woman could no longer stand on her feet or speak, so they could not learn from her who had left her in the forest. In spite of this they have already found the trace of these cruel people. It seems that they are the own children of this unhappy old woman. The impotent mother was a burden for them in their house, so they took her out and left her in the forest like a useless thing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1908, 25.

10. The farmer Antoni Kalinowski, from the village Olszanka, married a son in November past year and bequeathed to him his entire property consisting of over 20 morgs; for himself he reserved only support for life. . . . On the 25th of March, precisely Annunciation Day, when all the inmates were at church, the son choked the old father in the barn and to conceal the murder hung him, dead already, upon a rafter. This was discovered only the following day. The elder soon came with a physician from Wyszków, with clerks and police. The physician examined the corpse and decided that the old man did not commit suicide. . . . The son suspected of the murder of his father is now in Pułtusk locked up awaiting the final trial and sentence.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 21.

The common feature in 5 to 10 is the reversion to the primary attitudes of family egotism when the community loses its influence. The father or mother who has ceased to perform a really useful function in family life is treated as a burden of which the family group tends to rid itself. In most cases (particularly in 5) we see the community interfering, though usually too late—a proof that social standards enforcing family solidarity are still vital, but social opinion does not follow the doings of the community members closely, and the group is not aroused to enforce its rules until the offense has grown very striking.

Cases 6 and 8 present a slight variation of the same motive. In both the father has lost—or rather deprived himself voluntarily of—only a part of his family function, since he still partly controls the property. But according to the idea of the other members, he should resign all control; the fact that he is considered an unnecessary member and yet persists in keeping some hold on the estate is felt as incongruous and gives an additional reason for the display of group egotism.

The latter, however, is now seldom found in its original form; it is combined with the relatively more recent individual egotism—clearly in 6, 7 and 8, probably in 5 and 10 also—whose background is that attitude of individual cupidity which we have analyzed in note to 3. If family egotism gives the offenders a certain subconscious feeling of moral sanction for their behavior, individual cupidity furnishes the motive power which pushes the individual as far as crime.

It must be noted that crime seems often to play in peasant behavior the rôle of a means of redress or self-help, when the individual sees no other way of obtaining what he thinks he is entitled to have. The "habitual

offender" is relatively rare among the peasants. Most of the crimes we do find seem to have some moral justification in the eyes of the criminal himself. There is a tragic element which is entirely lacking in the behavior of habitual criminals, which we shall study later.

11. An instigation of Satan has been followed in the village of Teodorówka . . . province of Lublin, by the peasant family of the Fiedoreks, constituted by a father, a mother, a son Łukasz and a daughter Maryanna. Nine months ago the son got married. But the young daughter-in-law did not know how to conciliate the husband's family. At home there were continual quarrels. Not long ago some neighbors, digging potatoes in the field, heard the mother-in-law reproaching Kasia, Łukasz's wife, about something and Kasia saying with tears: "I don't know anything. I beg you only, give me back my cow which you have sold without my knowledge. Why, it is my whole dower." Thursday night Łukasz, evidently at the instigation of the evil spirit and with the help of the cruel Marysia, beat the poor Kasia until she died. Then both of them carried her into the house. Here, after a deliberation with their parents, they put the dead one upon a bench, covered her with a piece of cloth and went calmly in the morning each to his work. . . . Everybody wondered why Kasia was not going with them. The next day . . . the blacksmith's wife informed the village-elder. The elder came to Fiedorek and asked: "And where is your daughter-in-law?" "She died this morning," answered the old man. "I have to make a coffin, but I have no boards." The following day he went to the police, took a certificate, and they were already preparing to send the body [to the church]. But her mother came, examined her Kasia and found bruises upon her entire body. She stopped the exportation, went to the communal office and declared that her daughter had been killed. The communal authorities came, began to examine well the body, and it proved that the dead one had been killed. The murderers were taken at once to the commune's office and thence to Zamość to jail. Sunday morning, the peasants gave the old man a good lesson with ropes. They searched for his wife also, but she ran away and is hiding up to this day. Horror seizes everybody at

the idea of this crime, for the miserable man killed . . . not only his wife, but at the same time his child.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 44.

We have here a reversion to the primary family egotism showing that the norm of "respect," which in normal conditions regulates the relations between husband and wife and prevents any bad treatment of the new and imperfectly assimilated member by the rest of the family, is a product of communal life where the families of both husband and wife are dependent on social opinion and each can stir social opinion against the other in case of any break of solidarity. In this case the community seems still able and willing to interfere; but it must be noticed that the family Fiedorek lives in a locality where Poles are mixed with Ruthenians, and is itself, judging by the name, of Ruthenian origin. Now, among the Ruthenians and still more among the Russians, there seems to be—as many data of their folklore show—a much more complete subordination of the wife to the husband's family than among the Poles, where husband and wife are socially almost on a basis of equality and where certainly the wife is not incorporated in the husband's family, but both wife and husband form a new nucleus belonging to both families, intermediary between them and growing with time in importance and in independence from both.

12. In Warsaw lived a certain Pawel Miziarski, who, having lost his job, had not for a long time worked honestly for his bread, but took it by theft and robberies. And it was not enough that he occupied himself with robbing, but he taught his two sons, young boys, and accustomed them to crime. . . . Miziarski's second wife and his daughter were leading as scandalous a life. Miziarski's oldest son, Roman, who lived honestly, working for his bread as a printer, could not look calmly upon all this. He

frequently admonished his father to come back to the right way and cease to be a disgrace to the world, but the father did not mind the requests of his son and did as he pleased. At home there were, as a consequence of this, frequent quarrels and fights. The son, seeing that his requests had no effect and that his family was falling deeper and deeper into thieves' life, began to lose his reason from despair. He began to threaten that he would kill all of them if they did not live honestly. . . . On the evening of April 23rd, he came home with a revolver and shooting everybody in turn, killed his stepmother and [step] sister and wounded very severely his father and his 17 year old brother. Then he ran away and wandered the whole night about the city, until finally toward morning he killed himself with a revolver-shot.

Gazeta Swiąteczna, 1908, 18.

Under no conditions can the mere lack of social control characterizing city as against country life account for such a far-going demoralization as that shown by the majority of the Miziarski family. Active social factors, at least a continuous contact with a criminal milieu, are necessary to explain the decadence of Pawel and his wife, whereas other active factors, probably permanent contact with some idealistic professional group, explain the high moral standards of Roman. The fact that the whole family is no longer entirely enclosed within one community but its members participate in different groups with which they are connected by work, pleasure, religious or political interests, etc., is the main reason for the divergent evolution we notice here.

And yet, in spite of this divergence, the family solidarity is too strong yet to let the disagreeing members break the family ties and go their own way. Most of the family tragedies arise from this conflict between the social unity of the family and the attitudes which individuals have developed in connection with the outer

world. In our particular case the difficulty of the situation is increased by the fact that the individual who, under the old social system, would obtain the help of the community and could have a social pressure brought upon the disorganized members, is now entirely isolated and powerless to modify the attitudes of his family. Under these conditions only two ways are open—appeal to the power of the state or the way which Roman took. The former would be even worse than leaving the family, for it would not only isolate the individual, but bring upon him some of the shame which society would heap upon his relatives; besides, it would appear as quite "unnatural," a sin against family solidarity as bad as real crime. The second way was thus the only one psychologically possible and there is no need of assuming temporary insanity, as the writer of the document does.

13. In Widzew, near the city of Łódź, in a small lodging in an attic, lived a widow with three daughters, 19, 16 and 12 years old; there also lived a roomer, a girl 25 years old. All the girls with the exception of the youngest, Stanisława, were workers in Hajncel and Kunicer's factory, a wiorsta distant from the house. The Sunday after Christmas . . . the widow was informed that her oldest daughter who lived in Łódź was taken ill; she warned the girls to take care of themselves and she herself left . . . intending to stay with the sick one a few days. The oldest of the remaining daughters at home, invited the same evening a fellow, 19 years old, a worker in the same factory, Jan Król, who like many other fools changed his name to Królikowski. The guest arrived and stayed. The youngest girl, who slept with Agnieszka, could not stand the unworthy behavior of her sister. She started to reproach her, to remind her of God and warned her that she would tell everything to her mother. But those warnings did not help. And more strange and sad is the fact that the two other girls did not blame the oldest sister and did not drive out the guest, but got angry at the worthy and

unspoiled little sister for mixing in the actions of her oldest sister and said that Jan could beat her. In the end the girls fell asleep. At three o'clock at night, Jan moved the clock hand, woke the middle sister and the roomer and showed them that it was 5 o'clock already. Both of them got up and went to the factory. Then Agnieszka woke the youngest sister and begged her to swear not to say anything to the mother. But Stasia would not swear, saying it would be a sin to hide the bad actions from the mother. Then Agnieszka grasped the pestle from the mortar and beat the sister on her head and when she had made her senseless, she handed a knife to Jan. He threw himself on the unfortunate child to kill her completely. He cut her throat, cut off an ear, cut her face and head. After all this both murderers choked the bleeding child in pillows. When they thought that she was no longer alive they opened the window so that others should think that some stranger murderer had entered the house. They took from the mother's trunk a few roubles and, locking the door, they went to the factory. They threw the key on the road. [The murder was discovered and Jan and Agnieszka were taken to Łódź to prison.] . . . Then a crowd of people went to meet her and all of them threw stones in her face until it looked like a mask. They wanted to beat her to death; the police were hardly able to defend her.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 2.

This family could not have moved to the town where they live very long ago, since Łódź began to develop only in the middle of the past century and its suburbs are of a still more recent origin. They probably are, like most factory-workers in this part of Poland, peasants from the nearest districts, children of poor farmers or manor-servants. Disorganization comes much faster in such purely industrial centers than in old cities, for the latter, however much industrialized, have some remnants of primary social cohesion left; moreover, in cities with an old civilization the general intellectual, moral and æsthetic level is much higher, owing to the

existence of a numerous intellectual class which not only sets the standards, but which, particularly in Poland, has been very active in organizing the lower classes. An individual away from his family group in a city like Warsaw, though he cannot find any one group equivalent to the country community which used to satisfy all the interests left imperfectly satisfied by family life, nevertheless finds numerous and diversified social organizations which give satisfaction each to some particular type of interests, and has a good chance of having the level of his cultural life raised, new ideals put into him. Of course he may also get into a criminal milieu like the family Miziarski (case 12); but, on the average the inevitable disorganization of the old system is there more likely than not to be supplemented by a new and culturally higher system, if not in the first, at least in the second generation.

In new cities whose population is mainly composed of factory-workers, with a small number of hardworking intelligent specialists, without a highly cultivated and socially active leisure class, without art, literature or science, the individual finds no social milieu which could give him any positive ideals to supplement at least in part the lost connections with a strong primary group, except for religious centers, whose influence, particularly in the Catholic Church, is continually decreasing. Only political, particularly socialistic organizations fulfilled this task; but these were forbidden by the Russian government, had to work secretly and were thus necessarily limited in their membership. We shall study later the attempts made since 1905, when cultural organizations at least were permitted, to struggle against the growing social chaos by economic, educa-

tional artistic associations; we shall see also the efforts of the Church to maintain its social supremacy as a morally constructive institution.

The case here described precedes all these attempts. We see the old system still persisting in the community by the acquired power of many centuries, but the process of decay going on rapidly in particular individuals of the young generation, with no new influences to offset it. The contrast between the attitude of the youngest girl, evidently still under her mother's authority, and that of the three other young people, shows clearly that the source of disorganization lies outside of home, probably in the general social atmosphere of those social meetings of young factory workers of both sexes which are sought continually as a necessary relaxation after days of hard and monotonous work and in which the normal desires for recognition, response and new experience take socially destructive forms of unlimited display of sexual vanity, sexual relations unmotivated by either family or romantic reasons, alcoholism and search for excitement and pleasure.

There is one striking point in this story; the girl incites her lover to murder her sister for fear that the latter will tell the mother about her misbehavior. Thus a remnant of family attitudes—fear—still persists after the disorganization of all others. We can perhaps explain it by the fact that with respect to sexual morality the mother is the representative and has the unrestricted backing of social opinion and that social control of sexual life remains in power longer than social control of any other human activity.

14. A certain farmer was courting a girl with the help of his *swat* [matchmaker]. In the beginning he succeeded well enough and banns were even published. But later something

turned wrong and the whole affair broke down. What did this courting farmer do? Well, he calculated how much all his calls on the girl—for he had more than 2 [Polish] miles to go—and also the banns had cost, and sued the father of the girl for this money in the communal court of Maków. The court rejected all the traveling expenses and awarded only 2 roubles as cost of the banns. Then the father of the girl, unwilling to bear the loss, sued the bridegroom in turn for the cost of all the entertainment. There was not much of this, so the court awarded only 30 copecs. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 31.

This case is significant for the beginning disorganization of the traditional marriage system. The breaking of a marriage agreement is, indeed, a very grave offense to the dignity not only of the suitor, but of his entire family and that of the *swat*. But precisely therefore suing for the costs appears as doubly abnormal. First, it brings the offense before a larger public, whereas the normal attitude would be trying to check the gossip. This shows that the attitude of family pride is completely decayed. Secondly, it gives the matter the character of a money proposition, which should be felt—and unconsciously is felt by the writer—as a degradation of a social value which in the past had been sublimated by the social and religious ceremonial connected with it. The explanation must evidently lie in the general decrease of the feeling of the importance of traditional social values, due to the increasing acquaintance with new values.

15. In parishes near the Prussian frontier it often happens that girls, and even widows, who went to Germany to work, bring thence their companions of work, compatriots, boys or widowers, in order to tie up in matrimonial bonds with them. More than one girl has actually bought wedding-clothes for such a boy or widower brought from Prussia and coming from a different part of the country; she bears all the cost of the wed-

ding and festival herself only in order that he should marry her. But it does not always end in marriage. For among such candidates to matrimony there happen to be worthless fellows and sometimes even rogues, married men pretending to be bachelors or widowers. Such a rogue, having wheedled his betrothed out of as much money as he can, disappears before the banns or during the time of the banns, and does not return any more.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 5.

The situation here described is a result of the specific conditions created by intense emigration and is found in districts where emigration to America and season emigration to Germany coexist. The former takes away many men of marriageable age, the latter develops personal independence in both boys and girls and establishes connections between individuals from different, often far distant communities. Personal independence in the girl goes far enough to contract an engagement of marriage without consulting her family or even to begin sexual relations before marriage, but not to forego marriage altogether; the latter is always felt, as long at least as the girl remains in her community, as a social necessity, and not being married, even independently of the question of illegal sexual relations, still is a disgrace. Only in cities, among housemaids, this attitude is sometimes, slowly and gradually, dropped. It is therefore perfectly natural if a girl is willing to make any sacrifices, to accept even a man of unknown origin and without fortune rather than incur the shame of old maidenhood. The behavior of the men is explicable, first by the fact that season emigration more than anything else helps develop those hedonistic tendencies which we have characterized in our note upon document 1 and thus acts in a demoralizing way in general and makes marriage in particular,

with the regular life-organization which it implies, appear as an undesirable hindrance to future search for pleasures. Secondly, the demoralizing effect of those unregulated hedonistic tendencies is facilitated by the individual's isolation from his own community. When all moral rules have been psychologically associated with the social opinion of a particular group, the individual, when brought into another community in which he does not intend to stay, is often inclined to feel free from all restraint, particularly if there are strong motives pushing him in this direction. Besides, we can safely assume that the man actually intends to marry in the great majority of the cases described here, and only later decides to run away.

16. In the town Narva lived a certain Skowroński with his only grown-up son. The son intended to marry and the banns were already being published, but the father was evidently opposed to it for he would not give him money for the wedding. This was a cause of discord between them. Once the son, having come home late at night from his betrothed, took an axe and struck his sleeping father in the head so that the latter on the spot gave his spirit to God. The patricide wrapped the murdered man in rags so as not to leave any traces of blood and carried him to the pantry and . . . the following night dug a hole in the floor of the house which his father had recently built, put the body into a sack and buried it. Then he informed constables that his father had gone to the city and was lost. Two weeks later the criminal, after a sacrilegious confession, married his betrothed and arranged the wedding-festival. . . . But meanwhile, after a vain search for the old Skowroński, people began to guess the truth. The unnatural son was taken to jail and there he had to confess that he killed his father because the latter would not give him money for the wedding.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 14.

The crime would not be sufficiently understood if we assumed only disappointed love as its background. In

a half-disorganized traditional system certain attitudes, more persistent than others, become factors of a behavior which from the standpoint of the system is abnormal. Individualization of the attitude toward marriage is here complete as far as the family goes; it has not even begun in matters pertaining to the opinion of the community. The main attitude is fear of social opinion. The banns are being published; it would be a disgrace if because of the obstinacy of the father the wedding could not be celebrated properly for lack of money. We need hardly say that, both here and in case 13, the individual when performing the crime which, he knows, is more radically condemned by the community than anything he may ever do, expects the crime to remain undiscovered. The choice seems to be between disgrace and crime, and crime is chosen, just as in other cases it may be suicide.

17. Józef Pawłowski, blacksmith from the village of Parchocin, after bidding good-bye to his young wife and two little children, had to go, as soldier of the reserve, to the distant war in Manchuria. The woman was pretty and, what is worse, fickle. Temptations came; she could not resist and went the wrong way. Having colluded with her lover, a young boy, she sold whatever she could—cows, pigs, grain from the barn—obtained a passport for [a journey] abroad and, taking the money and the bed-furnishings, ran away at night from her children sleeping in a cradle. She covered them with straw and left them so without pity. It seems that she went to America. . . . The husband did not perish in war; six weeks ago he even sent 50 roubles home.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1906, 89.

Sexual love alone is not back of the woman's behavior. We must assume a strong desire for new experience which not only induced her to leave home and children but probably prepared the way for her new love.

It is desire for new experience, stirred up by the possibilities which the break of the community isolation offers, that accounts for at least 50 per cent of the emigration to America and of season-emigration to Germany—desire for economic advance being the other important factor. And, while a young girl or a man has many ways in which his desire for new experience can be satisfied, a married peasant woman with children is practically forced to resign all aspirations in this line unless the whole family emigrates.

18. Last year, on the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, the wife of Wojciech Przydatek, farmer in Lipcówka, . . disappeared somewhere. The astonished neighbors began to ask her husband, but he gave them such explanations as that his wife had always intended to go to Częstochowa or to Prussia to work and evidently had gone now. But some weeks passed and the woman did not return although she should have hastened home, for everybody knew that the family Przydatek was about to increase. Then people began to whisper that the affair was not clear. Authorities interfered and the husband of the lost woman and his two sons, her step-sons, were arrested. They were kept in jail in Tarłów and examined, but it was difficult to learn the truth. Only lately in March, some indications were found and the older stepson confessed that he had killed his step-mother. . . . Przydatkowa was a good and honest woman and everybody regrets her. Her husband and step-sons seem to have coveted her fortune and this was the cause of the crime. The murderer asserts that his father and brother are not guilty, that he committed the crime alone.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1910, 14.

The case can be compared with 11, as it implies misadaptation between the family and the new member who came in by marriage, and we know from Volumes I and II that in second marriages assimilation is more difficult than in first. But here the situation involves also evidently an economic factor which characterizes it as

not only regression to the primary family-egotism but also as a disorganization of marriage under the influence of cupidity. Marriage among the peasants is becoming more and more a business proposition on the side of the man because the rapid growth of the country population and the limited amount of land which each peasant family has force a peasant who wants to go on farming like his fathers and his grandfathers to count on a large dowry in order to preserve the hereditary farm undivided and pay his brothers and sisters in cash, or in order to purchase a fragment of some parcelled nobility estate in addition to or instead of his share of the parental farm, or finally, in order to have the capital necessary to pass to a more modern and intensive form of farming. Of course the individual has other ways of solving the difficulty, season-work, emigration, gradual improvement of farming, etc., but the use of these methods shows a certain break with tradition, an individualization of economic attitudes more far-going than in the present case; and it is precisely when this individualization is only beginning that, as we have seen above (cases 4 and 5) cupidity is most powerful. The economic motive for killing the woman is evident; she was going to have a child who would have been heir to her property, whereas after a childless death the property would be inherited by the husband.

19. In the village Kąkolewnica . . . the farmer Jacek Duda married very young and soon after the wedding was taken to the army. The young wife did not pine for him very long; she hired a *parobek* and began to farm, not desiring at all her husband's return. . . . But after returning home he soon found out that something was wrong. He dismissed the *parobek* at once and told his wife he would not tolerate any scandal. The *parobek*

hired himself at a neighbor's and began to persuade Duda's wife to poison her husband and marry him. He bought arsenic in Radzyń and gave it to her, inciting her not to be long about it. [She gave it to him in sour milk and he died. The neighbors informed the authorities. The inquest showed he was poisoned and the wife and *parobek* were arrested and confessed.]

In the same way two people in the village Cadowa . . . went to prison instead of the altar. The farmer Wincenty Makowski, forgetting the ninth divine commandment, fell in love with the wife of Wojciech Kozioł and began to hate his own and to reflect how to get rid of her. Finally . . . he put arsenic into his wife's food and the woman after short sufferings died. The dead one was buried and it did not even occur to anybody that it was her husband who removed her from this world. But soon after this Wojciech Kozioł died, also after short but violent sufferings. His wife arranged the funeral very soon, but the neighbors guessed that the business was not quite clean and informed the village elder. . . . At the inquest the widow confessed that she had poisoned her husband with arsenic at the instigation of Wincenty Makowski who also had furnished her the poison. Then people recalled that Makowska also somehow died suddenly. By order of the authorities she was taken out of her grave and it proved that she had been also poisoned with arsenic.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 31.

20. In the village Hela lived the family Kozłowski. He went every year to Lipawa to work during the summer and his wife and children stayed at home. A few years ago people began to say that Kozłowska was behaving badly. The friends of her husband told him about this, but he did not pay attention to this talk and continued to leave every year. He was an honest man . . . Kozłowski's wife rewarded him badly for his confidence and fearing lest this be discovered, decided to get rid of her husband. Once, being with him in the town, she kept him there under various pretexts till evening and searched for a bandit who would undertake to kill her husband for money. And such an unnatural being was found. He was a certain Malejszko, a young man, married a few years ago and father of three children. For three roubles he agreed like a wild beast to seek the life of a man

against whom he did not even bear a grudge. . . . In the evening when the Kozłowskis were returning, Malejszko followed them from afar and having selected a proper place overtook them and began to beat Kozłowski with a piece of iron upon the head. The unnatural wife stood behind a tree and when Malejszko had done his job left her hiding-place and gave him two roubles which she had not paid before. The bandit returned to the town while she ran to the neighboring village Mackiany with the news that some man rushed out of the forest and killed her husband. . . . But people did not believe her story. They guessed that it was her work. She was imprisoned and told everything at the inquest. . . . Malejszko was condemned to 10 years' hard labor, Kozłowska to 12 years.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 4.

Sexual love is evidently the emotional background of all three crimes here described, and its appearance in a form not only dissociated from, but opposed to the family organization, is a clear sign that for the individual the family has ceased to be the milieu satisfying all his *intimate* personal needs, that the individual no longer identifies his personal life with family life. But, for the peasant, family and marriage still preserve for a long time all their objective social reality even when they no longer satisfy him; they are still felt as wielding a power of coercion which does not permit the individual to ignore them and go his own way; he must either yield or break the bond entirely and it depends on his temperament and on other social conditions which he will do. Crime here, as in several former cases, marks thus a stage of incomplete disorganization, when the old institution has ceased to determine individual attitudes in accordance with social demands and social schemes are no longer voluntarily accepted by the individual as his own, but the institution still provokes fear and the social schemes, owing to the external sanction

attached, still impose themselves upon the individual as something undesirable and hateful but real.

We can now draw certain general conclusions from our data which we shall hypothetically propose as sociological laws, to be verified by the observation of other societies.

1) The real cause of all phenomena of family disorganization is to be sought in the influence of certain new values—new for the subject—such as: new sources of hedonistic satisfaction, new vanity values, new (individualistic) types of economic organization, new forms of sexual appeal. This influence presupposes, of course, not only a contact between the individual and the outside world but also the existence in the individual's personality of certain attitudes which make him respond to these new values—hedonistic aspirations, desire for social recognition, desire for economic security and advance, sexual instinct. The specific phenomenon of family disorganization consists in a definite modification of those preexisting attitudes under the influence of the new values, resulting in the appearance of new, more or less different attitudes. The nature of this modification can be generally characterized in such a way that, while the attitudes which existed under the family system were essentially "we"-attitudes (the individual did not dissociate his hedonistic tendencies, his desires for recognition or economic security, his sexual needs from the tendencies and aspirations of his family group), the new attitudes, produced by the new values acting upon those old attitudes, are essentially "I"-attitudes—the individual's wishes are separated in his consciousness from those of other members of his family. Such an evolution implies that the new values with which the individual gets in touch are individual-

istic in their meaning, appeal to the individual, not to the group as a whole; and this is precisely the character of most modern hedonistic, sexual, economic, vanity-values. Disorganization of the family as primary group is thus an unavoidable consequence of modern civilization.

2) The appearance of the new individualistic attitudes may be counteracted, like every effect of a given cause, by the effects of other causes; the result is a combination of effects which takes the form of a suppression of the new attitude; the latter is not allowed to remain in full consciousness or to manifest itself in action, but is pushed back into the subconscious. Causes that counteract individualization within the family are chiefly influences of the primary community of which the family is a part. If social opinion favors family solidarity and reacts against any individualistic tendencies, and if the individual keeps in touch with the community, his desire for recognition compels him to accept the standards of the group and to look upon his individualistic tendencies as wrong. But if the community has lost its coherence, if the individual is isolated from it, or if his touch with the outside world make him more or less independent of the opinion of his immediate milieu, there are no social checks important enough to counterbalance disorganization.

3) The *manifestations* of family disorganization in individual behavior are the effects of the subject's attitudes and of the social conditions; these social conditions must be taken, of course, with the meaning which they have for the acting individual himself, not for the outside observer. If the individual finds no obstacles in his family to his new individualistic tendencies, he

will express the latter in a normal way; disorganization will consist merely in a loss of family interests, in a social, not anti-social action. If there are obstacles, but disorganization of the primary-group attitudes has gone far enough in the individual to make him feel independent of his family and community, the effect will probably be a break of relations through isolation or emigration. If, however, the individual meets strong opposition and is not sufficiently free from the traditional system to ignore it, hostility and anti-social behavior are bound to follow. In the measure that the struggle progresses, the new attitude of revolt becomes a center around which the entire personality of the individual becomes reorganized, and this includes those of his traditional values which are not dropped, but reinterpreted to fit the new tendency and to give a certain measure of justification to his behavior. In the relatively rare cases where both the new attitude is very strong and the obstacles from the old system are powerfully resented and seem insuperable because the individual is still too much dependent on this system to find some new way out of the situation, the struggle leads to an internal conflict which may find its solution in an attempt to remove the persons by whom the old system is represented in this situation rather than in a complete rejection of the system itself.

4) It is evidently impossible to revive the original family psychology after it has been disintegrated, for the individual who has learned consciously to distinguish and to oppose to one another his own wishes and those of other members of his family group and to consider these wishes as merely personal cannot unlearn it and return to the primary "we"-attitudes. Reorgan-

ization of the family is then possible, but on an entirely new basis—that of a moral, reflective co-ordination and harmonization of individual attitudes for the pursuit of common purposes.

CHAPTER III

DISORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

It is difficult to draw an exact dividing line between facts illustrating the disorganization of the community and those showing family decadence, since, as we have seen, the community keeps control over family life and overstepping the principles of the latter means also offending against social opinion. The community is the bearer of all traditions and in view of this the break of tradition in any line by its members may be interpreted as showing a decay of its influence. On the other hand, however, the standards of the community as a whole may evolve and the latter may drop certain traditions while remaining strong and consistent. It is not therefore the preservation or dissolution of any particular rule of behavior which is indicative of the status of a given community, but the question whether there are common rules and how well they are observed. The community is vital when social opinion concerns itself with all matters, outside happenings or individual acts, which possess a public interest, when its attitudes toward these matters are consistent and able to reach approximate unanimity, and when any common action considered necessary to solve the situation as defined by social opinion is carried on in harmonious cooperation. When the community is decaying social opinion degenerates into gossip, that is, instead of being interested in matters of a public character, it becomes absorbed in details of private life. Of course, the cri-

teria of privacy change from epoch to epoch and from group to group, but for any time and for any community it is easy to draw the distinction, for the interest in private happenings as shown in gossip is of an æsthetic rather than practical character, and is not accompanied by the feeling that the community should interfere. Further, the decay of the community shows itself in inconsistency and disharmony of its attitudes; if social opinion hesitates between opposites from moment to moment or if it remains divided on important problems without being able to come to an agreement, much of its vitality is gone. Finally, an equally certain sign of disorganization is the inability to pass from appreciation to action, from common definition to common solution of the situation.

All those phenomena show that the attitudes underlying community life have been modified. In primary-group psychology all interests are fundamentally social and only secondarily economic, intellectual, religious, etc. When the community is in full power, it is more important to have the approval of others in defining and solving any particular situation than to define and solve this situation in a way which may be more successful, more adequate if judged exclusively from the economic, intellectual, religious, even hedonistic point of view. It is not that the individual consciously chooses between social recognition and practical efficiency, between group standards and objective economic, intellectual, religious, hedonistic standards; it is that, dominated by the desire for recognition, he unreflectively considers the way of defining and solving situations by which recognition is obtained the only right way and uncritically refuses to believe that other ways, not sanctioned by social opinion, can be more efficient practically in the long run—

refuses to see the validity of any standards than those of his group.

Disorganization of the community starts in fact as soon as its members begin to define situations exclusively as economic, intellectual, religious, hedonistic, not as social, when their need for success—success, of course, as they see it themselves—in any specific line becomes more important subjectively than the need for social recognition—when they dissociate social opinion about a case from the merit of the case.

Thus some disorganization of the community is unavoidable as soon as the latter gets in touch with the outside world and becomes acquainted with other standards than its own. This incipient disorganization can, however, be in a large measure counteracted if the members of the group have a special interest in maintaining its unity. Up to a certain degree the new tendencies may be simply suppressed. This happens mostly when they are radically opposed to the traditions of the group and, if left free to develop, would be socially destructive. When not distinctly anti-social but merely different from the set of attitudes sanctioned by tradition, the new tendencies are very often, after a period of struggle, simply left outside of the sphere controlled by public opinion, are treated as being of private concern. Thus the more intense and extensive the contact between a community and the outside world, the wider usually becomes the sphere of privacy which its members are allowed to have.

The interest by which members of a primary group are moved to keep the group together in spite of disorganizing external influences is the same general interest which underlies family life, that is, the desire for response, manifesting itself in unreflective social soli-

darity. Family life is, as we know, the chief means of satisfying the desire for response, whereas the community is the main milieu in which the desire for recognition is satisfied; but the difference is only a difference of degree, and a primary group member wants response from other members of his community, even not belonging to his family, just as he claims from his family recognition in addition to response. Accordingly, as we have seen in the first volumes, social solidarity, *i. e.*, reciprocity of those emotions and acts through which social response is obtained, is expected to bind members of one community in the same way, though not to the same degree, as members of one family. Whatever may be the disorganizing factors which tend to destroy the unanimity of a social group, the latter can struggle victoriously against them and, even while changing the content of its opinion, preserve its coherence as long as it remains socially solidary and its members need each other for emotional response and practical help. Its decadence is definitive only when this unreflective, primary solidarity is broken, and then the only remedy is to reconstruct the community not as a primary group, but as a cooperative organization on the ground of some special egotistic purposes which each individual can better attain for himself if all of them act together.

In short, disorganization of the community includes both 1) decay of social opinion and 2) decay of communal solidarity, and the problem of causal explanation of the respective phenomena implies a) the causal explanation of the attitudes which make the individual neglect the recognition of his community for the sake of other personal aims; b) the causal explanation of the attitudes which make the individual act in antagonism to

other members of the community and thus break the communal solidarity; c) the study of the relation between these two types of causal processes.

21. [From the village Ozarowice in reply to request for a comparison with description of the village published forty years before.]

There is no music and revelry on Sundays as there was none then, forty years ago, but if it happens somewhere occasionally, one cannot notice mothers watching their daughters as carefully as it was written in that paper *Kmiotek* 40 years ago. There is no tavern, thanks to God, but there is sometimes even too much strong drink which kills the body and the soul. It happens that people do not begrudge it to themselves, treat themselves with it up to their ears, particularly the youth who go to hired work. There reigns also card-playing for money. In summer, when you pass through the village, you see sometimes a crowd of people upon the lawn. . . . Perhaps they read some book or newspaper? Far from it. They play cards so that they whiz in the air, and so they waste the vesper-time till night. I do not except myself; from the example of others I have been accustomed to these stupid cards, but I do not play for money.

And so, alas! things seem to have turned worse here as compared with what was forty years ago. The girls here mostly go under Prussian domination for work. How much they earn there I do not know, nor what is their life there; but everybody will guess what a girl can commit without parental care. Therefore German women laugh that a Polish girl earns more in Prussia than a Polish man. To tell the truth we have here already two such German acquisitions, which girls brought from Prussia to Poland as seeds [as if for propagation purposes].

Forty years ago there were fewer farmers and thus everybody had a more liberal quantity of land than now. Therefore their daughters did not go to Germany to work and were under better supervision of their mothers. And yet even among strangers one can have self-respect, keep one's self from ignominy and not bring shame upon the whole family.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 13.

22. The old folks dress modestly in this locality but the same can not be said of the youth. It is pitiful to see so many girls who as soon as they see a stylish skirt or jacket or bobbed hair worn, by one of the worst kind perhaps, want to dress accordingly, but do not realize that it is shameful and disgraceful for the village youth. There are, I dare say, some good-for-nothing boys who, having donned a pretty, nice looking overcoat or a stylish suit of clothes and shoes, not only would not salute reverently one who wears a peasant's coat, but would not even stop to converse with him. Every one of these profligate boys reflects thus: "I dress better than that one does, I may possess a bigger fortune; then why should I speak to him." Should you visit his home, however, you would never suppose that such a dressy young man lives there, for the house is filled thick with dirt and filth. Such was not the state of affairs in Ostrów years ago. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that Roch Soczewka, during his stay here several years ago, did not find any elegance and reported to the Gazeta that all the inhabitants of Ostrów dress modestly. Today nearly one-half of the girls dress above their means and there are also several who are not worthy of mention.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1893, 5.

23. The common folk in our community are quite discreet and well developed. The youth might be termed a promising one, except that great opportunities for corruption are afforded across the German boundary line. As soon as spring comes every boy, girl and even married women, go across the boundary to seek work and stay there throughout the summer wothout any protection from evil. They do as they please; consequently the girls return home ruined and corrupted and the boys addicted to drinking.

Their parents are aware of the corruption but they do not mind it as long as their children give them their earnings. Decent girls refuse to go to work the next season because they cannot attend to their religious duties properly, must eat meat on Friday and Saturday, are coaxed into an immoral and indecent life and compelled to work until noon on Sunday, etc., etc. Priests plead and beg from the pulpit at every opportunity that

parents see to it that their children are morally and religiously reared, but their words have no effect whatever.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1892, 11.

23a. Our girls don't know how to dress. When one of them enters the church, the dress rattles upon her. She does not kneel suitably before the holiest Sacrament, only knocks once with her knee, as a mere matter of custom, and does not even think what she is doing, for she is interested in something else: she pushes her companion with her elbow, showing how some other girl is dressed. But I don't speak of all of them; on the contrary, there are in Samorządki modest and good girls and women who can be an example for others.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1910, 41.

24. Some young men, sons of the best known parishioners [in Osiek] came to the Pastoral Mass [on Christmas], stood in the middle of the church, put their hands in their pockets and looked around, and whenever they saw a bald-headed old man or a girl in a hat, they took a handful of peas from their pockets and threw it upon them. . . . It was difficult to believe that Christians, Catholics, dared to amuse themselves in such a way in the church.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 3.

25. They play [cards for money in the commune Sarnów] every day, but particularly from Saturday to Sunday. They sit at cards over this whole divine night; they break up only when the sun begins to rise. After coming home they go to bed and sleep during the whole time of the divine service . . . and whoever did not go to bed, angry and sleepy, quarrels at home and fights with his wife. And this is not yet the end of it; more than one such card-player takes his son to this devilish amusement, a boy hardly 16 years old, makes him sit at his side, takes the tobacco-bag out and treats him with a cigarette. Cards are spread out, the father plays and the son plays. . . . How will this son respect his father in his old days?

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 52.

26. Some years ago we read in *Przyjaciel* some correspondence from the neighborhood of the town Krynki. There were

complaints about the wildness and ignorance of the people, instances were quoted of theft and even banditism, under the influence of drinking; but we hoped that time would bring a change for the better, that the parents, seeing such sad happenings, would try to educate their children better. Instead of this it is a shame to say that there is no change in this respect for the better.

In a village of this parish . . . only old people are decent; they are the only ones who "praise God" when meeting any one and with whom it is possible to converse. And the young have gone completely wild; they regard it as an amusement to throw stones at the passers-by. They have no respect even for their parents, to say nothing of other old people, no obedience at all, and they practice habitually the most shameless theft. Many of them go to work in a leather-factory at Krynki; they are well paid and could dress well and live better and put something back for later years. Instead of this they spend their wages in drinking and rioting in the town and in the village. Even among children no good heart can be seen. Some poor crippled children cannot show themselves in the village; the others laugh at them so and deride their deformity.

To a large extent it is the fault of the parents who raise their children like pigs, not caring about their souls, not developing virtue in them. So long as the children are small they fondle them; but when they can walk the parents don't concern themselves much about what they are doing. Many parents say to themselves: "People will teach them." But if the child has no good principles implanted at home and sees no good examples . . . neither people nor school will teach him. We have a proof of it, because in the village about which I write, there has been a school and its pupils are growing worse and worse.

Przyjaciel, 1913, 46.

27. We have very little fruit in our neighborhood [Stobiecko] because we care little to plant trees and a nasty custom prevails among us; the young people do not respect the property of other people. When fruit is ripening on the trees the owner has unpeaceful days and nights, because the boys wander in gangs at night and where there are apples or pears ruin them and destroy branches. Scuffles often happen at night and sounds of swearing are heard many times in the air. Then they are

dragged into courts and carry on law-suits. . . . [The parents allow the young people to smoke cigarettes and to dance.] Many a girl who danced in her youth lost her garland [innocence] and lived to see herself disgraced. But her parents care very little and to such a disgrace they agree willingly. They rather get along, as they say, without bread, provided their children have everything they need. But there are people who bring up their children perfectly; they don't allow them to go to any revelries. When Sunday comes the young people amuse themselves under the observation of their parents reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* or singing religious songs in church.[1]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 27.

28. Fairs for children . . . take place in Kolno. Of course . . . the children are not bought and sold, but hired for work. . . . From villages in the neighborhood fathers and mothers come to Kolno with their children and gather before a tavern. To such a crowd come Prussians who want workers under age and ask how much one boy or another costs. If the boy is 12 years old, the Prussian gives for his work thirty or forty roubles, three suits of clothes and a pair of shoes. The parents of the boy don't agree, ask fifty roubles; they clamor and bargain up to the last, until finally the agreement is concluded. Then they go to seal it in a tavern and the Prussian offers liquor that not only the parents, but also the little hired servant drink.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 18.

29. The ground in Skomlin is good, but there is enough misery, and this is because there is not enough enlightenment and too many leeches who live on the weakness of their neighbors. These leeches are the tavern-keepers and the dealers who teach the country boys to steal, giving them cigarettes or candy for things taken by stealth from their parents. . . . The young people, growing up, go to Prussia to work and they return entirely demoralized. In the winter time, having no occupation, they spend their days and evenings in the shops and waste all their earnings. . . . And all that the father harvests during the summer from his grounds is eaten up by the "Prussians" during the winter and it is necessary to borrow money for taxes. And

[1] The original is in verse.

in this way a greater and greater misery steals into our village. Strangers come flowing, buy the land and the local inhabitants go down. . . .

The worst defect of the peasants of Skomlin is stubbornness and jealousy when there is a question of the public good. A few weeks ago, for example, the priest and the owner of the estate of Skomlin at a meeting advised a vote for a general survey and unification of the farms, because each farmer has lots scattered in 6 and even in 8 places. . . . Persuaded by the priest, the majority of the farmers had signed their names; but after leaving the office some stirred up the others against it. The local shop-keepers, Jews, contributed to this a great deal because they were afraid that in a unified village they would be unable to get a dwelling and that their trade would be ruined.

Gazeta Swiąteczna, 1903, 27.

30. The young people of Zagnańsk have been lately committing doings worthy of penalty. They break windows, throw sheaves out of the barns, tear clothes, fight among themselves, etc. When I asked once a farmer, "Whose fault is it?" he answered me: "Money's." It means that in our country increasing earnings and increasing license go together.

Zaranie, 1913, 37.

31. There are here [Ulany] store-keepers who teach children to steal. For gingerbread, candy, they take barley by the quartern. And when the child is accustomed to it, he will take a bushel. When the "rogues" notice that he is a sincere rogue, they take him "in company." They steal together, they drink together. . . . [Continuous thefts are reported from another village in the same community. The community represents a purely traditional stage of cultural development and a rather low one; no reconstruction, no schools, poverty. But costumes have changed, which proves disintegration.]

Gazeta Swiąteczna, 1904, 22.

32. Our youth [of Duba] is getting very spoiled. Young boys steal grain from their father and give it away for liquor, for in every village here clandestine tapsters trade in liquor. In Perespa boys in a drunken state cut one another with knives, and one of them will probably pay for it with his life. All this

is caused by liquor. In the same Perespa live 17 Jewish families, of whom only 3 have small shops and 14 trade in liquor.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 12.

33. In one village near Frampol . . . frequent robberies began to occur lately. Robbers attacked even on the roads people returning from fairs or from the town. And in the village nobody was sure of his property, for not only linen left to whiten did not stay, but even what was hidden in the pantry under a lock was not secure. . . . The farmers, older men in this village, are honest, well-to-do and laborious. . . . The father works and the son steals, for he wants to dress in the city fashion, he wants to revel, whereas everything is expensive and the father gives no money for luxuries. So they collude to rob. And this succeeded for 3 years, but finally it broke down. One of them went by night to a wealthy farmer and broke open a whole window, with the frame. The farmer threatened that the thieves would remember windows, but with iron bars. He brought constables from Frampol and the investigation began. And it was not difficult to discover the thieves, for they called to each other: "You took this," and "You took that" . . . One got one year of prison, another half a year and three of them three months each.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 25.

34. In the first days of this month the provincial court in Kielce judged a case of 33 persons accused of having belonged to a gang which, about 1890, was for a long time the fright and plague of the inhabitants of the province. . . . The investigation disclosed that in the district of Włoszczowa alone during a few years more than 700 robberies were committed. In some villages the farmers, as they now testified in court, "for several years did not get out of dung," because, fearing for their stock, they had continually to spend their nights in horse or cattle stables. In spite of this, in the village Balkowo, commune of Radków, during 3 years 35 horses and 5 cows were stolen, in the village Lachów near Włoszczowa during 6 years 22 horses and 4 cows, and in the little village Belnów during only one year 8 horses. The thieves were robbing unpunished because if anybody among the wronged people complained about one of them the others went to court as witnesses and testified falsely in favor of

the accused one, and the court on the ground of these testimonies had to set him free. And the plaintiff was badly off, for the robbers in revenge let his property go up in smoke. Thus people finally preferred to bear their wrongs in silence rather than risk a still greater loss. Having stolen a horse or a head of cattle, the robbers kept it usually for some time in the forests of Nieznanowice or Włoszczowa, particularly near a tavern in Belina. There the wronged people brought them ransom. More than one had to pay 25 roubles or more for his own horse or cow. If the ransom was not paid soon, the robbers sent the stolen horses and cattle to [more distant towns]. This lasted long, but finally the measure was too full. Twelve of the bolder robbers were imprisoned and an inquest began which lasted for nearly 3 years and was finished only recently. The court had examined more than 200 witnesses and gave the following verdict [23 condemned—all peasants apparently—to penitentiary or hard labor in Siberia from 2 months to 2½years]. Having settled the case of the gang of Włoszczowa, the same court will judge five more robber gangs which were doing harm in other parts of the province of Kielce. The largest one of these, from the neighborhood of Jedrzejów is composed of 90 participants.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 44.

35. I have lived for more than 12 years uninterruptedly in my native town. I manage a small work-shop on my own account. Drinking is developed in the whole environment of Działoszyn and Pajęczno. How the clergy has worked here, particularly the actual priest in my parish! In 1910, at the beginning of March, holy fathers came here on mission—the Pauline Fathers from Jasna Góra—and worked strenuously not only against drinking but also to develop reading, that is, reading of good books and papers. In 1911 our priest organized "recollections" [preparation for the obligatory annual confession at Easter]; he invited the Father Capucines from Nowe Miasto, and the movement in the church was enormous; for whole days people stayed in the church and all other life was stopped; the sick lay at home without care, because everybody who was healthy listened in the church to the fiery teachings of the Father Caupucines. Three thousand people took an oath, that is, renounced liquor; they bought patents of temperance and put them behind the pic-

tures [holy pictures on the walls of their rooms]. But unhappily, they are returning gradually to their former habit and manner of life. A year has not yet passed since they renounced liquor and I know a dozen who drink as they drank before, and others who regret very much that they parted with their dear liquor. Poverty reigns in the country, the darkness [ignorance] is terrible, the lack of schools is very noticeable. Because only enlightenment can have a good result and it is just what we lack.

How reading is increasing the fact quoted below will illustrate. Once I tried to persuade a farmer that he ought to subscribe to a paper: "You have grown-up sons, the evenings are long, let them read, they will learn many things," etc. But he answered me: "My oldest son must go to 33 weddings, for each I must give him a rouble, and on the last Sunday [of carnival] we are going near Kielce; it will cost us about 10 roubles. We have no time to read papers, because in the summer all the young people go to Prussia."

The editors of the *Dziennik Łódzki* proposed a series of questions concerning drinking. One workman in the introduction speaks [these] words of holy truth—that our factory-owners prefer workmen who are drunkards; and I who write these words add that only a small percent of the people prefer a workman or a craftsman who is not a drunkard. . . . A drunkard has friends because he treats them. The drunkard is entrusted with hiring workmen and he receives money for treating. This about the factories. If you are a small tradesman in a village, the friends of the glass [of drinking] send you their acquaintances; wherever you throw a stone [wherever you turn] you meet a friend of the glass. At the present time there is often work at the school [building]; if you don't use alcohol, surely this work will get by you, because you have no friend in the committee, and there they are waiting for a treat and a bribe from you. Only if you are strongly protected by the priest or the teacher you can do without treating and graft. The drunkard agrees to work much cheaper, and if afterwards it does not pay him, he leaves his work, goes to the tavern and drinks; the committee drinks with him and they talk over a raise in wages.

When you live in a small town, live only on the work of your hands, have a numerous family and don't occupy yourself with alcohol and cigarettes, people throw stones and thorns under

your feet, because the proverb says: "You came among the crows, you must croak as they do"; and if you don't wish to croak as they do, you will be avoided, because you are a modernist, a *mankietnik* [popular name for members of the new sect *Mariawita*], a mason, etc. . . .

I know still another example. A father, a very devout man, had three sons. One of them was not busy (as they call it here) with alcohol, and because he was more instructed—which he owed only to himself—the dear father did not give him any money at all, saying: "He will give advice to himself" [get on]. And when once this son, this "paper-man" [paper-reader] did not go to his father's name-day and did not take a bottle of brandy, [the father said]: "What! is he angry with me for not giving him money?" He took a club used to mash potatoes for the pigs—he was drunk already—and went to his son, who lived near, and broke his four windows and his door. Happily this son was not at home, because surely he would have been killed with the club. The youngest son of the same family stole corn from the barn and the garret, sold to the Jews whatever he could and drank by night with his companions. But he received from that papa more than a thousand roubles, while the other children received only four hundred each. Often, when he was drunk, he clinked with a chain above the heads of his parents [threatening them] to make them will him the farm; and he was only 20 years old. More than one, when he drinks and becomes bold, is a bandit. And I could quote many other facts from this country, how children get their old parents drunk in order that their papa may will them his fortune, neglecting the other children or wronging them. When a father gets sick in our country, the children who are with him think only about the notary, how to bring him and have the will; then about the priest, and then he can quietly go to the other world. Speaking about the same parish where people renounced liquor; the monopole [government liquor-shop] earns 500-600 roubles a day—of course now, during the carnival. At the poorest funeral a large bottle for 5 roubles is emptied. Often I remark to the people: "What is the use of it?" They answer: "There would be nobody to sing and to carry the corpse." And it is almost so, in fact. . . .

Letter to the Editor of *Zaranie*, 1913.

36. Nowhere is there so much evil as here in Sosnoviec and the neighborhood. Full of scandal among young and old. Parents educate their children badly. Often one can hear a father or mother tell the children to steal wood and coal which is brought to the houses of factory employes and foremen. Children 5 years old, while playing, sometimes threaten one another with knives and later grow to be "knifemen," of which there are more and more. In factories can be found some girls so spoiled that nothing will ever turn them upon the right way. And almost every girl prefers to go to the factory than to a home as a maid.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 5.

37. There grew up in our village [Porąbki] an immense number of thieves, gamblers, bandits [*nożowcy*, literally knife-carriers, popular term] and so on. . . . Not long ago a wild young boy killed in our village . . . a woman 45 years old.

The native inhabitants of Porąbki are good and quiet but the newcomers, called by the local people "*pichacze*" [pushers], are unpeaceful and stormy, and their example already influences the youth of our village.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 26.

38. [Priest's opinion of the character of industrial life; see document 39 for answer by a workman].

The whole district of Będzin, peopled by laborers who work in factories, mines, manufacture-shops, is completely different from localities in which farm-laborers, farmers or hired people work. It is difficult to get accustomed to such a life which has neither charm nor beauty. Money, factory-job, is all upon which the human soul feeds here. For the sake of this money the daughter leaves her parents and hurries to the factory, where without father's and mother's care she works in day-time and loafs with her suitors at night. The father goes to factory-work, free from household cares, without minding that his children loaf the whole week. The husband returns home unwillingly after a whole week's work and gives his wife the remnant of his pay that he has not spent on drinking with his friends in a saloon or restaurant. And look at these working people! How poor, pale, dried with work and revelry they are! How can we hope that out of them a healthy generation will grow—a comfort and

adornment to the country! . . . It is perhaps better to sit at home and once a day to feed on soup with potatoes than to work in these factories, destroying the health of body and soul. It is not strange that among such a population, occupied only with work for their temporal bread and forgetting about the spiritual bread, any evil incitement, any influence sowing trouble and greed of money is easily accepted. Thence violence done upon people under various pretexts, thence thefts, night attacks, robberies. Gangs of bandits have been formed which attack defenseless people in neighboring villages and towns and deprive them of fortune and life. In Zawiercie, Myszków, Żarki, etc., whole families, known by such knaveries, live on money torn away from wealthier people. The police cannot help, for it is not numerous enough for so many robbers. . . . The bishop of Kielce has published a circular letter ordering prayers with supplications to be performed every Sunday and holiday in the churches. . . . May our Lord Jesus listen to us. People write so much today about various improvements, alleviations, about the bettering of the lot of all classes, but they care little for the needs of the soul. Wealth, welfare, not based upon the Catholic religion, change man into an egotist. . . . Thence so many abuses in the country! . . . . It is sad above expression that in our vicinity you never see in the church or at the confessional the managers of the factories, shops and various industrial institutions. The people have no confidence in them, saying: "He is not ours!" And they turn against them at the instigation of any newcomer [socialistic agitator]. More faith, religion and godliness in the upper classes, and it will be well in our whole country.

Gazeta Swiąteczna, 1905, 35.

39. The letter of the respected priest [above] compels me to express a few remarks.

I do not intend in my writing to prove that there is untruth in that letter. On the contrary, in such a collection of people from various localities as we have here there are various manifestations of life, therefore also such as are described there. But precisely therefore it is impossible to apply the same measure to the whole district.

The district of Będzin differs from many others by the fact

that the soil is here very poor and a farmer with his family finds it difficult to live.

Secondly, many factories have been built and there are many mines and this makes the inhabitants of this neighborhood search for work in them. With me, for example, it was thus. I was fourteen years old when my father fell sick. I was the oldest among the children. At home there was hunger, so I, barefooted little son, started in the direction of Sosnowiec, searching for a job. On the way I saw boys of my own age running merrily after the cattle, and I went, hungry, to search for bread for myself and my family. Did this money, earned in the depth of the mine, constitute for me also everything that my soul wanted? No. And still I had to resign everything for the sake of this money. In the same way more than one daughter leaves her parents and searches here for work in order to help her family and to cover herself. She feeds herself on black coffee and dry bread, for it is cheaper than the fresh; therefore she is emaciated and pale. Moreover, a man who works in the mine is in a tomb during his life, and therefore already he looks sad and is as if blackened.

Such a girl or boy, having spent the whole day in the sultriness of the factory, returns home for the night, where in one room, with some poor family, numerous people live in corners, where children and often sick persons are found. The room is dark, sultry, damp. What has such a poor working man or girl to do? He must go outside of the gate in order to breathe some fresh air. Girls and boys often meet, and, of course, a conversation begins. Well, and sometimes incidents happen. But in what society are there none?

As to those children who loaf, their mothers are occupied with preparing food for their roomers, so they leave the children without care. But what can be done? Have we kindergartens for the children?

As to spending wages on drink, it is true that there are some who spend the money they have earned in drinking, but this cannot be said of all. How many waste their earnings in this way could be ascertained in the savings-banks or after a good investigation of the whole district.

And it seems that we also feel hunger for spiritual bread.

What district can boast such divine houses as ours, founded from contributions of working people? . . .

And Częstochowa could also say something about our companies of pilgrims. And God's glory is cared for with great honor in our churches.

As to thieves, we, the poor, are mostly attacked by them. Rich people have watchmen, but we, going home after work, are frequently robbed on the way of the money that we have earned, and often also beaten. Is it our fault that there are so many thieves in our district? . . .

Self-taught peasant, at present a workman.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 41.

40. Four miles east from Warsaw is the district-town Mińsk Mazowiecki, a locality very suitable as summer-resort and formerly inhabited in summer by numerous Warsawians, but today almost empty, because the government-authorities keep there many so-called *"pobytowy,"* that is, criminals condemned to live obligatorily in a locality under the oversight of the police. The town has four or five thousand inhabitants, and as many as 480 of these criminals are kept there. None of them tries to work, and they continue to steal and to rob local inhabitants as well as newcomers, town people as well as peasants in the neighborhood. The inhabitants, continually ruined, petition Warsaw and Petersburg to take the thieves from Mińsk, but they receive no answer. Would it not be possible to send the *pobytowy* into various parts of enormous Russia? . . . But people say that criminals themselves endeavor to be sent to Mińsk and not to be moved thence and they even pay big money for it. Mińsk is a very animated locality, many people pass through it every day by railway, so there is opportunity to rob. Moreover, it is near to Warsaw by rail, so thieves profit from it and go frequently to Warsaw to steal.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1906, 38.

41. Good news sent from this vicinity [Dabrowa, district of Będzin] would not occupy very much space in the *Gazeta* and all the bad news could not be contained for lack of space. . . . The greatest evil in our village is corruption among the youth and a desire for revenge among the elders. At every wedding or entertainment some one is stabbed or shot, frequently to death.

There is a gang called *andrusy* [men hired to beat others] who, in case of an argument between two fellows, are sicked by one onto the other and beat him unmercifully no matter whether he is a pal or a close relative. In one instance seven of these men broke into a man's house and beat him up so badly that he hardly recovered. Once a boy and a girl passing through a small wood were attacked by seven *andrusy,* but the boy, scenting trouble, ran away with all his speed. The scoundrels pursued him to the river, into which he plunged and swam across to the opposite shore, where he notified the authorities about the incident. Several men went to the scene and found the girl so badly bruised and beaten that it was necessary to remove her to the hospital. The assaulters were all caught except one, who had taken pity on the girl. Of the six that were arrested, four were residents of Dąbrowa and the other two were strangers. They were tried in Będzin and three of them, who had previously served prison terms, were sentenced to prison and the others acquitted. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1896, 4.

42 An evil person is not fond of a good one. In the evening of the first Sunday of this month, in the village of Czerwonka, a man lying in a pool of blood in the street was found by the night watch. When asked: "Who lies here?" the unfortunate one was still able to answer: "Thaddeus Olędzki." He then fell unconscious and never regained consciousness. The skull of the injured man was completely shattered and he barely lived until morning. Olędzki was a young man some twenty years of age, an inhabitant of this very village, Czerwonka. After leaving the organist, at whose home he had spent the evening at ten o'clock, he was attacked and murdered in the street by three grown boys, sons of farmers of the same village. The murderers were discovered by traces of blood found on their boots and clothing; and not denying their guilt, they confessed that they had battered Olędzki's head with stakes. The cause of the crime is said to have been their hatred towards Olędzki, since he shunned their company, not desiring to participate in their drinking bouts and other indecent actions. Besides the three above named fellows, several others were also arrested who are

supposed to be the instigators of the murdering of Olędzki. The villainous father of one of the criminals is one of their number.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1896, 9.

43. [See our remarks on document 2.]

I heard that in one village a peasant wanted to sell his whole farm, composed of a house, farm-buildings and 15 morgs of land. . . . I went to examine this farm. [The farm makes a good impression; it had remained for many generations in one family. The writer asks the proprietor:] "How can you deprive yourself of your father's land? Is not this place dear to you where you were educated, where you and your ancestors have put so much work?"

The farmer reddened and, stammering in the beginning, began to tell how long he *had to* sue his neighbors and his step-son, how they were ruined and he fell in debt, for the law-suit cost on the one hand, the lawyers drew from him money for expenses on the other hand, the Jews also exploited him through interest, and finally things came to this, that nothing could be done except sell the farm.

"Would it not have been better to make an amiable agreement?" I asked.

"But he did not want it," he answered. I offered to give my step-son whatever was due him after his mother's death, and I would have paid his wedding expenses also. But he revolted and said that he would absolutely sue me."

"Is he so quarrelsome, so insolent?"

"No," answered the farmer, "he was even a good boy, quiet and obedient, only people meddled with us. Neighbors instigated him; moreover, there is a certain clerk who is always glad to set people against one another in order to wheedle them out of money for petitions, complaints and advice. It is he, this gypsy, who has ruined my step-son and myself."

"And what was the motive of the neighbors?" I asked.

"What? As usual among neighbors. Quarrels about boundaries, or about some goose or cow doing damage, and thus from a small matter it comes to a bigger one. We disputed about one thing or another, and the clerk incited both of us to sue. My neighbor got his daughter married with my step-son and then instigated him against me."

"So these affairs are frequent among you?" I asked.

"Certainly!" he answered. "Here everybody sues his neighbor in court for the smallest thing and seeks a settlement there."

"Well, and do they settle things in that way?" I asked again. But I did not hear the answer, for it was drowned in quarreling voices. We went to listen and this is what we learned. Yesterday the mother went to the field and left four children at home. The oldest girl could not manage the younger ones. The smallest one cried awfully and the two older ones scratched each other in a fight. So the girl went to call her mother. To shorten her way she ran across the meadow of a neighbor. The neighbor saw it and now came to tell this woman that he would sue them unless they settled the matter and gave him a rouble. The mother of the girl cursed him and reminded him that two years ago his boy pushed or struck one of her children. . . . My host listened with evident pleasure and interest to these shrieks; finally he said, evidently knowing these matters well: "See, now this neighbor will sue the girl for having trampled the meadow and the mother of the girl will sue him for nicknames and insults."

I grew more and more benumbed in listening to all this. That a nice country! Nice brothers and fellow-countrymen! . . . The farm and the soil pleased me, the price was not very high, but why should I get into such brawls, feuds, envy, continual quarrelling and trouble? Perhaps in other villages it is better.

What will you say? I searched and went through a large portion of our land and in no village I found concord among the inhabitants. . . . Everybody rejoices if he can ruin another and make him go with a bag [begging]. He does damage in another's field or even seeks revenge upon his animals. For example, two *kumas* [women related by the fact that one of them is godmother to a child of the other] got angry with each other and Pawtowa, to spite Ignacka, gave a nail to the latter's cow to swallow. Through malice again, one neighbor broke the legs of his neighbor's horse. From this comes wildness and hate among Christians, Catholics, and moreover, near such a holy place [Częstochowa]!

Gazeta Swiąteczna, 1910, 50.

44. The farmer W. C., of a village in the district of Grójec, went to the town Góra-Kalwarya to a fair. Having bought what

he needed, he prepared to leave, when a farmer of his acquaintance, J. B., crossed his way with a group of traders and said: "Neighbor, sell me this mare."—"All right," answered W. C., "I will sell it for 280 roubles."—"This is too much," said the other, "take 5 roubles off."—"Well, never mind," said W. C., "I take 5 roubles off and it is a trade!" The buyer took two bills of 100 roubles each and gave them to the owner of the mare. "And 75 roubles more?" asked the latter. "What? It is you who have to give me 25 roubles of change."—"This is a joke, brother," answered W. C. "I see no reason to talk. We don't agree." And he wanted to give the money back. But J. B. refused to accept, saying that this was the agreed price of the mare. Then the wife of W. C. took the money and forcibly slipped it into the hand of J. B.

But he later denied having taken the money and brought an action in court against W. C. for 225 roubles. He put as witnesses those traders who were with him. The traders wanted to swear that J. B. had not taken this money. But W. C. had also one witness and said that he would swear in the church that his wife took this money and gave it back to J. B. A few days passed; then J. B. came to the priest in Słomczyn and begged him to speak to W. C. in his favor and to obtain pardon. The priest ordered both of them to come at a determined hour to the parish-house and here J. B. confessed that he had taken the money back but wanted to cheat his neighbor. W. C. forgave the culprit and later in the court signed that he pardoned him. . . . When W. C. signed, the judge arose and said to the culprit: "Remember not to show yourself before my eyes and not to start any suits in the court, for you are false and I shall not accept any more suits from you." All the people present began to laugh and to point with their fingers at the discomfited J. B.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1908, 5.

45. An old peasant from the parish of Białotary . . . passed the Easter confession with his sons, participated together with them at the Holy Communion, and the next night, also together with them, went to a neighboring village . . . to steal pigs. . . . [The robbers] were fettered and sent to the town. There in jail they will do penance and repent their sins. It is, however, not the first time that the worthy sons have been in

prison for theft. But, is this strange, since their father was giving them such an example and had taught them in such a way the principles of the holy faith?

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 14.

46. The peasants in the village Sanie-Dąb . . . had a quarrel about land with a neighboring village, Golasze-Dąb. The 10th of March, thirty farmers from Sanie-Dąb went with plows to the fields and started to plow the land in dispute. The farmers from Golasze-Dąb noticed this and went in a crowd to drive away the neighbor-plowmen. A stubborn fight broke out; two peasants dropped dead, eight were wounded more or less. Moreover, ten were arrested and shut up in prison. . . .

And then again, what happened at the same time in the region of Płońsk in the vicinity of Płock? A crowd of peasants bought a village, Kozininy-Stare, with money borrowed from the peasants' bank. Only, a small forest belonging to that village was bought, not by a peasant, but by a certain K. . . . But it seemed to the peasants that the forest had to belong to them, and they forbade the proprietor to enter the forest. K. had to sue in court to get his property. The court admitted that it was his, and the apparitor lead him into the place. However, the affair was not settled by this. On the 6th of March, when K. came with a few workers to the forest, a crowd of people among whom were even many women, rushed upon him and beat him violently. He was even wounded. In this murderous way neighbors revenged themselves for a law-suit, which they lost in court.

Three young people from the village Tokary were hired in Wyszogród for a sailing vessel. They received advance-payments. They left their passports with the owner of the vessel to make sure that they would come to work on the date indicated, and went to their homes to say good-bye. That was the 28th of February. At 10 o'clock at night the boys were crossing a village. The peasants of that village, noticing travelers, encircled them in a crowd with poles in their hands and demanded that the passports be presented. When they found out that the boys had no passports, they rushed upon them and started to beat them without mercy. They cut their heads and faces; and terribly wounded, half alive, they took them to the community

office. There everything was explained; the poor men were immediately taken to Tokary. The murderers were put in jail.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 15.

47. A certain Kurowski in the village Gadka Mała, a very good man, who had no children, adopted a little orphan a few years ago and cared for her as if for his own daughter. The child called him father, his wife mother, and did not feel at all its orphanage. They brought her up to the age of 9 years. During last Advent, both the Kurowskis went to a fair in Tuszyn. He had something important to settle, so he went away without waiting for his wife and she went later with her neighbor who was at the same time her *kuma*. The latter was, as it later proved, a worthless and perverse woman, but she pretended to be a friend of the Kurowskis. . . . On the way this *kuma* says to Kurowska: "Say, go slowly on. I must return home, for I forgot to leave some bread for the children. I will go very fast and will yet overtake you." She ran back, but not home, only straight to the house of the Kurowskis. She thought that they had money at home and was possessed by the sinful thought of robbing them. She rushed into the room and began to turn over all the hiding-places and to search in corners. The little orphan looked at this and finally said: "What is this? As soon as mamma comes I shall tell her that you have been searching so much for something." And this villainous woman jumped at the little girl and began to choke her. She tortured her until the poor child gave her spirit to God. Then she put a noose of string around her neck and hanged her to a drawer-hook of the table—so she confessed the next day at the inquest. The murderess was taken to prison, together with a little child which she was suckling.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 6.

48. The peasant Kuc was for 9 years the village-elder in the village Zaborze. . . . Lately Kuc began to drink, and when he lacked money of his own for liquor, began to spend on drinking the money collected from farmers for taxes. But soon they noticed what was going on; the farm-stock of Kuc was sold to cover the taxes, and the village elected another farmer for elder. This did not please Kuc and he began to threaten that he would

take revenge on his neighbors. And during a year no less than five fires were set in the village. At the last fire people noticed that the incendiary was the former village-elder. He was . . . condemned to 4 years of hard labor.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 10.

49. Thursday, April 20th, a few children from the village Zalesie . . . were pasturing cattle on a meadow near the river Wieprz. Jaś, 9 years old, son of the farmer Jozef Tokarski, began in playing to knock off with a stick parts of the shore which the river had undermined, though other children warned him not to do it. . . . And indeed, a large piece of the shore broke off suddenly and carried the boy into the river. The remaining children began to cry that Jaś was getting drowned. At their calls a farmer came and asked: "Whose Jaś is getting drowned?"—"Tokarski's," answered the children, "save him, save him!" But the farmer somehow was not in a hurry to go to the river. "I have no time," he said, "my horses will get entangled. Let Jaś swim, and you run away or else you will be drowned." Saying this, he turned back and went away. [The boy was drowned]. . . . The revengeful neighbor did not reach his hand to the drowning Jaś because he was angry with his father, having lost a law-suit against him last year.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 18.

50. In the village Strzegom . . . a wedding feast was going on in the house of the farmer Dyl. As soon as the wedding-guests returned from the church, one of them, a boy of 19, drew a package of tobacco from the groom's pocket, probably as a joke. The groom got offended. They quarrelled. The boy, wanting to avoid further dispute, ran out of the house, the groom after him. He overtook him in the field and struck with a knife. The boy, mortally wounded, fell down and in a few minutes ended his life. The groom was bound and almost from before the altar was taken to jail.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 50.

51. In the village Bieżanowo, district of Włoszczowa, province of Kielce [the same district in which a gang of robbers existed for 6 years, see document 34] a dissension arose between the neighboring peasants, August Rak and Ziółkowski. Ziółkow-

ski, a rancorous man, decided to burn the house of his neighbor for vengeance. One night he took a bottle of kerosene and matches and went to fulfil his wicked intention. But Rak evidently foresaw what was threatening him and kept a good watch, for before Ziółkowski had the time to set to work the sons of the owner jumped at him and began to beat him so awfully that under the sticks he breathed his last.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 8.

52. In Nasielsk, province of Warsaw, there was a fair. Many people came together and among them were Mikołaj Fabisiak from Psucin, a boy of 21, and Rebecki from Ruszkow, who had a grudge against Fabisiak. When he saw him he burned with a still greater anger and decided to avenge himself. Fabisiak went into a tavern, and Rebecki brought his companions, Welcz and Czylka, and taking a piece of wood out of the cart, gave it to Czylka, saying: "As soon as Fabisiak comes out, strike him right away." Czylka hid himself behind the cart and, having waited for Fabisiak to come out, gave him such a stroke that the skull broke in two places. Fabisiak fell down and the murderers fled. . . . He lived 3 days in great sufferings and Friday gave his spirit to God. The criminals were arrested.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 3.

Among these documents which we have selected to illustrate the disorganization of the peasant community those give us the easiest access to the problem in which the new attitudes of the young generation are described; and at the same time these are perhaps the most typical and have the greatest importance for sociology, since it is everywhere the young generation through which new attitudes mainly penetrate a community and the struggle between social tradition and social novelty always becomes, in some measure at least, identified with the opposition between the old and the young.

If we had to find the most general difference of attitudes underlying this opposition, we should perhaps search for it in the standpoints taken by the individ-

uals toward their personal and social future. Among the members of primary groups the desire for new experience seems to die out much earlier than among those who lead a more complete, more changing and higher intellectualized life; because of the early developing desire for security and because of the relative stability of external conditions the field of new possibilities which the individual sees in the future narrows rapidly. If the individual is transported to new conditions, this field becomes indefinite, for he does not know how to control the future; but, conscious of this inability, he faces the possible new experience with fear rather than with hopeful expectation. And in view of the great dependence of the primary-group member on his social milieu, it is quite natural that his desire for security should extend to his community and he is as much or more concerned about the stability of the community organization as about that of his economic or family situation, and as much afraid of new possibilities appearing there.

In the new generation, on the contrary, the desire for new experience is always stronger originally than the desire for security and becomes checked only by a social training which limits the field of possible novelties. Even in the most conservative primary-group, where the methods of social control are particularly efficient in producing an early stabilization, the period when new experiences outside of the social routine still have a strong appeal for the individual certainly extends beyond the age of twenty. This means that there is a period of five to ten years during which almost every individual is both open to socially prohibited or unforeseen suggestions and able to act in accordance with these suggestions.

When, therefore, the community enters in contact

with the outside world, the youth are naturally the first to develop new attitudes and to import new values. It is evident that under these conditions the movement, if not directed by educated and mature leaders, is not likely to be constructive, since only those attitudes tend to develop and only those values appeal to the individual which he is prepared to accept. The undirected attention of the peasant youth is thus most easily captivated by superficial æsthetic and hedonistic objects—clothes, trinkets, smoking, fancy foods and drinks. Our documents show that the disorganization of the old social system starts in this way. We have also confirmed this while personally investigating the effects of season emigration. Only a small percentage of youth remains uninfluenced by the attraction exercised by foreign dress and foreign pleasures, so that any locality in which this emigration is intense loses after a time all the superficial social traditions. Usually, however, the effects of foreign influences do not go much deeper. At first, indeed, the changes of dress, of manners, of leisure activities, which the young emigrants introduce after their return, arouse a violent reaction of the older generation, and this sometimes has disastrous effects in the fact that the youth, once revolted against tradition and its bearers, may reject not only the superficial and external mores but even those social rules of behavior without which the community cannot exist. After a time, however, we see a gradual reciprocal adaptation between the old and the young generation, mediated by those older members of the group who participate in season work abroad and by those young emigrants who settle and become regular landed members of the community. The young comply with those traditional mores for which they find no substitute in their life abroad and

which therefore appear to them as essential as long as they feel dependent on the primary-group—in particular, with the principles of social solidarity as expressed in mutual help and response. The old accept, not for themselves but for their children, the new æsthetic, hedonistic and ceremonial standards imported from abroad and, as some of our documents note, show a remarkable leniency toward the young generation and a sympathetic interest in ambitions and pleasures which they do not share personally—an interest which is explained by that conversion of personal into familial aspirations which, as we know, usually follows the social maturity of the peasant. The most important permanent effect of this periodical absence of young people is a marked decrease of the seriousness with which the community and family systems are treated by their members when the place of those whose life was completely absorbed in these systems is taken by individuals who have learned to live for certain periods away from a regulated social milieu.

Emigration to America plays a relatively unimportant part in the progress of disorganization of the community. Our documents contain almost nothing bearing directly on this problem, and we know from personal investigation how small is the influence which returning emigrants exercise over community life. This influence limits itself almost entirely to the economic field—a certain improvement of the standards of living —and we may add perhaps a slight democratization of social relations. But emigration to America is much lower numerically (its highest tide, in 1912-1913, reached 130,000 as against 800,000 of season-emigrants), and this number includes a certain percentage of town population, whereas the season-emigration re-

cruits itself exclusively from the country population. Further, no more than 40 per cent of transoceanic emigrants return. Finally, many of these leave Poland at an age when social attitudes are in a large measure fixed, and find in this country a community organization which to some degree at least is a substitute for that of their home communities. Thus, an emigrant returning from America may for a short time attempt to play the rôle of an innovator, but soon becomes absorbed in the life of the group and of his innovations only those have a social influence which bear the tests applied by social opinion. He may contribute to the evolution of the community positively in certain special matters, but can hardly be a serious factor of social disorganization. Transoceanic emigration has indeed a disorganizing effect on the life of the primary group, but in an indirect way, by acting on the imagination of those who remain. The community is no longer the only possible social milieu, in which the individual has to stay for ever, and to which he *must* adapt himself; there are unlimited possibilities outside of it, and he feels much less dependent on it than in the past.

Much deeper, because more permanent, is the disorganization of the young generation in the community when it is produced by strangers who settle among the local inhabitants, bringing with them different mores, and either fail to become assimilated through racial reasons or are numerous enough to be independent of the social opinion of the community. The Jewish shopkeeper represents the first class; city workers near industrial centers, and released criminals sent to settle in a small town represent the second. The Jewish shopkeeper in a peasant village is usually also a liquor-dealer without license, a banker lending money at usury, often

also a receiver of stolen goods and (near the border) a contrabandist. The peasant needs and fears him, but at the same time despises him always and hates him often. The activity of these country shopkeepers is the source of whatever anti-Semitism there is in the peasant masses. We have seen in the documents the methods by which the shopkeeper teaches the peasant boy smoking, drinking, and finally stealing; the connection established in youth lasts sometimes into maturity, and almost every gang of peasant thieves or robbers centers around some Jewish receiver's place, where the spoils are brought and new campaigns planned. Gangs composed exclusively of Jews are frequent in towns, rare in the country; usually Jews manage only the commercial side of the questions, leaving robbing or transporting of contraband to peasants.

Evidently the connection between such a shopkeeper-receiver and the youth demoralized by him remains a purely business proposition; race difference prevents even that solidarity which unifies the members of a gang of professional criminals. On the contrary, the influence exercised upon peasant youth by incomers of Polish origin, particularly by city workers, or by members of the lower middle class, is of a purely personal character and works by imitation. It is interesting to note in this connection that the peasant seldom directly imitates any of the members of the country nobility or of the city middle class; the social difference of degree seems to him too wide so that imitation appears as absurd or meaningless, whereas it is quite normal when the imitated person is only slightly higher in the social hierarchy. The disorganizing effect of this influence of incoming strangers depends, of course, on their character, their number and the closeness of their connection

with the autochthonic group; in the most radical cases, in villages situated near large centers and whose population includes more strangers than original inhabitants, nothing is left of the old community except the official organization of village and commune autonomy from which the incomers are excluded unless they own real estate within the limits of the village or commune. But this invasion and dissolution of the community does not go on without struggle on the part of the old generation, and the point where the resistance of the old community is the strongest is precisely in admitting strangers to land-ownership. Here, in connection with the land problem, the solidarity of the group reasserts itself, leading sometimes even to violent group-action (p. 1181). Nevertheless, in the long run the struggle is always unsuccessful; a community which has a continual influx of strangers cannot preserve its integrity and sooner or later dissolves itself into a vague and incoherent social body within which organizations of a completely different type are formed.

Still more radical and rapid is the process of disorganization when the community becomes connected with some industrial or commercial center where the young generation goes to work. This has been a very frequent occurrence during the last fifty years, when in consequence of economic development of many old cities and of the appearance of new ones, innumerable peasant communities became practically nothing but suburbs whose population has a character intermediary between peasants and industrial workers. In such cases the social contacts between members of the young generation working in the city and various city groups become as close or even closer than those which they maintain with the rest of their community; the latter is reduced

to a rôle similar to that of a "neighborhood" in an American city. City mores penetrate rapidly into the community; but as they offer little or nothing which could take the place of the old country mores in organizing individual life, social disorganization is often accompanied by personal demoralization. Those suburban localities usually stand in rather bad repute. Of course this is also due in a large measure to an influx of many undesirable elements from the city. We must also notice that there are interesting exceptions. And perhaps, generally speaking, demoralization is not as far-reaching as might be expected. Even as a mere permanent neighborhood, the community preserves some influence upon the individual and its opinion, divided on secondary matters, remains unanimous whenever the fundamental standards of social solidarity are concerned. There is not only a common human, but a common national stock of morals, and while an individual or a small group may act against it, he can do it only by concealing his doings from his wider social milieu; he may try to fool the opinion of the community, but he seldom dares to defy it. In general, therefore, personal demoralization is much easier among those who have immigrated into the city from more distant villages and find themselves outside of any social control, than among those who still live in their old milieu. What sometimes happens, indeed, is that in certain respects the morality of the whole group is lowered. This concerns in particular honesty in economic matters, and we have tried to explain in Volume I how this happens. Economic dealings between members of a primary group have the character of social relations subordinated to the principle of solidarity, not that of plain business relations subordinated to quantitative impersonal economic valua-

tions. When the peasant begins to deal with outsiders, he usually extends to them at first the principle of solidarity and is more than fair. Later, however, if the relations multiply and he finds that the principle of solidarity is not applied by the outsiders, he goes to the other extreme and implicitly, or even explicitly, assumes that economic exchange is not regulated by any principles whatever, that the only policy is to give as little as possible and to get as much as possible by any means; it takes some time to learn and appreciate business honesty as a method of economic success. And one of the most marked signs of community disorganization is when he begins to apply to the members of his own group the dishonest methods used with regard to outsiders. But this is a problem which concerns rather the old than the young generation which we are discussing now.

A very interesting feature of the disorganization which starts with the youth is that it seldom, if ever, is purely individual but assumes a group character. This is perfectly natural when it is the effect of season emigration, for season emigrants from the same village or the same neighborhood usually go and work together, and thus common interests and memories unify them with each other and separate them in some measure from the rest of the community. But even when the source of disorganization is infiltration of strangers or work in a neighboring city, there is a general tendency of the young people with new and socially non-sanctioned attitudes to form more or less close associations, ranging from a vague group united by mere frequency of intercourse to an organized gang. Moreover, we usually notice efforts to proselyte the rest of the youth of the community and a very marked ill-will toward those who fail to respond. The individual seems to be

able to emancipate himself from the dependence upon the large community only by relying for social response and recognition on a smaller community with congenial interests. This tendency seems stronger among young than among older people, probably because the former are less able to escape the censorship of public opinion by way of concealment, and also because the larger community does not satisfy sufficiently their desire for recognition, whereas in a group of the same age they can aspire for prominence. From the latter standpoint the formation of groups of young people seems almost a social necessity. It was limited until recently by the powerful cohesion of family groups, which prevented any solidarity of the young generation against the old from appearing; so that the youth of a village came together only for amusement, but the decadence of family life going on parallelly with the breakdown of the isolation of communities made the formation of solidary groups of young people for any purposes possible. Of course, these groups, as some of our documents show, are far from possessing the same degree of cohesion and solidarity as the original community. Nevertheless, their importance can hardly be overestimated. As factors of social disorganization they not only help the individual to free himself from the control of social opinion but serve as centers of attraction for those in whom the socially non-sanctioned attitudes have not yet developed. Moreover, through them the field of disorganization is apt to widen; it often happens that the group is formed under the influence of some relatively innocent interest—dress, smoking, games—and gradually its activities begin to extend to more dangerous matters. On the other hand, under proper leadership such groups have been often utilized for purposes of

social reconstruction, as we shall see in later chapters.

This type of disorganization of the community in which the process starts with the young generation is essentially and primarily a dissolution of social opinion. The community begins by losing the uniformity of social attitudes which made common appreciation and common action possible; the introduction of new values breaks it into two or more camps with different centers of interest, different standards of appreciation and divergent tendencies of action. If the process continues, social opinion degenerates into gossip; public interest centers on matters of curiosity instead of those of social importance, and except in the condemnation of the most radical crimes, no unanimity can be reached on any point. As a consequence of this dissolution of social opinion, unless a new basis of unity is reached, there comes a more or less marked decay of social solidarity, both because divergence of appreciation and action breeds hostility and because most of the forms in which solidarity used to manifest itself are no longer adequately enforced by social opinion and rely only on individual moral feeling or desire for response.

It must be understood, of course, that the process of disorganization which starts with the young generation is a complicated matter. As a certain group of young people grow older and take the place of their parents, they have to moderate their new attitudes in adaptation to traditional problems and to old responsibilities which they are forced to face; they bring indeed a new and discordant element into the community, but not as radically new and discordant as might have been expected judging by their earlier attitudes. At the same time, however, a new group of young people has taken their place as the revolutionary factor; the atti-

tudes of these are different from those of the old generation, but may be also different from those of the preceding young group. And so on, with increasing complexity. We shall see later how this apparently chaotic evolution which, if left to itself, might lead to a complete decay of all social cohesion, is directed into definite channels by conscious leadership and tends toward the formation of a new social system, less rigid, more multiform, wider and better organized than the old one.

A very different type of disorganization of the community manifests itself not in a divergent evolution of the young generation but in a social disharmony within the old generation. Here the unity of social opinion is not originally affected; we find no revolt against tradition, no attempts to contest the validity of old standards. The individual who behaves in a socially prohibited way either has the consciousness of being wrong and tries to conceal his actions from the community, or else interprets the traditional standards in his favor and tries to justify his behavior from their standpoint. There is disorganization of the community only because, and in so far as, the individual members act against the principle of solidarity.

Now, this form of disorganization is not a new phenomenon, does not need external contacts to be produced; it has always existed even within isolated communities. For its origin lies in the original, temperamental attitudes of the individual. Although communal solidarity is psychologically founded on the desire for response which is, for the sociologist, one of the original individual attitudes, this attitude frequently conflicts with other equally original ones, and these conflicts can be harmonized only by an adequate social education.

In Part IV of this volume (Introduction) we shall see that the temperamental attitudes of an individual are not spontaneously regulated in their social manifestations but express themselves from moment to moment, independently of each other, under the pressure of actual personal needs. The aim of social education is precisely to organize their manifestation by subordinating them to rules. Every case of anti-social behavior which is not due to the explicit rejection of social rules but is a lack of compliance in practice with rules which the individual implicitly or explicitly acknowledges in theory, marks a failure of social education, an imperfect organization of temperamental attitudes into a character demanded by the given social environment. And since individual temperaments differ, while the educational methods used by a primary group are rather uniformly applied to all its members, some educational failures are bound to happen in every community, however strong and coherent, and breaks of communal solidarity, more or less far reaching and frequent, have occurred always and everywhere.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the number and importance of these breaks have greatly increased in peasant communities since the isolation of the latter disappeared. The explanation of this seems to be that the new values introduced from outside into the community life open the way for many new situations which the traditional rules of behavior did not foresee. The social education which the old generation received did not prepare them sufficiently for the difficult task of maintaining their social character in its integrity in the face of all the new suggestions which their more or less changed environment offers. Under these conditions, every individual's life-organization becomes more or less dis-

turbed and his instincts, inadequately controlled, may easily express themselves in anti-social activities. Thus, the economic evolution of the last fifty years brought before the peasant, even the most conservative one, problems which put to a serious test his principles of social solidarity, made him find or accept new definitions of economic situations to which the traditional rules could not possibly apply and which often, directly or indirectly, led to an antagonism to other members of the community. Similarly, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, the growing acquaintance with law made the peasant aware of the existence of standards of human relations somewhat different from his own, and at the same time put into his hand weapons of social struggle which he is more and more frequently tempted to use and abuse, particularly if somebody else has already used them against him.

We have seen that the first type of disorganization, beginning with a disintegration of public opinion due to the new values accepted and new attitudes developed in the young generation, brings with it usually a decay of social solidarity. The second type of disorganization, manifesting itself in the beginning as a decay of solidarity between the members of the old generation, cannot fail to affect in turn the unity and consistency of social opinion. As long as anti-social behavior is limited to a few isolated members of the group, the latter continues to treat it as abnormal and has no doubts as to the validity of the standards on which public opinion bases its judgments. But when breaks of social solidarity become frequent and when in view of the changed conditions every individual sees the possibility of situations to which the traditional rules can not be applied, the faith in the validity of the accepted

standards is gradually shaken. The standards are not explicitly rejected, but begin to be treated as mere pious wishes which it would be desirable but which it is impossible fully to realize in practice. Public opinion is not divided at once into opposite camps, as it is when the young generation revolts against the old, but is weak and hesitant in its approvals and condemnations and loses all interest in facts which it does not know how to control, however vital these facts may be for the existence of the community. And, by a curious contrast, while in the first type of disorganization it is usually the superficial traditions—dress, ceremonial, leisure time organization—which begin to decay before all the others, and the fundamental principles of social morality remain often unshaken, in this second type the very foundation of social cohesion is weakened while the formal observances sanctioned by tradition may be kept as rigidly as ever.

This decay of the active moral control which the community exercises over its members results in turn in the growth of a specific form of social disharmony which we have already mentioned in the preceding chapter—the tendency to individual self-redress. As long as the community is efficient and its standards generally believed and applied, the individual who is or imagines himself wronged can obtain redress through his group, and either voluntarily accepts or is forced to accept whatever redress the group thinks justified. But when the community is inactive or its standards are no longer seriously and unhesitatingly acknowledged by its members, its judiciary and executive authority can no longer have any influence. According to modern ideas, of course, the individual should seek redress through the state, and in most cases the peasant does this. But we

must remember that during the period of Russian domination the state was run by an inefficient, corrupt and nationally foreign, even hostile, bureaucracy. Naturally therefore, there were many cases in which the peasant, not trusting in the ability or the justice of the state authorities, took redress into his own hands. Then, of course, he measured his revenge by his wrong and his wrong by his subjective grievance. Moreover, he had little choice generally as to means and forms of redress and often took the first opportunity to avenge himself, however disproportionate the vengeance might have been as compared with the wrong. This explains the numerous cases of arson and murder through vengeance which we find in popular press and of which we have quoted a few. A similar explanation will be found, in Volume V, with refernce to similar cases among the immigrants in this country, where the state jurisdiction, though less inefficient, seems even more unfamiliar to the Polish peasant than the Russian system. We may also add that a primary-group member, when passing from the community control under the state jurisdiction, is never satisfied with the standards of justice and the forms of redress which he can obtain, and there are always cases in which he will be inclined to resort to self-redress; compare, for instance, the long survival of duels.

It must be realized, of course, that the two types of disorganization of the community which we have tried to analyze and to explain separately, *viz.*, the disorganization which affects the young generation and begins by a disintegration of public opinion, and the disorganization which bears directly on the old generation and begins by a decay of social solidarity, usually go on simultaneously, though either may prevail in a given

community during a given period. There are communities, indeed, particularly along the Western border of the Congress Kingdom and in Western Galicia, where as a consequence of season emigration the first type is pushed very far, whereas the old generation seems to remain solidary, perhaps precisely because it feels the need of it to defend its prestige and position in the community. In some other communities, where the contact with the outside world is maintained chiefly by the old generation, communal solidarity is breaking up, whereas the young generation does not think of revolting against the old. But, since the new influences do not fail to penetrate the whole community sooner or later situations such as described are usually only temporary.

We must say, however, that the entire process of disorganization is only temporary. For social disintegration in whatever form never goes as far as to destroy entirely in the group the demand for a regulated, organized and harmonious social life. Thus, social disintegration is bound to rouse not only reflective attention of the group, but also, among some of its members at least, conscious efforts to remedy it.

CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE OLD SOCIAL SYSTEM

When the disorganization of a social group becomes the object-matter of reflective attention on the part of its members, the spontaneous tendency immediately arising is that of strengthening the existing social system against the process of decadence. The phenomena of disorganization appear at first as a mere negation of the traditional order, and the problem which faces the group seems to be a simple alternative—either the old order or complete chaos. It is only later, when, as a consequence of a closer contact with other social milieux or of the growing realization of new forms of social life, a different social order appears as possible, that the problem loses its seeming simplicity and discloses itself as a very complex and very difficult problem of social evolution, offering an indefinite variety of more or less satisfactory solutions. From this broader standpoint, disorganization itself is a secondary matter, a social symptom rather than a social factor. But as long as viewed exclusively with reference to the existing system which is being disorganized, phenomena of disorganization are judged to be *the* real and important matter, the social evil which the chief task of society is to overcome.

Such judgments are found not only in primary peasant groups; they constitute still the main content of social reflection in the most complex and most civilized societies, they are the backbone of all coercive and repres-

sive legislation and of almost all "social reform" activities. The difference between a peasant primary group and a modern complex and fully civilized society is in this respect mainly a difference in the degree of sophistication. The attitude of the peasant community is more naïve both in appreciating the evil and in trying to deal with it, and the entire machinery of repression and reform is incomparably simpler, its motives are more transparent and their expression more sincere. Even when, as in our present case, the struggle for the old system is carried on partly under the influence and with the help of higher developed and more sophisticated social agencies which are interested in the preservation of most of the traditional values in peasant life, these agencies, while dealing with the peasant, use less refined methods and show their motives more explicitly than they do when they are in contact with higher educated and more critical social classes. For all these reasons, the study of the struggle for the old system in peasant communities should permit us to reach conclusions which, though they can not without additional investigation be assumed to apply to more complex and differentiated societies, may nevertheless serve as a basis for a general hypothetical characterization and explanation of conservatism in its relation to social disorganization.

In studying these questions, however, we must keep in mind the fact that the Polish peasant class is not an entirely independent and isolated society but is in contact with other classes—the clergy, the nobility, the lower and middle city class—which tend to influence its evolution. As long as the peasant community is strong and coherent and preserves its traditional system of values, it does not seem to need any initiative or leader-

ship of members of other classes; its social life runs with very little reflective attention, its evolution—for, of course, it is never entirely stationary—goes on by imperceptible, almost continuous changes, and isolated phenomena of disorganization are dealt with by the majority, in which the active power of social control is vested. But when the process of disorganization continues at an accelerating rate the peasant community becomes less and less able to deal with it by its own means, outside help and initiative are needed even to defend the old system against decay. It is the Church which supplies this need, and we shall see in this chapter by what methods and with what effects. The leadership of more conscious and higher educated social elements is even more indispensable to direct the evolution of peasant communities toward the formation of a new social system; but in this case it will prove that the very progress of this social reconstruction tends to develop a new kind of autonomy of the peasant class, an autonomy due to the growth of a leading minority within this class itself.

53. [Here the power of traditional social attitudes is directly opposed to social disorganization. With such a psychology, crime against persons is possible only either as reaction against some real or supposed break of solidarity, or as an individually, not socially, abnormal phenomenon—the result of a temporary or permanent disorganization of the personality.]

Last fall, in the village of H——, some unknown murderers killed a farmer, Maciej Tryka. The trial did not disclose the delinquents and the crime remained unpunished. Suddenly, a few days ago, Michał Olszówka and Jan Sprysak, peasants of the vicinity of Krzeszów, came to the judge who had the inquest in charge. . . . They came voluntarily to confess that it was they who killed Tryka. Nobody knew anything about their connection with the murder . . . but their conscience would not give them peace until they decided to return to confess their crime and to do penance for it.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 4.

54. [An example of a community which remains organized on a purely traditional basis in spite of new influences. It indicates the epidemic character of disorganization.]

We are attached to our native place [Lubochnia] and it very seldom happens that anybody leaves his land and his country home. . . . In our neighborhood some farmers have scarcely three or even only one morg of land, and yet they do not leave their village. [The parish is backward.]

But our people deserve also some blame, for they do not try any handicraft, but everybody wants the land. Even if somebody inherits only one morg from his father, he will not sell it to his brother, but will farm upon it himself. And this is bad, for farms are divided into smaller and smaller parts, and are moreover so scattered around that the farmers simply have no place to build. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 25.

55. [Old social principles preserved in industrial life.]

The sugar-factory Michałów . . . has existed for almost half a century and only once changed its owner. Its managers also changed very seldom, and steady workmen do not often give their places to new ones. There still lives a retired workman who receives a life-pension and who dug clay for the bricks for the construction of the factory. . . . The families of steady workmen are frequently unified with one another by marriages. As a consequence of all this, the workers here are attached to the place, a thing which seldom happens among people who do not have land of their own . . . [and live very respectable lives]. And therefore the factory accepts only unwillingly, forced by necessity during the time when beets are prepared, a few wandering, homeless workmen, because they often make trouble in factories.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 8.

56. In the village Olszewica . . . a few Jewish families settled, supporting themselves by trade. The father of each family opened a poor little shop in which there was sometimes scarcely a few roubles worth of goods. The trade therefore did not go very briskly; however, in the evenings, in every store it was populous and noisy. The half-grown boys of the village as-

sembled there for a chat and for cigarettes, which the dealers willingly gave to every one even on credit. Besides, they treated every one with candy, not for profit but just as if for politeness. When one of the boys had already taken enough cigarettes, the store-keeper would tell him politely: "My dear, I know that it is hard for you to get money; therefore I do not ask you for it. Bring some eggs, or a small measure of grain; from a good acquaintance, I take even such pay. . . ."

The farmers could not manage their sons and their *parobeks;* finally they decided to join hands and conquer together the evil. The elder of the village . . . convoked a village assembly and it was unanimously resolved to establish a common-store in the village and to lease it to an honest Catholic, and henceforth not to buy a thing from a Jew, in order to compel them to leave the village. The owners of houses in which there were Jewish stores promised not to renew the leases with the merchants and to refuse them the dwelling.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 9.

57. On May 21st, the farmers of the village Czermno . . . in the presence of the mayor, decided at a meeting to request the authorities for permission to remove from the village a certain family, as dishonest, litigious people, doing much damage and bringing shame upon the whole village and parish. The father of this family and one son do knaveries together. Another son does them on his own part. What did these people do, for example, during the exchange of land [in order to unify farms]. They used the most wicked means to hinder the exchange, for it was easier for them to take other people's property when their neighbors had land in small mixed parcels and far from home. More than one person's sheaves were then lost while standing on the field and heaps of hay disappeared. And how much damage they did on the meadows! . . . But strange to say, everybody suffered, complained, but was afraid to tell it openly, for the scoundrel threatened vengeance. . . . And so this father and his sons went unpunished for years and were the fright of everybody. But finally the measure was overfilled. The inhabitants of Czermno made a resolution that they did not want to have such neighbor-thieves among themselves. They sent this resolution to the commissioner [for peasant affairs]

of the district. . . . Not only neighbors, but even relatives of those outcasts signed the resolution.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 26.

58. I asked one of the farmers [of the village Kòwalówka] why nobody there is afraid of theft and he said: "Formerly there used to be awful thefts, particularly they were stealing horses; but we decided at a communal meeting that whoever committed a theft would be for ever excluded from the commune, and if he did not want to leave voluntarily his property would be sold at auction, the money would be given him and he would be driven away. Since that time there has been no stealing in our commune."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 7.

59. In Makoszyn. . . . Andrzej Lekarczyk with the help of his son Antoni, beat with flails his father-in-law, a white-haired old man, Józef Majda. The wronged Majda brought a complaint against his son-in-law and his grandson and the court condemned Andrzej Lekarczyk to 3 months and Antoni to 3 weeks' imprisonment. But Majda begged the court to commute this punishment to a church-penance. And so it was done. In conformity with the demand of Majda, the Lekarczyks stood for three Sundays in the parish church . . . during the divine service with the flails with which they had beaten the old man, in such a place that everybody could see them. It was a great shame for them. Now people laugh at them, point at them with their fingers and will remind them for a long time about their disrespect for gray hair. You should see the Lekarczyks running home from the church with their flails hidden under their coats. They ran without looking around; only dust rose behind them.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 9.

60. In our part of the country [Kurow] it is customary for priests every year in January to call on their parishioners, and this is called going with the *kolenda*. They do not omit even the poorest hut, provided it is inhabited by Catholics. When the priest is expected to come, the inhabitants of the house look out for him, wait for him with joy, and from this joy and good-will they offer him the so-called *kolenda*, composed

of several *garniec* of grain, usually of three kinds, packed in three vessels. . . . They give rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, or else other things to eat, such as eggs, apples, etc. The priest, coming in, praises the Lord God, and the boys who go with him sing one stanza of a *kolenda* [here Christmas-song]. . . .

"Well, in this village the priest vicar was going with the *kolenda* and that man, J., as an acquaintance of the priest, was following him with his team in order to collect after him whatever people offered. He went a rather long stretch, for the priest visited a score of houses. When his cart was full, another team, the village-elder's, came and that man J. went to his farm-yard under pretext of giving the horses a drink. But in fact this was not what he wanted. He immediately approached the cart and began to rob. . . . But probably Divine justice ordained it so that he took all the oats. When finally he and others went back to the priest's house and took the *kolenda* off the carts, the priest gave them a treat and ordered them to give oats to the horses. But there were no oats. They inquired where the oats were and J. said that nobody gave oats. The priest said: "Why, I saw how they loaded oats as *kolenda* in more than one house." "Well," said J., "they loaded but they did not carry them out [to the cart]." The priests were astonished but they did not doubt that J. told the truth, for he was always considered pious and god-fearing and was acquainted with the priests. Thus suspicion fell upon the village-group, that they were cheating people in this way.

But when the farmers learned this, they said: "We must take the elder with us, walk from house to house and ascertain who gave oats and how much. Why should this wretch stain the whole village if he has stained himself?"

Well, after verification it proved that there should have been nine bushels of 9 *garniec* each of oats. They then said: "Let us go to him, let him give back two *korzec* [8 bushels] oats, for one bushel was perhaps eaten by the horses, and let him pay 100 roubles for the church." Having so decided among themselves, they went to J. and said: "Give back the oats that you have stolen and give 100 roubles for the organ, or otherwise we will bring at once constables, an indictment will be written and we will give you up to the court for a greater shame." J. was con-

fused and said: "I will give 10 roubles and 6 bushels of oats." But the farmers did not agree to this, only remitted 50 roubles. But he begged them so much to let him pay only 30 that finally they agreed to this. Only they demanded that he should carry [this money] to the priest. A few farmers went with him to be witnesses. . . . The priest counted and there were only 29 roubles. . . . And J. said: "Let it be this much I beg, priest curate." But the priest answered: "No, what the village-group decided must be."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 15.

61. There are such communities where a handful of robbers keep the honest people in terror and fear; everybody knows it, everybody knows where and with whom the stolen thing can be found, and still nobody dares to say a word, for he fears that they will burn his house or avenge themselves in some other way. And it happens also that even denouncing the thief does not help, does not free the community from him, for he has associates precisely among those whose duty is to defend the population from thieves. This was the case, for example, for some time in the district of Bedzin, where a year and a half ago the authorities had to dismiss 40 country constables, for it proved that they simply belonged to a gang of thieves. It is not strange that in such conditions people come sometimes to exasperation and look upon the thief as upon their worst enemy. But up to the last few years, accustomed to bear in humility and silence every oppression, they were forced to bear also this oppression of thieves; it very seldom happened that the hate of thieves pushed the community as far as crime. It happened very frequently only during the last two years and it happens even now. People tolerate the thief up to a certain time, but finally fall into such a terrible anger that, without minding the heavy sin that they take upon their souls, they catch the thief and torture him like executioners until he gives up his spirit. So it happened [in the following case] . . . about which a farmer writes:

In the village Żelechlin . . . 6 sheep were stolen at night from the farmer Reska. Other farmers, having learned it in the morning, went straight to a thief well-known in the community, Jan Michniewski, of the village Świnikierz, and started the matter sharply at once. Then Michniewski led them to the neighboring

village Węgrzynowo, to his friend Józef D., known in the community under the nickname Beneturek. He said that there were in his home last night well-known thieves, a certain Mela, who is hiding himself, Klimczak and Jozef Michniewski. The inhabitants of Żelechlin searched the farm of Beneturek and found a spade stolen some time ago. . . . They took Beneturek and led him to the district-town Rawa. But on the way they "judged" him so that finally in Rawa they had to take him to the hospital and asked for a doctor and medicine. . . . The unhappy man ended his life in the hospital. Before dying he confessed that he had stolen the sheep himself.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 6.

62. [The *Gazeta Świąteczna* published an account of a beating given by farmers to two of their neighbors suspected of horse-stealing. One was beaten to death. Two letters were received claiming these men were innocent, that the horses found with them really belonged to them. The *Gazeta* published one of the letters, that of J. J. The farmers replied by a collective letter as follows:]

For two years already the inhabitants of Romanowo, Józef Pytka, Piotr Owczarski, Józef Owczarski and Antoni Domański had suspected Jurga of keeping stolen things, but they could never catch him. Last year in winter two cows were stolen during a wedding-festival from one of these farmers. The suspicion fell upon Jurga, but it was impossible to prove. The cows were found. Andrzej and Antoni Domański, Adam Kwiatkowski and Grzegorz Chachula searched for them. Against all of them threats were uttered by Jurga and also by Mateusz Labuk, a well-known thief living in Budziszewice, district of Rawa. Once these two came to Klima [to steal] his cow or horses. Józef Klima saw them, recognized and frightened [them] away, but he feared to speak about it. After some time Labuk brought a pair of horses which stood, together with a cart, for a week in Jurga's [stable]. The neighbors knew it, but they feared to betray it. Moreover, horses were brought and taken away at night and at night also Jurga went to the pasture with them as far as Modlica.

In the spring Jurga set the house of Józef Owczarek on fire, having quarrelled with him about a horse. . . ; he had threatened

him before very much and he fulfilled his threat. He did not succeed in trying to put fire to the buildings of Antoni Domański.

When the mayor and clerk from Rzgów came to make an investigation concerning the fire at Owczarek's and began to inquire about evil people, thieves, incendiaries, the inhabitants answered that there was no thief among them. When the authorities left, people said: "There is no question but we must bring the thieves to order." So, at the request of the community, the village-elder Szychowski sent next day (in July, 1905) the information [to the authorities] through the watchman that there were three strange horses with Tomasz Śliwkowski and Antoni Jurga.

Constables came at once from Rzgów. Jurga ran away, to Labuk in Budziszewice, to get certificates for the horses—this is, at least, what the inhabitants of Romanowo think. The horses were taken, one from Śliwkowski, one from Jurga. When Jurga returned home and did not find the horses he walked at night through the village and threatened the whole village, saying that he would burn, hang, roast like crayfishes all the inhabitants, and he promised the village-elder that he would hang his bowels upon the poplar-tree. Before going to Jurga, the farmers went first to Tomasz Śliwkowski, whom they long ago suspected of taking part in the thieves' work or keeping stolen goods at least, but whom they feared to touch. When they stood before evening on July 9th and deliberated how to make order in the village and cleanse it from thieves, Klima remarked that in Śliwkowski's [stable] for some days there stood a *bryczka* [vehicle] on springs, and Depiński added that there were horses too. They all started, called the elder and went to inspect. They began with Śliwkowski. They asked him where were the horses and the *bryczka*. "What the devil! It is none of your business"; and he refused to show what he had in his stable. When they rushed upon him and beat him a little, he opened the stable, where stood a strange horse and another one that Śliwkowski had since spring. When asked where the *bryczka* was, he answered: "What the devil! It is none of your business." Then he said that he had sold it. "To whom?"—"Who had the money bought it." Somebody saw a knife in Śliwkowski's hand. Then they rushed upon Śliwkowski and beat him; they inflicted a few wounds on his head and broke the thinner bone in his forearm. Having taken

the horse from Śliwkowski, they went to Jurga. But before this they had gone to Władysław Bajer, whom they also suspected and asked him to show what he had got that was not his own. Bajer opened everything and they found nothing. This had strengthened their suspicion about Śliwkowski, who refused to show.

The next day, July 10th a doctor came to Śliwkowski in the morning to dress his wounds. He found him sore and beaten. During the night before July 11th Jurga walked through the village till morning and uttered terrible threats. He was at the elder's house, but did not find him. Finally people got impatient, they ran out and killed him with sticks. In this affair the whole village took part and takes the guilt upon itself as a whole. Now in Romanowo there is such order and such peace as there never was for years. We guess who J. J. is. He defends Śliwkowski, but it is probably because he is his father-in-law. Śliwkowski has a relative in Łódź who brings him stolen goods, and he passes them on.

All this that we write is true, and we sign it. [14 signatures, among them those of the men quoted in the letter.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 38.

63. In Chotcza-Dolna, . . . since the introduction of the governmental liquor sale no intoxicating drinks were sold at all. The inhabitants of this village broke off from the habit of drinking whiskey and beer and found that they were succeeding much better in this way. Therefore, when this year the authorities wanted to open a governmental liquor shop in this village, as it is situated near a highway, the farmers did not agree to this. They said: "During the whole past year we had no liquor, but instead we had peace in the village; there were no fights, no revengefulness, no lawsuits or other troubles, and everybody put something aside into his box. If liquor found itself among us again, the old sins would come back with it and we do not want this."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 9.

64. Until a short time ago smoking was very much developed here. You could not pass through the village without meeting some snotty fellow inhaling bad-smelling smoke of *machora* [lowest quality of Russian tobacco]. But this year at a communal meeting it was decided that everybody who saw a half-

grown boy with a cigarette in his teeth should inform the village-elder about it, and he in turn should inform the proper authority. The responsibility would evidently fall not upon the youthful smoker but upon his father. They made also another resolution—not to permit ungrown people to come together to dances, music and indecent amusements. The host of the house in which such young people gathered to play would be held responsible and punished. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 28.

65. [Disorganization remedied by direct personal appeal to the desire for response which gives a new vitality to group solidarity by introducing into it an element of voluntary individual initiative and reaction.]

In our village [Wylazłów], as far back as we remember everything was peaceful, quiet and pleasant. All the neighbors lived in good concord and respected each other. But suddenly things began to get spoiled. Neighbors began to look askance at each other, here somebody quarrelled with someone else, there a neighbor brought another one to court. And what proved to be the matter? A restless and revengeful man was found among us. He did not know how to live in peace with everybody, like us, the people of Wylazłów, so he quarrelled with one and another and began to incite others against these. He spread gossip, he incited, he abetted people against each other, so that it ended in real anger and quarreling. And nobody knew where was the beginning of the trouble. Finally slandering reached a man who was prudent and had been reading for a long time the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. This one, instead of slandering his neighbors in turn or getting indignant at them, resolved to discover whence came the gossip. And thus, as soon as he learned that somebody was spreading bad gossip about him, he went there himself and in a good way inquired why these people bore a grudge against him. And thus, as the proverb says, he found the clew by following the thread. His example was followed by all his neighbors. They begged one another's pardon and found out who was inciting them against one another. Now all of them live in concord and do not listen to any bad gossip, and all began to despise that one unworthy neighbor. Seeing that he would not attract any longer anybody to his side here, he began to spread

gossip in other villages so as at least to make the people there angry with us. But even in this he will not succeed, for we all have grown wiser and we are trying immediately to detect the gossip and to bring the truth to light. Therefore I beg you to print these words in the *Gazeta* so that people may not believe any gossip and slander thrown upon our village.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 25.

66. [Model of common decision of temperance.]

We the undersigned inhabitants of the village Boryszew . . . voluntarily agree not to smoke tobacco and not to drink vodka, and as a proof of this everybody signs here with his own hand. If any one signed upon this obligation which we have decided to take, smokes a cigarette or drinks vodka, he will pay 50 copecks fine the first time, the second time 1 rouble, and the third time he will go for one day to jail. This decision binds us, the voluntarily undersigned, from May 1st, 1905 [for one year].

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 26.

67. [Boys in the village Blizocin ceased to smoke under the influence of the *Gazeta*. Thirty boys in the village of Niedźwiedź in the same neighborhood then foreswore smoking. Their argumentation was]: "Why should others be wiser than we? Cannot we do the same as the boys of Blizocin? Let us stop smoking tobacco, for this disgusting stuff ruins our health and costs much. And how can we now waste money on tobacco when so many of our brethren are suffering misery after the flood? . . ." The priest . . . proclaimed this act of the Niedźwiedź boys from the chancel in order to encourage others in his parish to follow their example. . . . The boys decided to plant in the spring three fruit-trees each to commemorate [this decision] and to join at once the Rosary fraternity in order to have God's Mother obtain for them God's help for steadiness in the good.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 23.

68. [Illustrating power of religious attitudes, which seem to be the last ones affected by change of milieu. *Cf.* religious life of the immigrant in this country. It seems that often in new conditions religion, as the only value left almost unchanged, becomes the center of all conscious or subconscious longing for the past.]

To the priest Kasprzykowski, curate in Gorzkowice . . .

came a poor woman working in one of the factory towns and without telling her name deposited a thousand roubles as a contribution for the church which is being built in this parish. She had put these thousand roubles aside from her earnings in ten years. The priest tried to persuade her that she should leave something for herself in case of a sickness, lameness or loss of strength, but she answered: "Let all this go to the glory of God! God will remember [take care of] me for this in the future."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 47.

69. [Another example of the power of religious attitudes.] A laborer named Stanisław Dutkowski and others were engaged cleaning hides in Adler's tannery in Radom. As soon as he had one cleaned he immediately cut off an ear and laid it near him in order to know how many hides he had cleaned. He was suddenly called away from his work and upon returning counted the ears and it seemed to him that there was one missing. He then turned to Wojciech Kraszewski, who was working nearest to him, and began to scold him for stealing an ear. Kraszewski tried to explain that he did not take it, but the former continued to scold. Kraszewski enraged called the other workmen to act as witnesses and said: "Swear that I have stolen it." Dutkowski took the oath without hesitation. . . . They counted the hides lying in a heap and counted as many hides as there were ears. Dutkowski, realizing that he had taken a false oath, immediately became insane and in a week's time had to be removed to a hospital. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1894, 21.

70. [One of the classical means of strengthening the influence of religion by connecting it magically with the most important practical interests of the community. Of course, these ceremonies are a survival of primitive magic but now used by the clergy quite consciously as a means of social control.]

The winter crops in this neighborhood promised in spring to be very good, but then as a consequence of April colds they got worse. . . . The summer crops look better . . . and if only rains come from time to time, we shall not have to buy oats for our horses this year. . . . But we know that good luck and good harvest depend not only on work but also on God's grace, which like a vivifying stream flows down upon us from heaven. There-

fore people, as if inspired with an unheard-of eagerness for good, try now to correct their errors. . . . In these times there are divine services performed among us in order to obtain a lucky harvest by prayer. . . .

The village people prepare for this with particular solemnity. The day before the divine service women and girls weave garlands, adorn crosses with them and the outside walls of the houses, so that the village looks like one garland woven of green, within which here and there a beautifully dressed altar is seen. After the service ordered by the whole village a procession comes from the church, walks around the borders of fields and meadows, and the priest who leads it consecrates the dwellings, the fields, the meadows and the whole property of the farmers. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 27.

71. [In Gomulin] there were formerly innumerable thefts; now there are almost none. Once they stole a cow from a poor carpenter. Then the priest Langier gave the wronged man his own and only cow, ordered general prayers in the parish on account of this crime, and appealed to all parishioners for help in the discovery of the thieves. The cow was brought back the same night. Many other thefts were discovered. Thus the wrong-doers began to feel so sultry that they ceased to steal.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 46.

72. [The use of leisure time in accordance with traditional principles was long ago found one of the most efficient remedies against disorganization, particularly of the youth.]

. . . I want to tell how our youth amused itself formerly on Sundays and holidays. . . . In autumn and winter they gathered themselves in houses where nobody ever took it into his hand the *Gazeta* or any book, but they amused themselves with gossiping, slandering and laughing at people, and deliberated how to annoy somebody with words or even acts. Once, for example, this trick was played on a farmer. A bucket which was near the well was put one evening upon the top of the crane. The farmer got up in the morning and could not find the bucket. He took another bucket and started to draw water, when suddenly something fell from above upon his head and struck him so heavily that he reeled. [They broke open a barn and drove

the cattle from the stable into it one dark night. The neighbors gathered around thinking there were thieves in the barn.] Another time they threw into somebody's well a dozen thick poplar-logs. Then again they took to pieces some fences along the road and made a fence across the road, so that anybody going at night could not pass. [They put stones in the middle of the road.] They poured naphtha into the well of another farmer. Elsewhere they took washed linen from ropes and hung it upon trees along the road. . . . On Sunday none returned home after the service in the church, but late at night with noise and cries, often with swearing, so that it was unpleasant to listen. And how many fights there were. . . . It could not go on either without stealing from parents, for Szulc or Szmul [German or Jewish shopkeeper] did not give liquor for nothing, but for money or grain.

But now I can boldly write that it is better. . . . Fifteen of us formed a "Garland of the Living Rose," and we began to organize different meetings, and good people were found who helped and taught us. We were helped most by our respected priest Paweł Załusak. . . . All this did not please some among those who had mischief in their heads. They laughed at us and nicknamed us, but we were not discouraged. And now if we come together it is no longer in order to slander anybody or plan tricks, but we read papers and useful books, which we take from the Rosary-library in our parish; we say together part of the Rosary, a litany and suitable prayers. Now already ninety people in our village belong to our Garland. Some do not yet keep company with us. . . . Let them do as they wish; we shall not follow their example but shall read *Gazeta Świąteczna* and take our examples from it.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 4.

73. In the parish Słomczyn, near Warsaw, by the endeavors of the priest a musical band was formed to which 32 farmers' sons belong. They have been learning for several months how to play and now they are already playing on holidays during the divine service in the church choir.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 16.

74. [A band of 16 musicians was formed among the youth of the village Mierzwin.] Thus a rather large group of young

people in this village spend their free moments on music, which ennobles a man, makes him a pleasant companion and may even give him a piece of bread in need. The organization of the band of Mierzwin is chiefly due to Mr. Suchecki, the owner of the estate Grudzyn . . . he bought musical instruments and himself undertook to teach the musicians. [The priest is going to buy an organ so that the leader of the band can teach a peasant group to sing church songs.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 10.

75. [Failure of leisure time organization because of individualization not accompanied by the development of any particular positive interest.]

[In Klementowice] we lack church singing. There are scarcely a few men and two or three women who sing, and if they do not come to church there is nobody to sing at all. Why, we have so many young men, so many girls! . . . But how shall they sing if they are ashamed of each other, and if one starts, the others immediately laugh at him [saying] either that his voice is not nice or that he does not sing properly. And thus they do not sing themselves and they hinder others from singing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 39.

76. In the village Łowkowice . . . instead of the old tavern, a popular club was established. The consecration was performed by priest Krajewski . . . and then an entertainment for children was given in the club-room . . . with a Christmas tree. . . . The club is open everyday for guests. [Papers are on the table and Sundays and holidays the neighbors gather for talk.] Travellers can there also rest and refresh themselves, for near the club there is a shop in which always bread, cheese, butter, herrings, sugar and similar things can be found. . . . This is not like in a tavern, where conversation usually ended in quarrels and jokes, in brutality or fights.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 10.

77. [This document shows, from the standpoint of a priest, the methods applied by the clergy to individual members of the peasant community in struggling against the disorganization of the traditional system.]

The Catholic confession, according to the intention of the

Church, is not only a disclosure of sins for the sake of remittance, but also a means of directing the believers, regulating their everyday life according to the Christian principles as they are exposed by the Catholic Church. . . . The activity of the confessor concerns: *sensual life, family* [*and community*] *life* (relation of husband and wife, education of children), [relation between members of the large family and the community], *economic life* (questions of expenses, wages paid to servants, conditions of work, etc.), *social life* (life in the state—question of taxes, of fulfilling duties; class-relations; relation to Jews, etc.), *national life* (Polish language, national feeling, relation to national enemies), *church life* (fulfilling religious duties). . . .

Sensual life. Sexual questions are indubitably those most frequently raised during confession. . . . The regulation of sexual relations between husband and wife is a field of enormous influence of the priest. . . . The problem of avoiding a new increase of the family steps more and more frequently over the peasants' thresholds. And the priest must more and more frequently answer the questions of women, more scrupulous than men, whether washing the vagina after the coitus or using medicines is a sin or not. He must teach that conjugal onanism, use of pills, condoms, washing of the vagina are immoral, sinful, contrary to nature. In more serious cases, he must teach further what can be done with pure conscience (have relations only at a determined time).

Let us take some examples (I take them here merely from the standpoint of the church).

1. A woman complains that children emaciate her and that a physician told her that one more childbirth will kill her. But the husband does not even want to listen about stopping the sexual relation and orders her to take some pills into the vagina before the coitus. She had doubts for a long time and finally went to the priest for advice. . . . She does not want to die, but she neither can nor will refuse her husband. The priest stands before an alternative. If he says that it is a sin, the woman in spite of all will continue to act in this way, and if he says that it is not a sin, he will act against the moral law and his duties.

First of all, the priest should question the decision of the physician and send her to another. . . . Then—whether her hus-

band considers it sinless. If he does, then the priest must tell the woman not to touch this question with her husband from the moral viewpoint, but to try to influence him so as to make him perform their relation in a natural way. . . . Then he must tell the woman to reject all fears, to try to strengthen herself as much as possible and to have the conjugal relation only at the time when the possibility of fecundation is the smallest (that is, during the period of 10-14 days between one menstruation and another, avoiding sexual relation a week before and a week after the menses), although even this is not an absolute security. . . . The result is a normal life of husband and wife and more children. The physicians exaggerate very frequently or follow the wish of the woman in their decisions. The influence of religion, the belief in Providence often plays a great rôle in dispelling the fear of childbirth. . . .

Sometimes the man has scruples as to whether he can have relations during pregnancy. Particularly among the peasants there is a very strong sexual respect for a pregnant woman. The priest must teach him that it is better to abstain, particularly during the first two months, but if for the man there is *periculum incontinentiæ* he can, but carefully. . . .

Very frequently people come with questions concerning the quantity of sexual life. How often, whether it is a sin to do it while completely nude; whether certain kisses and touches are a sin and when. The rule is that between husband and wife some sexual abuses (lack of continence) can be only a venial sin if . . . the possibility of fecundation is not excluded. . . .

System of treatment of sexual deviations. . . . As far as my personal experience in the confessional has taught me, masturbation is a very rare kind of sexual deviation among peasants, particularly in the country. In towns it happens more frequently. . . . There is a greater tendency to a normal satisfaction of the sexual instinct, particularly among boys, or to bestialism. The sexual intercourse of animals is usually a stimulus to analogous plays of boys in the period of puberty with girls below ten years of age. These offences are habitual in the poorer class of peasants, daily workers, servants, shepherds (mainly), youth as well as older people. Bestialism is relatively rather frequent among the country population. . . . Bestialism happens more fre-

quently in the period of puberty (2%-3%) and then again toward the end of sexual life (1%) than in the period of maturity and happens almost exclusively among men, very seldom among women. . . . Pederasty is very rare among our peasants; it happens almost only among young people of small towns and only in the form of experiments. At least I have never observed it as a habitual vice. Relatively more frequent is Lesbian love among girls, but also only in towns and between servants living together. This manifestation is connected very frequently with a false devotion . . . and limits itself to very unelaborate means.

Intentional abortion . . . happens more frequently in towns than in villages. As far as I was able to observe the causes of this difference, these are: a greater dissoluteness, a looser idea of morality, the question of supporting children, which is more difficult in a town, and finally a greater facility for concealing the offense. . . . Abortion in towns happens more frequently among married women, in the country among girls. . . . On the other hand, there are in the country many vain endeavors to provoke abortion, such as charms, medicines, etc.

The large proportion of illegal children in the country is caused by the greater liberty of intercourse among youth of both sexes, a greater facility of hiding during the sexual relation, a greater intimacy between the master and the servants . . . lack of other distractions. The largest number of illegitimate children is furnished by daily workers and girls serving in manors or with rich peasants, in houses of officials, etc. . . .

Examples: *Masturbation.* A boy, son of a poor farmer, 14 years old, low mental and physical development, father a drunkard. The boy pastures the cattle of the priest. He masturbates when he is in the forest or the field, also in the stables, sometimes as much as three times a day. He thinks continually about it; it is his only amusement and distraction during the long hours of solitude. The priest wants to save him, for this state is even physically dangerous. He orders him to search for other work to learn a handicraft, and helps him to get an apprenticeship with a carpenter, in order . . . to take him from the sphere of dreams into that of activity. The boy scarcely knows how to read, so the priest teaches him, gives him books with descriptions of the world. He recommends also frequent confession

with the same priest, the rosary, and company of strong and merry boys. The boy had a weak will but was easily influenced. He was frightened by the physical consequences of his vice and reformed. In the beginning he relapsed, but more and more seldom. Gradually there began to awaken in him some interest in nature, astronomy, finally in girls, which was at first rather ideal. Within two years the boy was reformed thanks to the continual ethical and intellectual leadership of the priest. He began to grow to be a healthy and strong boy. . . .

A woman, married, over 40 years old. Her husband travelled, trading in pigs, and she could not hold out and satisfied herself, sometimes more than once during the night. She knew that it was bad but could not control herself. The priest ordered her to take her grown-up daughter to bed with her these nights to make her control herself. This helped *almost* always.

Lesbian love. A girl about 35 years old lives with her younger sister, a widow who cannot cease mourning about her dead husband. Both are very religious, belong to church-fraternities and do much good, although they are poor themselves (they have a shop in the village and 2 morgs); they sew dresses for poorer people and for children, etc. The sisters love each other very much and for nothing in the world would they part. They have lived so together for four years. There is only one "but"; they love each other so much that they kiss each other and touch each other everywhere, from time to time even very much, "as it ought not to be." A severe reprimand by the confessor and an explanation provoke only spasmodic crying. . . . When one tries to keep far, the other approaches. Formerly they did not think that it was a sin. One of them scarcely knows how to write and to count, the other [the widow] has not even this learning. They are a farmer's [peasant's] daughters. Later, the maid went to a convent, the widow married for the second time and their relation was interrupted. . . .

Abortion. [Cases of abortion with disastrous results quoted.] In some cases priests succeed in saving the girls from shame and death and direct them on the normal way. For example: A girl served in the manor and yielded to the teacher "of the lord's children." She became pregnant and came to confession. The priest instead of abusing her (as frequently happens), calmed her,

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explained that everything could be repaired and asked her permission to use this news outside of the confessional and then he would settle it with the manor-owner. And thus it happened. The girl was sent to the town to the hospital, under the pretext of work; there she bore a child which was given to an asylum. She came back and married a driver, "with the lord's favor" [probably a dowry]. After a year, with the consent of her husband, she took the child home and there was no scandal. "People talked a little" but did not annoy her, and the girl remained a good wife and mother and always thanked the priest for having saved her, "for she already wanted to go to a woman in order to lose it."

Many girls in analogous situations come to confession, but the priests do not always behave to the point and frequently by sharp criticism push the poor girl to a desperate step. The social ostracism is pitiless enough in such cases, and if the last refuge—religion—also condemns her, it is not strange if the girl loses courage and has decided to do anything. . . .

Family [*and community*] *life*. . . . People usually confess matters concerning conjugal life or bad example given children, but seldom (almost never) confess negligence in the education of children. For example, a peasant confessed that he beat his wife for not keeping the house and the children clean and not caring for the cattle. . . . The priest teaches him how to handle his wife to teach her order in a friendly way. Evidently the means are various according to the economical conditions. Sometimes advice to bequeath a morg to the wife if she is clean about the house and cares for the stock or to buy a pretty dress, and to give a good example first of all and not leave everything upon the shoulders of the woman, has an excellent effect. . . . But the greatest influence is exercised by the confessor (if he cares to do it) upon the education of children. One of the priests was a master in this line. He knew how to get out of the peasant the hidden sentiment for the child by [appealing to] his economical point of view as to children and by rousing paternal pride. This priest did not hesitate to make such comparisons as: "Why, are you not proud if your neighbors envy you for having some horse or bull whom you have brought up and whom you keep clean and do not overburden with work? And is your own son, your image

and likeness, worse than a bull? Will he not bring more benefit to you later, when he grows up and is strong, wise and courageous, because you have given him plenty to eat, respected him and left him time to study? I don't even speak about his soul, image of God Himself. If you feel responsible for your farmstock, if you want order and justice to reign upon the earth [if you want] the field, the forest, the cattle to serve you, you must care also that your own son or daughter should grow to love this field, this forest, these cattle; you should not make him tired of life and the world by beating him, cursing him, overburdening him with work."

A peasant confesses that he quarrels with his wife. It proves that the man likes to drop into the tavern, and that his wife does not like it for she likes money. But he wants to have some distraction "and when one is continually with the women, sometimes an ugly word falls out." And when he returns from the tavern she curses him and he curses her, and she does not want to have anything to do with him and drives him out "to clean his mouth from the smell of liquor and then to come back to her." From anger he goes to a *kuma,* whose husband is nightwatchman, and sleeps with her sometimes once, sometimes twice a week. Then when he returns home his wife sometimes tries to please him, but then he pushes her away, sometimes striking her, etc.

The ecclesiastical law says that a husband (or wife) who has committed adultery loses the right to demand coitus and only a priest can give him this right back. . . . The priest has to find a *modus vivendi* for them in order to avoid quarrels and to introduce normal relations; he must force the peasant to stop visiting the tavern (pledge not to drink) and try to make each party yield a little. . . .

[The priest acts also as a judge between parties.] The most frequent cases which the confessor must decide are various familial affairs which are either too small or too intimate to carry to the court—"ordinary peasant sins," as once a witty peasant defined them. In these cases the confessor acts not merely as a sacramental judge who decides that something is bad or indifferent and imposes a penance and a satisfaction. Usually he has to hold formal examinations, ask about the behavior of both

parties, investigate the circumstances, the situation, use cross-questions in order to study the essence of the matter and finally pronounce a sentence which determines which person has acted badly and to what extent, and how the person who accuses himself (often he accuses another) has to act in order to redress the wrong done (moral and material) and to settle the familial relations bearably and in a Christian way.

The cause of such quarrels is usually an offence such as the use of something without asking permission, sometimes egotism and an over-developed feeling of the right of property and exclusive use of a thing; the most frequent opportunity is gossip and an inborn coarseness in behavior toward the environment. Such quarrels are more frequent and trifling among women. Among men they occur more seldom, mostly about the use of a harness, a rope, a scythe, etc. Sometimes men take sides with women and the "state of war" embraces the whole household. The most characteristic are quarrels about food—flour, grain, bacon, vegetables, which particularly often break out between old and young people—parents and their married children. . . . Although I cannot propose this as a rule, still I have found that in most cases the old people were guilty, started the war. It is not strange. They had worked their whole lives, had raised their children, so they like to eat the children's bread without any work of their own. [The mother helps herself to her daughter's or daughter-in-law's supplies in her absence; the daughter, discovering it, retaliates.] . . . And thus they rob each other. At confession the priest must listen to a whole store-room-litany and reconcile, moderate the angers. Sometimes the daughter does not discover the loss. Then the confessor has to decide whether the mother shall give it back or not. This depends upon the earnings of the son-in-law or the son and on the economic arrangement on which the old people live with the young. . . .

Material profit is always the reason of quarrels, of friendship, guides beliefs, prayers, etc. I had a case where a woman brought during confession money for a mass that her cattle might grow well and her hens lay eggs. The motive was, as proved later, envy of her sister. . . . "Women have told me that she certainly uses charms, . . . but I prefer to address myself to our Lord Jesus in order to have everything better than she."

It proved that this woman had also tried charms and wasted time on them instead of working. . . .

A profound mistrust and searching for secret motives of behavior of another person, often ascribing this behavior to "hidden forces," characterize our peasant. Moreover, the lack of wider horizons of interest directs his mind to occultism on the one hand, to an excessive interest in the affairs of neighbors on the other hand. Country gossip, which all the peasant women without exception confess and to which even children show a marked tendency, is precisely a mixture of occultistic beliefs and of criticism of the behavior of neighbors and relatives. Gossip gives birth to slandering, usually called "blackening," that is, spreading of invidious news about neighbors. The background of blackening is either envy . . . or hate, frequently caused by trifling incidents—a petty vanity concerning claims on a church-bench, priority in a fraternity or in the community; quarrels of children; refusal to unite two families by wedlock—in a word, hate brought about by considerations of social position.

The use of occult forces is frequently given as a reason of success. There is not any lack either of associations with the devil, charms, etc. A peasant who has given offence to another family must be beforehand prepared for this kind of accusations. In the larger family they are particularly frequent. The motive is very frequently familial diplomacy whose end is material profit —a succession, etc. So again and always—material profit. . . . By what means profit can be reached seems to be an indifferent matter. It is always possible to confess, but it is not always possible to profit—this is the life-theory of the peasant, half cynic (unconsciously), half Christian, . . . full of generous impulses but also of cold calculation. . . .

The peasants believe in the "curse," that is they think that a curse binds not only the world of evil spirits but even God Himself, Divine Providence. But on the other hand they consider it their greatest sin, they are simply struck with terror because of what they have done by having interfered with the world of spirits and they are sure that God would not pardon them "for having been obliged to fulfil their curse." I had a case which clearly shows the state of a peasant's soul in such conditions. An old peasant was dying. He had on his conscience many

things against the seventh and sixth commandments which should have afflicted him first of all. But something else "lay like a stone upon his soul." Some years ago his only son obstinately wanted to go to the [Austrian] army as volunteer. His father would not permit him, but he went nevertheless and served in the artillery. The father, angry for losing help in farming, solemnly cursed him in a letter written to him saying that it should never be given to him to see his native house and that everything which he might have should be wasted in vain. The old man was obstinate and would never see him, although he was promoted to a sergeantcy. The son married, and toward the end of the twelfth year of his service passed an examination preparatory to civil service and was appointed a court-clerk. He intended to go to his village to boast and to show that he had succeeded well in spite of the curse. Only three days were left for him to serve in the army [when he was killed by an accident]. . . . This broke the father. He neglected his farm, dried up and died. . . . His last thoughts were about the curse which he threw upon his son. He continually said: "Still, the Lord God cannot forgive me this! . . . What business did I have in interfering with God's government"(*sic!*). . . .

Such curses are, of course, frequently not fulfilled. The peasants then explain that they were not said at an opportune moment of connection with the world of spirits. . . .

Christianity requires necessarily interference with the pettiest questions of everyday life in conformity with the principle that it is a doctrine which should not only be recognized but also put into action. . . . The task of the priest in general is to maintain in the mind of the peasant the idea of order in the universe (ascribed to Divine Providence) and to adjust to this idea the performance of all the familial or economical activities. A suitable treatment of the wife, children, parents, servants if there are any at home, must be based upon this great harmony of the universe, be connected into one whole, one accord in this harmony, so that everything shall be to the benefit of the family itself (of the head of the family and his wife in first instance) and to the glory of God. The glory of God in the conception of the priest and also of the peasant lies precisely in preserving and developing the order which is one of the manifestations of

God's thought in the world. . . . Such teaching . . . sows in a mind that has perhaps never before analyzed its social duties . . . a critical sense and view of functions of life as eating, dressing, spending of money, all kinds of economic transactions, the whole system of private economy, the theory of property, and so on. . . .

Examples: Most frequently the Polish peasant has to be taught about the right of property, about applying honest ideas of property also to the state or to the manor, about economical justice toward maids or *parobeks* and even toward his own children.

Thus, a peasant confesses that he took some iron [railroad rails and nails] from the road. It is necessary to know that iron of any kind and leather constitute an invincible temptation for our peasant and even a relatively rich peasant will take it, if it is the property of the state. . . . He does not consider it stealing, for this iron is in any case common property [state—all people, in their language]. . . . As difficult a nut to crack for the confessor is teaching the peasants to apply the theory of property also to the orchard, meadow or field, particularly of the manor and of the priest. . . . Outside of the confessional, the peasant will answer: "God created it for all people," and: "The lord or the priest is rich enough, it won't harm him." . . . In some cases the manor adapts itself to the circumstances. Thus, for example, one manor-owner who had very large orchards could not preserve them from thieves. Even the influence of the priest could not stop the robbery. Then the manor-owner said to the priest: "Put at least in their heads during confession that they should not break the branches and spoil the trees. . . ."

Sometimes the confession of a peasant who likes to make incursions upon the manorial or communal forest is amusing: "I took some sticks from the forest."—"How many were there?"—"About five."—"Was it brushwood or thicker poles?" No answer. "What did you do with this wood?"—"Well, I repaired the pig-sty and made a few pegs for the fence." The priest begins to suspect that it was a rather serious theft, and asks how big and long were these "sticks" [and finally]: "Were they felled or did you fell them?"—"Well, I did. They were about

twice as long as the wagon. But they were communal and therefore also mine." . . . The same applies to the manorial forest, and as to gathering mushrooms and berries (even if it is forbidden), they don't even confess it. The idea that everything is first God's, then people's and only then the individual's, is so strong that the whole pedagogical influence of the priest who proclaims a different principle of property wins very slowly and very few adherents. "The priest talks so because it is suitable for him." These few words illustrate well the relation between the priest and the peasants in this field.

Influence upon the social life of the individual. Christianity as a rule supports the state unless the state fights Christianity, and even then the church is to some extent loyal toward the state. This is the rule for the confessors. But there are some exceptions to this essential loyalty and the confessor teaches in a straightforward way that in such cases it is not necessary to be loyal to the state. Those are cases when the state requires from its citizen or subject a thing either absolutely or relatively unjust. . . . Here belong all the cases of national persecution in Russian and German Poland where the priests freely dispense their parishioners from any duties of obedience to the state in these matters. [The author is a Galician priest and, there being no national persecution in Austrian Poland, has not met this situation in his personal experiences as confessor.]

Then there are the problems of performing official functions, profiting from an official position; . . . the relation to other nationalities in the same community upon the social, commercial, political fields [in border-communities with mixed population]; the relation to the Jews; . . . duties of humanity with regard to fallen people, drunkards, paupers. In general in all the instructions that a priest gives on the occasion of some confession he always tends to emphasize on the one hand the necessity of solidarity among men, and on the other that of maintaining intact the Catholic principles in the spirit and character of the individual and of the community.

For example: N. is secretary of a commune. He confesses after many years that he abused his functions and not only took bribes for a rapid and successful settling of affairs but also forced peasants to give chickens, eggs, money, etc., for various allevia-

tions which he promised to obtain but did nothing. . . . After the death of his wife he broke down and wants now to be honest, but has still many erroneous ideas about the social machine. A soul thoroughly crooked by looking upon the world through the prisma of bribery and profit. The priest must influence and teach him, open his eyes to real civic activity, to his bad influence on the peasants whom he has made also corrupt. . . . In a word, the priest had to work for a long time (some years) before he succeeded, with the help of the sacraments and his persuasions, in changing the secretary's ideas about life. . . .

The relation of the peasant to the Jew. . . . The priests even today maintain, with a few exceptions, the mediæval exemptions against the Jews, trying on the other hand to inculcate the Christian spirit of charity with regard to them also. But in this they have much less success. The peasant cannot be persuaded by any means that the Jew is a man like himself. And even if sometimes theoretically he acknowledges his equality "before God," he never introduces this theory into practice in his relations with the Jews. But poverty or the need of earning make him often a real Jewish slave. From this precisely, from this material slavery, moral depravation and social degradation, the Church wants to save and to preserve its members.

A young boy (about 20 years old) confesses that he behaved indecently. During the examination it proves that he is serving with Jews and that they scandalize him, try to modify his ethical views. Thus, for example, he sleeps in a room adjacent to a Jewish bedroom where two conjugal couples are sleeping. In the same room with him there sleep three young Jews who every evening undress completely in his presence, make fun of the uncircumcised, tell him to listen to what is going on in the conjugal bedroom and persuade him to bring a girl of his acquaintance. They creep upon his bed and touch him, even give him liquor and push him out to bring a girl, etc. Moreover they abuse him at work, tell him to do the dirtiest and heaviest things, call him stupid, treat him with scorn and make him work on Sundays, but also on Saturdays. . . . The priest orders him to search for another place and if he does not find any to come to him, and promises to get work for him. This boy came to the church, but many who have served for a time with Jews never

show themselves in a church, become quite irreligious, and what is worse, grow completely worthless. Sometimes at the end of his life such a moral and material wreck finds himself again in the church and the confession of such a man justifies completely the fears of the Church about the lot of Jewish servants. Therefore priests frequently admonish poor parents who want to give their children to serve not to give them to Jews. They charge the Jews with material exploitation (bad pay, poor lodging and food), contemptful treatment, demoralization and destruction of health. . . . The fathers and mothers of our peasant children are sometimes rather indifferent, if not blind to the danger menacing their children if given to Jews. Getting rid of a burden from home and sometimes the hope of some income make them ignore the possibility of evil and they complain only when the consequences appear and when, moreover, they do not get any money, for the demoralized daughter or son who "spit" on everything that used to be holy for them do not care for their parents who gave them away, and prefer to dress for the few pennies earned with the Jews. Then only begins weeping and complaining: "Why did we not listen to the priest when he told the truth!"

Again a few examples. The penitent comes from a poor family of *komorniks*. She was obliged to go to serve. She went to the Jewish tenant of a farm. One of the young Jews often accosted her but she felt a disgust toward him: "Though a handsome boy, still he is a Jew." Once in winter she got very cold. The housekeeper, formerly a nurse in Jewish houses, gave her tea with arrack and told her to stay in the kitchen near the stove for the night. The housekeeper herself slept in a room near the kitchen. The girl was dizzy after the arrack and she fell asleep "like a log." At night she woke in the embrace of the young Jew, already too late. For some time afterwards he was good to her and she even liked him, "and they slept frequently together." But when the consequences of this love were too marked, he dismissed her and gave her only horses to carry her to the town. Then the fault was put upon *parobeks* and it was said that the girl "frolicked" with everybody in the stable. The child was a typical little Jew; I baptized it myself. But the girl became an ordinary prostitute. She was for a time a

Jewish wet-nurse, and then "she went with everybody," even without money, more than once in a pit near the road. Sometimes she came to confession but she made the impression of being hysterical and she considered dissolute sexual acts something unavoidable. Sometimes she felt that she was behaving badly, but she always was persuaded that "something [inside] was pushing her." Frequently at night she left her house and wandered about the road giving herself to everybody who accosted her. Aside from this she was normal. . . .

Another girl allowed herself to be tempted by a richer Jew, a bachelor, who rented a room from the Jewish family with whom she served. The girl had a weak point; she liked to dress herself. He promised her a dress and also to give her medicine to avoid a child. She received the dress all right, but when he got tired of her he moved away and sent her to his friend. The latter promised to marry her (though he also was a Jew), lived with her for about two months and left her. The girl was very good by nature, she was pained that she had fallen but already it was difficult for her to withstand or to refuse anybody. The Jews have this peculiarity that they teach the appreciation of the body and of sexual relations. They bring into the mental horizon of the Polish peasant girl the erotic element (in spite of the brutality and coarseness with which they treat her) which is unknown to the soul of the Polish peasant and so different from the severe Christian view upon the body and sexual functions. She did not see in her actions the "moral ugliness" which the Christians usually feel, but only the transgression of a law, of a cruel law that forbids her such a good thing and moreover brands her, particularly for the relation with a Jew. (The sexual relation with a Jew is in the eyes of the church a particularly aggravating circumstance in view of the familial connection established by the coitus, the danger of the child being educated in the Jewish religion, and the "mixing" of Christian and Jewish blood.) . . .

Reformatory character of the confessor's influence. . . . Confession is in many cases a powerful reformatory factor in social evils such as alcoholism, theft, immoral behavior, etc. [There is marked improvement throughout Poland, particularly as regards alcoholism.] . . . Certainly other social factors play

also a certain part such as more enlightenment, social organization and social action against liquor-shops. But these factors have only a preventive value. Where the problem is how to eradicate an inveterate evil, confession—the force of religious beliefs—must be added to a common social activity if positive results are to be obtained.

The influence of confession is strengthened by suitable sermons and teachings. They prepare also the way for breaking and converting the obstinate. But confesion is always the moment of crisis and even if in individual cases it does not bring a definite victory, in any case it undermines the force of the bad habit. This extraordinary influence of confession lies 1) in its ordinary psychological action, 2) in its supernatural, magical "charm," connected with the fear of the judgment of God, the feeling of the unworthiness of the vice and the hope of pardon through confession. The personal force of the confessor's action is also based upon two types of factors—his natural cleverness and ability to influence others, and upon the magical powers which the faith of the penitent ascribes to him. The method of action depends on the individual, on his disposition and on the force of the habit . . . it must be different in almost every particular case. . . . The situation presents itself frequently as a war in which the drunkard fights for his dose, the priest for the physical and spiritual good of this drunkard. But the drunkard fights alone or in alliance with only a few friends, while on the side of the priest stands the whole coalition of the members of the family, the magical forces, the prayers and sacrifices of the wife and children (often heroic), the punishing and excluding hand of the church and the opinion of the majority of the community.

For example: [N. had been drinking 10 years.] The family used to "help" him to get free of his vice, but in a sharp peasant way that only angered him more. Only a daughter, the oldest one, a mild girl who never said a bitter word to him, had some influence upon him. The priest used her to reform her father. . . . First the priest bound all the relatives of the drunkard with the oath that they would never give him anything to drink. Then he taught the man's daughter to tell her father that she would give him brandy herself, for in the

starosta's office they had discovered that the Jew in the village was selling a bad liquor which took the reason away. The priest furnished the brandy, preparing it so that it was weaker and weaker, although it burned the throat. At the same time began an assault of prayers and a scapulary was hung around his neck. Gradually the priest began to call and to express commiseration with him for having been poisoned. Finally the peasant became reformed. . . .

Of course, misery, liquor, demagogues playing on the peasant's passions, and the natural tendency to profit and to property have developed in him a large percentage of criminal tendencies. Still the growth of wealth and education and the religious influence of the priest greatly diminish this percentage. But evidently these tendencies remain latent and in the case of a momentary weakening of the influence of religion violently explode. The peasant perpetrates in such a state murder, robbery, arson, with the greatest facility. He does not hesitate and does not reflect long; at the time of such explosions he shows himself quite a primitive man. . . . For example, arson is for the peasant something quite natural, is a *self-redress,* and does not even bring him dishonor in the eyes of his peasant neighbors. Reciprocal incendiarism is such a frequent manifestation of self-redress that it merits particular study. It is civil war. The peasant considers breaking Lent a greater sin. To stop or at least to diminish the number of arsons the bishops in Poland have reserved [the pardon of] the sin of arson for themselves. That is, an ordinary priest cannot remit the sin of the incendiary, but must appeal to the bishop or send the man to the bishop to confession (in the same way as with murder). But this does not help much. I would define it as a *feud,* a way of carrying on civil war. A peasant whom my father reproached for having set fire to his neighbor's buildings, said: "I have set fire to his barn, but he could have and can still set fire to mine." . . . I have listened to the confession of many even respectable farmers who tried to set fire to their enemies' farm-buildings, only they did not always succeed. . . . The varieties of technique of arson are themselves worth studying. The reason is frequently the loss of a law-suit, the seduction of a woman, etc.

The lack of respect for human life characterizes also our peasants and marks the primitive character of their social organization. Women are not free from this defect. There are innumerable attempts at murder which happily often end in wounds. . . . I do not remember the percentage of deaths through murder in the general number of deaths. . . . But I remember that there are three times as many murders attempted as accomplished.

The priests can do but little to diminish these two plagues of our villages, which is the strongest proof of the lack of real Christianity in our peasant. . . . Once I had a sermon about loving one's enemies. Immediately after the divine service two enemies met and beat each other with stones so fiercely that the skull of one of them was broken. This occurred under the wall of the church, and one of these men had just been to confession and communion. . . .

Written for the authors by a Galician priest who wishes his name withheld.

78. [New method of dealing with disorganization, developed on the ground of the recent co-operative movement. Contrast with old methods.]

A quite different way of dealing with thieves was found by the factory-workers in the town of Tomaszów. . . . First of all, they detected about a hundred professional thieves and threatened them with the punishment of death if any of them did not take up honest work but continued to live by wronging other people. And, in order that none of the thieves could evade the proposition by saying that nobody would accept him for work, the workmen came to an agreement with the managers of the factories in Tomaszów and with their help placed all these thieves in factories, ordered them to work and watched them continually to make them live in an honest way. Some time ago in one of these factories a theft happened. The workmen found out the thief and punished him in this way: They led him about the town with the stolen thing attached to his neck. He experienced shame enough and probably has lost the desire to steal. Thefts and robberies have stopped completely in this town and in its neighborhood.

A good means against thieves, not as cruel as torturing and

killing, was invented last summer in a community of the district of Zamość. The farmers agreed at communal meetings to break all relations with those who steal. They decided not to have any business or work in common with them, not to talk with them at all, not even to answer their greeting when they met—in general to avoid them and to act as if they were not neighbors, as if they did not exist at all. At the same time they pledged themselves to pay 25 roubles fine for any transgression of this decision. . . . In some villages where this decision was exactly carried out, its good consequences are noticed. The solitude has so annoyed the men who have been condemned to it by the community that they promise to improve, begging that this neighbors' excommunication be taken off them. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 6.

The task of preventing or counteracting disorganization, whether faced by the community which wants the individual to behave in accordance with traditional rules, or by the individual who wants to influence the community so as to maintain the traditional system in belief and action, can always be reduced to the following simple formula: "How to make the individual or the community define and solve certain situations in the same way as before, in spite of changed conditions or changed attitudes or both." The documents quoted above give us illustrations of the various ways in which this task may be fulfilled, successfully or not.

The definition and solution of a situation (see Methodological Note, Vol. I, p. 68) is a complex fact in which many attitudes and values are involved, but a certain attitude becomes predominant and determines the main character of the action by bringing forth a definite response to certain of the values included in the given conditions in which the subject acts. Thus, when we expect the individual or the group to act in a certain way, we presuppose the existence of a certain attitude which

will reassert itself and determine the chief bearing of the action whenever certain values are given, even though the detail of the action changes, since neither all the values which constitute the conditions nor all the attitudes are the same from case to case. There could be no continuity of individual behavior and no social organization if the individual or the group did not preserve the same definitions in spite of some changes of conditions and attitudes. The difficulty in preserving the old definition develops only when instead of the attitude which used to determine the action in given conditions another attitude assumes the predominant rôle, or instead of the values which used to provoke a definite response some other values appear in the field of action, or finally, when both the predominant attitude and the conditions of action are no longer the same as before.

The natural and naïve expectation of a social group is that the definitions which have been traditionally accepted and applied to innumerable situations by many individuals will last indefinitely and bear any amount of change. It is not usual for social groups to prepare against possible disorganization except by trying to provide for the repetition of such breaks of rules as have already been experienced in the past; every break of a new and unknown kind always provokes astonishment. The struggle against disorganization is thus prevalently retroactive, consists in efforts to reinforce definitions already weakened rather than to prevent their weakening, to counteract changes which have already occurred rather than to make the existing system more flexible, more apt to withstand changes. Even when the danger of coming disorganization has been noticed —for instance, owing to the observation of groups in

which disorganization had been already growing—its realization usually leads at first only to an additional social emphasis upon the old rules, to their more explicit and frequent formulation and more strict observance.

Other more elaborate methods of defense are usually resorted to only when this one fails to work. And it is rather surprising that this primitive method often does succeed. Thus, for instance, the mere fact of having certain rules formulated and continually repeated makes their transgression assume a character of abnormality. Moreover, many traditional social definitions have become associated so closely with certain very general and fundamental human tendencies that the latter cannot express themselves otherwise than in the traditional ways. Thus, in our case of two men who, after committing a murder return home and give themselves up, the entire set of fundamental social emotions roused by their act and its direct and indirect consequences lead them to the traditional definition of murder as a crime to be confessed and expiated; no other issue seems possible in view of their attitudes, because they do not know of any other way of defining a situation in which these attitudes would find a satisfactory expression. It is also a matter of astonishment that in the midst of a general breakdown of the traditional system, certain groups maintain the traditional system intact for a long time against all changes and without apparently resorting to any special methods of defense. We have quoted two such examples—a peasant community and an industrial community—and there are even villages near great industrial centers (Warsaw or Łódź) in continual contact with them, living a life as patriarchal as a hundred years ago. We do not attempt to explain such cases, for our data are not sufficient. We only point

out that social stability is a problem demanding explanation as much as social change.

If this simple and naïve method of preventing disorganization by ignoring the possibility of change does not work, the social group tends to counteract disorganization by what we may call the method of isolation, *i. e.*, by breaking the connection between itself and those individuals whose behavior is in disaccordance with the traditional system.

Here belong, first of all, cases of actual exclusion of individuals from the territorial limits of the community. For obvious reasons, exclusion is most frequently practiced with reference to strangers settled in the community; it is a tendency of every social group to put the blame for all undesirable phenomena upon strangers rather than upon its own members for whom it feels partly responsible, and the exclusion of a stranger who has not taken root in the community and is not felt to belong there "naturally" seems much easier and less important than the exclusion of a member. But it must be realized that, though the peasant community had legally the right to exclude undesirable individuals, this right was limited in practice by the Russian administration whose permission was needed before a communal decision went into effect, and further, the formal requirements necessary to make a decision legal made the method of exclusion rather difficult to apply. Therefore we find the peasant community often resorting to more immediate and simpler means of action.

In cases where there is transgression of custom but no serious break of social solidarity, no crime, the community spontaneously reacts by interrupting some or all of the normal social relations with the offender, by refusing to respond to his emotional or practical needs.

There seldom is any plan, any conscious and explicit agreement behind this reaction; it seems as if every individual of his own initiative or by imitation of others, tended simply to avoid any close contact with those who have been condemned by social opinion. The explicit motives of this tendency are, the feeling of indignation at the offence and the fear of being accused by social opinion of sharing the attitude of the offender. But further back we can still detect a more naïve, though no longer consciously realized motive—the fear of "contamination," the unformulated apprehension that there is some kind of evil principle in the offender which in some incomprehensible, vaguely magical way may affect those who keep relations with him. This primitive motive asserts itself more or less clearly in every society whenever it faces a new, inexplicable, "uncanny" kind of behavior. We find in the present collection of materials many incidental mentions of such an isolation of the individual whose behavior is not in accordance with the custom.

When the community has to deal not with a mere nonconformity with traditional customs and mores, but with a break of solidarity verging upon or passing into crime, its reaction becomes a positive and planful repression, varying in intensity from public blame to lynching, according to the importance of the offence as viewed by the group. The facts of lynching, of which many have occurred since 1905 and of which we have quoted some examples, deserve particular attention.

The facts cannot be properly understood if interpreted exclusively as mob acts, as irrational spontaneous outbursts of popular instincts of revenge. There are, indeed, some of the "mob action" attitudes developing during the very process of lynching; but the foun-

dation of the whole performance lies in the essential social needs of an organized community, not in animal instincts. We shall find typical examples of mob action in the next chapter; their background is radically different. They occur in groups which either lack organization entirely—like a city crowd—or whose organization is, in a sense, temporarily suspended, has ceased to work for a time—as in a community struck by a sudden panic-provoking event; they are purposeless, have no general aim to which the present action is subordinated. But the cases of lynching which we find in peasant communities are performed by groups in which the traditional organization is still strong and vital; they are the product of deliberation, sometimes prepared for a long time ahead; they have a very definite general purpose, popularly expressed as "cleansing" of the community. Finally, in the eyes of every member of the community they are morally justified; none of the individuals who participated in them feels that he was acting under momentary excitement but each considers his action as rational and to be repeated if necessary. Thus, lynching in peasant communities appears as a rather primitive, but fully conscious method of struggle against disorganization.

It must be realized, of course, that the conditions under which lynching develops in Polish peasant communities are quite particular and do not permit us to draw any general conclusions as to whether lynching is an original means of repression in primary groups or not. The peasant community was forced centuries ago to surrender most of its judicial and executive functions to other social agencies on whose activities it had little or no influence. Since 1863, when Russia definitively took over all administration and jurisdiction in

the Congress Kingdom, the performance of these functions has been particularly unsuccessful owing to the inefficiency and dishonesty of Russian officials. At the same time, peasant communities, owing to the recent economic independence acquired by the peasants in 1864, began to develop a feeling of their own importance which manifested itself very clearly during the period 1905-1907. And as during this period the Russian police, absorbed in a fight against the revolutionists, neglected more than ever its duties with regard to crime, many communities took the matter into their own hands. And, of course, as they had none of the elaborate means of repression at their disposal which a state can use, lynching was inevitably resorted to just as, for similar reasons, individuals in weakened communities resort to self-redress.

But if thus the conditions in which lynching appeared were rather exceptional, the social attitudes manifested in these acts were essentially the same which always and everywhere constitute the psychological basis of social repression of anti-social behavior; indeed, we find there the whole psychology of "retributive justice." And if we study these cases in connection with their social background, we find that seemingly similar acts of repression have an entirely different significance when performed upon outsiders and when their object is a member of the group.

In the first case, when the offender is an outsider and the victim is a member of the community or the community as a whole, the reaction of the latter is essentially retributive and preventive, with an attempt to exact damages. When the offender is a member of the community these attitudes may also exist in some measure, particularly if the community is partly broken up

into fragments, each of which acts as a separate group that wants to revenge its wrongs and to intimidate aggression. But so long as the solidarity of the community is strong these are not the attitudes which determine the policy of the group as a whole with reference to the offending member. What the community is interested in more than in revenge, more than in prevention of future offences, is, so to speak, the annihilation of the anti-social act which has been performed—some device which will permit it to consider the crime as not having occurred within its limits. Of course these ideas are not formulated in these terms in the consciousness of the group, but this fundamental attitude manifests itself not only in those acts of repression which we are studying, but also in innumerable and various expressions of regret, shame, reproach, etc. Something parallel is found in the religious ideas of "sin" and of the various methods by which past sins are "wiped out." In the peasant community the sources of this attitude are probably several. There may be some vestige of the old notion of common magical responsibility; there certainly is an unreasoned remnant of the mediæval fear of common political responsibility, in some cases revived by the stand taken by Russian governmental officials with regard to communities in which a crime, and more particularly a political offence, has been committed; there is the feeling of shame for the group before its neighbors. In addition to this, there is probably also the dissatisfaction with the very fact that the traditional principles have been broken, rooted ultimately in the desire for security and the feeling that a rule which has been broken has lost some of its reliability. The community hates the very idea that a break has occurred, and there is an intense and fre-

quently voiced consciousness of a "stain" to be removed.

This is the attitude which gives to the action of lynching a member or to any other similar performance, its social justification in the eyes of every member of the group and raises such an action above the level of personal revenge or personal fear. By treating the offender as an enemy the group actively manifests its solidarity against him, disowns him and his crime, tends to treat him as if he had never been a member and to treat the crime as if it had been performed outside of the community. The stain is removed and the traditional system reasserted as unbroken. If, on the contrary, any leniency is shown to the malefactor, there remains a more or less distinct consciousness in the group that this leniency implies a solidarity with him and his crime, and we find communities reproaching each other for not having reacted solidarily and violently enough against some offences which were committed perhaps many years before.

All methods of exclusion or punishment represent, however, the lowest stage of the technique of social self-defense against disorganization, for they tend merely to free the community of individuals who have proved unfit to be its members and dangerous to the preservation of the traditional system, while the main problem —how to adapt or readapt these individuals to the community by making them define in the future their situations in accordance with the rules—is left untouched. It is evident that such methods can be applied only when phenomena of disorganization are sporadic and the socially dangerous individual an exception; they are unworkable if disorganization spreads over a large part of the community. Sometimes, indeed, this spread of disorganization may be due to one or two "bad charac-

ters" who influence the others, and if these are excluded in time, the habitual social atmosphere of the community may be sufficient to have the others drop back into obedience to tradition. Usually, however, the process of disorganization, once started, continues to grow, unless other methods to check it are used.

Since in most cases of disorganization there are some new values introduced into the sphere of interests of the community, the simplest method of counteracting progressive disorganization is to remove these new values out of reach. This is, indeed, the method which occurs to every social group as soon as reflection persuades it that disorganization is no longer an exceptional phenomenon limited to a few "abnormal" individuals but begins to touch a continually increasing number of apparently quite average members. The principle of this method is sound in part. Disorganization consisting in the fact that members of a group define situations in disaccordance with the rules, it may be true that such definitions are only the result of the substitution of some other values instead of those which should predominate in the situation; in other words, disorganization may be chiefly, if not exclusively, due to the influence of changed conditions. The method would be perfectly efficient in preventing certain specific phenomena of disorganization by making impossible such situations as require those particular values; though, of course, it would have no preventive effect on other kinds of phenomena produced by different influences. To prevent disorganization entirely, it would be indispensable to cut the community entirely off from any possible new influences, and this has, of course, been many times attempted and with perfect success for the time being, though sooner or later the internal creative forces

of the community itself produce new values which upset the traditional order. But whatever may be the efficiency of this method for preventive purposes, it certainly is entirely unfit, if used alone, for aims of social reorganization. When the new values have been used as elements of new situations, when they have appealed to the members of the community, the psychology of the latter is no longer what it used to be; new attitudes have developed and tend to find their expression. The mere removal of the undesirable values will not prevent these attitudes from manifesting themselves in a different way. The new manifestation may be as harmful or even more harmful socially than the old, or may be utilized for socially desirable aims.

Thus, the social group in its struggle against disorganization is sooner or later forced to face the most important and difficult part of its task—the reorganization of attitudes. There is, of course, no way of destroying the new attitudes when they have once appeared; the individual or the group cannot have its consciousness pushed back to the stage which preceded the appearance of the new attitudes. The old system cannot be revived with the same psychological background as before. But it is possible to have the individual and the group return to forms of behavior which are in accordance with traditional rules, by developing attitudes which will reinforce the traditional definitions, that is, will both counterbalance the undesirable new attitudes which are the source of the divergent definitions and work toward a practical expression similar to that reached through the old attitudes which have ceased to play the decisive part in determining situations.

This makes it clear why violent repression of antisocial acts often fails to prevent similar acts by other in-

dividuals, or even by the individual punished. Repression does, indeed, develop the attitude of fear which efficiently counterbalances anti-social tendencies, but only if a situation *similar* to that which resulted in punishment presents itself; in other words, it prevents the repetition of similar anti-social acts. But it does not prevent the individual from satisfying his socially undesirable tendencies by constructing *new* situations in which he will try to avoid social represssion. In order to have the individual conform in his behavior with definite social rules, it is not enough to frighten him away from certain forms of behavior conflicting with these rules, but it is indispensable to make him positively want to conform.

The peasant community does not, of course, reach this conclusion by an explicit reasoning, but it is conscious of the insufficiency of mere repression for purposes of reorganization and tries to find, sometimes of itself, sometimes in response to outside initiative, more positive methods aiming to develop in members an active wish to conform with the traditional system in spite of both external influences and their own tendencies leading them to undesirable activities. It is characteristic that in almost all the attempts which the peasant community spontaneously makes in this line, whatever the particular aim, the general method is essentially the same. In order to induce the individual to accept a certain socially sanctioned definition in spite of his inclination to define the given kind of situations in a divergent way, an appeal is made to the fundamental social attitudes on which the whole primary group system rests —the desire for response and the desire for recognition. The community implicitly assumes that these attitudes are an inexhaustible source from which, whenever neces-

sary and under any circumstances, active tendencies to conform with socially sanctioned definitions can be derived.

Thus, if the social solidarity of the group is disturbed by mischievous gossip, direct personal appeal is made separately to every individual concerned, which arouses the wish in each to reach an agreement with his neighbors and makes him re-define this situation, taking the social viewpoint toward gossip into account and modifying his statements and offering or accepting redress. Or, if drinking or smoking has spread in the community, an organized action is taken in which the individuals who have developed these tendencies are made to participate; and special recognition is attached to every effort to get rid of the undesirable habit. Every new problem is thus met by a specific new variation of the old "social instinct."

This method is very well adapted to the average psychology of primary-group members; we shall see later how efficiently it can be used for the construction of new social systems. But when its only object is to help maintain the traditional rules, its limitations are evident. Its results, and often the very possibility of its application, depend on precisely those conditions which the process of disorganization tends to destroy or to modify. It presupposes that the community is still solidary and coherent enough to organize for the defense of the old system, that the fundamental primary-group attitudes are still vital and strong in the members who are to be reformed and that the satisfaction of their desires for response and recognition cannot be adequately obtained outside of the community. It is a fact that all individuals who were born and reared in a primary group are so far dependent on the community and always pre-

serve so much of the primary-group psychology that, if demoralized, they can hardly reform without the assistance of primary-group agencies and methods, which thus are a necessary factor of social reorganization. But there comes a time when they cease to be a sufficient condition, when the disorganization has been pushed too far for the primary group to reorganize itself unaided. Then, as the last resource of social conservatism, as the last stronghold of the traditional system, come religion and the church.

The latter cooperates, of course, all the time with the community in struggling against this partial disorganization which accompanies every social organization as a consequence of the necessarily imperfect adaptation of the latter to individual variations. Christianity contains the fundamental elements of a primary-group morality, and thus its teachings for centuries helped to corroborate the traditional system of peasant communities. The differences which existed originally between the rules taught by the church and the social attitudes of the peasants have been gradually attenuated; the peasant system has been deeply influenced by religion, particularly in matters referring to sexual life, and the Catholic Church always knew how to modify the rigor and even the content of its prescriptions in adaptation to the particular milieu in which they were applied. We have seen in Volume I the several systems of religious beliefs, each perfectly consistent within itself, which have evolved out of a combination of the old pagan naturalism with Christian mythology. The system of moral rules which resulted from an interaction between old pagan morality and Christian morality is even more unified and consistent. Our documents show that the influence of the church is not equally successful in all

fields. Among the rules which the church wants to enforce those which lack a traditional background in the social organization of the peasant communities are easily broken; but there is no definite opposition to them and theoretically they are acknowledged by the peasants. Thus, the church and the community were for centuries allies in the struggle against disorganization, though there is no doubt that, whatever the old ecclesiastical documents may say, it was the church which was most in need of the alliance.

Now, however, the relation is changed. When the community is powerless against growing disorganization the church is still able to struggle for the old system. It did not hesitate to declare itself at once in favor of preserving all the traditions and against any innovations whatever, though, adaptable as it is, it learned gradually to accept some new phenomena against which struggle had proved powerless (such as, for instance, season emigration and city dress), limiting itself in these cases to attempts to modify these phenomena in accordance with its purposes. But even when it has to yield, it yields only in the last extremity, fights for tradition as long as it can without impairing its influence. Thus, it is interesting to note that in the parishes in which season emigration was only beginning the priests were usually violently opposed to it, whereas where it was too deeply rooted they objected only to demoralization and religious indifference if found among season workers, and even often helped the latter in controlling their affairs at home during their absence or in trying to find better positions.

The reformatory influence of the church consists in bringing to bear on each traditional definition, whatever it may be, the entire weight of the religious system. The

latter is so coherent, its many various elements are so closely associated with one another in the doctrine and practice of the church and in the consciousness of the believer that the individual cannot reject any of them without rejecting all, unless he has developed a spirit of critical discrimination seldom found among peasants who have not been influenced by educated classes; and even if he tries to discriminate, the church does not let him do it but forces him to make a choice between all religion or no religion, unless it sees the need of relaxing on certain points in view of certain tendencies generally prevalent in society. When thus the church attaches a negative or positive sanction to any definition of a social situation, this situation, even if it has no intrinsic religious significance of itself, even if it has no bearing whatever on matters of religious worship, becomes nevertheless externally connected with the whole system, and this connection is imposed on every member of the church by all the means of control of which the latter disposes. The entire set of religious attitudes is thus more or less involved whenever the individual has to choose between a socially sanctioned and a socially non-sanctioned definition.

The religious attitudes prove, in fact, the most lasting of all the traditional components of the peasant's social psychology. They remain strong even in the second generation of immigrants in this country, and are preserved indefinitely in Polish cities; they survive even the most radical cases of disorganization. There are probably several reasons for this persistence, but the most important one seems to be that while the peasant may find substitutes for other traditional values he is of himself unable to find any adequate substitute for religion. When such substitutes are given to him in the

form of national or social ideals, of science or of art, religion loses much of its power, just as it does with a member of the European intellectual classes. But unless this happens, religion remains the embodiment of all those interests which, being removed from the individual's every day occupations, satisfy his craving for the extraordinary and whatever idealistic tendencies he may possess. Of course, the peasant sees no other possible form of religious life than the one to which he has always been used in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. And since he finds almost wherever he goes Catholic parishes with the same religious ceremonies and teachings, religion never entirely loses its influence upon him.

Under these conditions it seems rather surprising that the church is not more successful than it has been in its struggle for the preservation of the old system, even where there were no influences of the revolutionary type—of which we shall speak in the next chapter—to counteract its activities. The fault should be ascribed to the inefficiency of the clergy, who seldom knew how to make a proper use of the powerful instrument they possessed, and this inefficiency in turn is a result of the lack of sociological knowledge. Just as the failure of legal repression to counteract disorganization is due to the fact that it merely tries to counteract the desire to perform certain socially harmful acts, whereas the problem is to develop the wish to perform only certain socially sanctioned acts, so the incomplete success of the church in trying to counteract disorganization is due to the fact that, outside of the acts of worship, the main emphasis is put on "sins" rather than on "merits," the efforts tend much more toward preventing certain acts from being committed than toward having certain other

acts performed. The whole doctrine of salvation and the entire technique connected with it give this direction to the attention of both the clergy and their flock. Thus, the most successful work of the church has been done quite recently when the clergy began to follow the example of lay leaders in promoting and organizing various kinds of social activities in peasant groups. But on account of the nature of the interests and principles involved, this work has contributed rather toward reconstruction of peasant communities on a new basis than toward the preservation of the old system, and we shall treat it in later chapters.

CHAPTER V

REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDES

All the cases of social disorganization include an active opposition to the traditional social schemes of behavior; in this respect the rejection of a fashion, a theft or murder, an attempt to overthrow the existing class organization or political order, a religious heresy, are fundamentally similar, being equally the manifestations of tendencies which can find no adequate expression under the prevailing social system and, if allowed to develop sufficiently, lead to a decay of this system. But notwithstanding this general similarity there are certain important differences between the cases of disorganization which we have been studying up to the present and those with which we shall deal in this chapter; the distinction between the terms "revolt" and "revolution" can be utilized to mark this difference.

That kind of active opposition to existing rules which we term revolt is individualistic in its bearing, even if many members of a group happen to participate in it; it implies only, on the part of each individual, personal demands for some values which he could not have under the traditional system. A revolutionary tendency may also involve such personal demands and in so far be an act of revolt; but its essential feature is that it includes a demand for new values for a whole group—community, class, nation, etc.; each individual acting not only in his own name but also in the name of others.

Secondly, revolt does not intentionally and consciously aim at the destruction of the old system in general; its purpose is in each particular case the satisfaction of some particular wish. The break of rules is only, in a sense, incidental to this satisfaction and the decay of the traditional system comes spontaneously, as a result of an increasing number and variety of cases of revolt. Whereas the immediate aim of revolution is to abolish the traditional system or at least some of the schemes of behavior which are its part, to destroy permanently their influence within the given group, and thus to open the way to a general and permanent satisfaction of those needs which cannot be freely satisfied while the system lasts.

In view of these differences between revolt and revolution, the methods which prove more or less efficient in suppressing the former often fail when applied to the latter. Thus it is clear that a peasant community which willingly and of its own accord represses individual revolt against its traditions and mores, can hardly be made to cooperate wholeheartedly with the higher social classes in suppressing those tendencies of its members which aim to modify the existing social order for the benefit of the peasant class. Such a community may, indeed, be opposed to the revolutionary activities of its individual members for fear that a repression from outside will have disastrous consequences for the whole group, or because its desire for security is stronger than the desire for any new values which revolution is expected to bring. But this opposition lacks the moral indignation that accompanies the suppression of personal revolt against those principles which keep the community together; often in this case it is the revolutionary member of the group who draws his energy from

a feeling of righteousness connected with his activities.

Further, we have seen that one of the most efficient means of inducing the individual to accept against his wishes any particular traditional definition is to connect this definition with a wide, coherent and powerful system of emotions and beliefs, like the religious system in which he was brought up. It is evident that this method works only as long as the individual revolts against particular rules which hinder the satisfaction of his particular desires, but does not wish or dare to attack the system in its entirety. Thus it cannot be utilized to suppress a revolutionary tendency whose characteristic feature is precisely that it turns against the domination of a whole traditional system. Attempts to apply this method in periods of social unrest may even hasten the outbreak of revolution, for if the opposition to the traditional system as a whole has begun to develop in social consciousness, it is apt to grow with every act which tends to repress new needs in the name of this system.

The only efficient method of dealing with revolutionary attitudes is, as we shall see later, the substitution of a new and more satisfactory system for the old one —a substitution in which the revolutionary elements of society shall be made to cooperate. And it will prove that this method is successful in dealing with facts of personal revolt, at least in those cases in which revolt is not an expression of individual abnormality, of pathological misadaptation of the individual to the fundamental conditions of social life, but results from the development and growing popularization of new needs. In a word, in so far as disorganization is a social process, not a fact of individual pathology, it is an unavoidable stage of social evolution and cannot be remedied by trying to stop this evolution but by directing it.

Revolution is thus the crucial test of the methods of social reconstruction; any method which, even if it succeeds in suppressing particular cases of personal revolt, cannot prevent the appearance and development of revolutionary attitudes in the sense defined above. It may be useful in periods of relative social stability but should be rejected as soon as social unrest begins to grow, for it only retards the process of reconstruction and contributes to increase the chaos of the intermediary period.

Our study of the revolutionary attitudes of the Polish peasant will be limited to two fields—class revolutionism and religious revolutionism. For several reasons, we cannot study here political revolutionism as manifested in the national uprisings of the Poles against the partitioning states, particularly against Russia. Though within the period which we are taking into account there was a national revolution (partly connected with a social revolution) in 1905-6, the latter was mostly supported by city workmen and the peasants as a class participated in it very little. There has been, indeed, during this whole period a growing national revolutionary movement among the peasants which finally led to their active participation in the last and successful struggle of 1914-1919; but the documents referring to this movement were, for obvious reasons, kept secret all the time. What actually transpired and was accessible to our investigation, was an increasing national consciousness manifesting itself in social organization and cultural cooperation. But this side of the national movement evidently belongs to social reconstruction and will be studied in the last chapter of the present volume.

The revolution of 1905-6 would be, indeed, a very interesting object of study; but it would be absolutely incomprehensible without a thorough analysis of the

psychology of the Polish factory workmen and their leaders, of the economic and political conditions found in Polish industrial centers and many other problems which would lead us far beyond the limits of this work. We therefore introduce here only a few documents concerning this revolution to illustrate some of its effects on the peasants' class or religious attitudes.[1]

1. *Class Revolutionism*

The class system in the country was, as we know, very rigid until recently, much more rigid than in cities. This holds true not only of Poland, but practically of all Europe. In particular, the distinction between the peasants and the gentry, the two oldest and most definitely fixed classes, has been maintained for so many centuries, owing to serfdom, that up to the present it often appears to the popular mind as in a sense rooted in the nature of things; the deep differences of culture help at least as much as economic inequality to maintain it. The growth of intermediary elements—ruined nobles, bourgeois settling on land, wealthy or educated peasants—and the contact with the new, different, more flexible social hierarchy which has developed in cities, have done much to diminish this distinction; and yet the latter until recently appeared to the average peasant as the most striking feature of that wider social order of which his community was a part.

But if the class distinction during the last 50 years remains essentially the same as before, class antagonism has certainly decreased in an incalculable measure since

[1] It should be understood that our subject-matter is revolutionary attitudes, not revolutionary acts. A revolutionary attitude which manifests itself in a vague dissatisfaction with existing conditions may be more significant sociologically than one which is expressed in an act of overt rebellion—if it is more general and lasting.

the abolition of serfdom. At the time which we are here taking into account, the opposition of interests between the peasant farmers and the large estate-owners reduced itself to two points. The first was the question of servitudes or the rights to pasture peasant cattle on manorial land and take dry wood from manorial forests, which was intentionally left unsettled by the Russian government in order to foment discord between the peasants and the nobility. The second was the more fundamental problem of distribution of land. The growth of the country population has resulted in a division of many peasant farms into lots below the minimum necessary for living, and in an enormous increase of the number of landless peasants, whereas there were yet many disproportionately large private estates of the nobility, and vast territories which the Russian government had either appropriated after the partitions or confiscated after the revolutions of 1830 and 1863. Now, the peasants have from immemorial times cherished the idea—found in all agricultural communities—that cultivated land should belong to those who cultivate it with their own hands while non-cultivated land is nobody's property. In connection with this, we know (*cf.* Vol. I) that the desire for economic advance which developed among the peasants very powerfully during the second half of the last century manifested itself chiefly in a general "land-hunger" which demanded to be satisfied by any means. Naturally, therefore, the tendency to take away and to divide the estates of the government and of the nobility has been continually growing; and the endowment of peasants with land after the abolition of serfdom was easily interpreted as a precedent. This tendency, sometimes formulated but usually concealed from the upper classes, was the most serious

factor of whatever class antagonism found between the manor-owner and the peasant farmer.[1]

Much deeper was the antagonism between the gentry and the landless peasants employed by them as manor-servants. The situation of the latter was hardly improved by the agrarian reforms of the nineteenth century; they had personal freedom already (since 1808 in the Congress Kingdom), and the reform of 1864, which for the landed peasant meant freedom from duties toward his lord and undisputed property of his farm, for the landless peasant meant practically nothing except a change from a patriarchal relation with more subordination but more security to a "hired work" relation with more independence but less mutual personal interest. The difficult economic condition of the country under foreign domination, particularly in Russian Poland where the government intentionally tried to ruin the Polish nobility, combined with the conservatism usually characterizing agricultural classes and with the continually increasing offer of cheap labor, contributed to maintain the wages of the manor-servant on a level barely above the starvation limit. The contrast between his situation and not only that of his employer but even that of an average peasant farmer facilitated the development of revolutionary attitudes.

79. The Russian paper *Warszawskij Dniewnik* gives such official descriptions of strikes[2] in the country: . . .

[1] The problem has been recently (July, 1919) settled by the Polish government in accordance with the demands of the peasants. Private estates will be limited to 300 morgs (400 acres) the excess will be bought by the government and sold to landless peasants and poorer farmers on easy terms; all the forests and waters will become state property. This also solves in a large measure the problem of the manor-servants.

[2] The case quoted is not really a strike as the governmental paper intentionally misrepresents it, but an attempt to obtain by force governmental property which the peasants consider as belonging to them by

"The peasants of the village Żywocin . . . tried on March 15th to pull down a building on the farm Luśniki, belonging to a majorat-estate. The head-forester of the governmental forest informed the chief of the district about it and he sent six watchmen and two country constables to guard the building. The peasants came together, about 400 people, beat the guarding watchmen, pulled the farm-buildings completely down and took the building-material home. Some years ago the peasants had claimed to have some rights to this farm, but the governmental office for peasant affairs in Piotrków and later the Senate also rejected these claims. Since August last year the peasants began to perform illegal deeds upon this farm. They did not allow the forest-guards to do any work in the field and the land of the farm remains up to the present unsowed. A few men, as main inciters, will be tried in court."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 14.

80. [The objection of the Polish peasant to state ownership of the soil proves that bolshevism could never gain the support of the country population in Poland. The statement of this writer that the peasants do not need *equality* of land is, however, not representative of the standpoint of the average peasant and is probably due to the influence of the clergy. As we mentioned in the preface to this chapter, the majority of the peasants do want equal division of land, but under *individual* ownership.]

Now in our community . . . we do not like it at all that Russian members of Parliament tend to the nationalization of the land with the aim of satisfying the needs of those peasants who possess land or only a little. Whereas we, the peasants of the Polish Kingdom, declare that such a scheme, far from satisfying us, only irritates us more, . . . that through nationalization of the land our existence will not be improved but made even worse, since we do not need equality of land but we do need equality of rights, we need self-government, we need that the land held as government land by generals, by mem-

right, since it consists in estates of Polish nobility which the government confiscated after the revolution of 1863 without giving the peasants the shares to which they considered themselves entitled according to the law of 1864.

bers of the imperial family, or taken from convents, be divided among us as property (I do not say gratuitously, but on convenient terms). . . . Otherwise we will defend our property to bloodshed because we know what farming of communal lands means,[1] and we do not wish to starve, to go as hired workmen to other nations, nor to become beggars for centuries. . . . [But] today we cannot limit anybody as to how much land he should own; we should conform to the proverb: If you work, you will have. . . . [Demand for limitation] only incites the ones against the others and nowadays this is completely unnecessary since we are all the sons of one mother earth and for this reason we should abstain from such statements until we have self-government and then we shall talk the whole matter over in common. This is the opinion of us peasants near Sandomierz.

[Signed] A peasant by the gift of God. Tomasz Kolembasa.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

81. In the village Wola Przybylska . . . the village-group and the manor made an agreement for the exchange of servitudes [the peasants resign their rights of pasturing and collecting dry wood on the manorial lands and receive in exchange some land and forest]. But when it came to allotting the forest, it proved that the peasants did not want the lot which the owner of the estate, Countess J., had apportioned for them, but demanded another one which precisely then began to be cut by order of the manor. Having particularly liked this piece of forest, the peasants declared that they would not suffer its destruction, and when in spite of this the cutting was not stopped they went in a crowd to the forest and drove the wood-cutters away. . . . [Interference by the commissioner for peasant affairs, by the mayor and constables came to naught.] Then the head of the country police came to the commune. Having arrested the village-elder and the three most unruly farmers, for four days he talked with every farmer in succession and persuaded them that they had no right to this piece of forest. . . .

[1] In Russia all the land not belonging to the crown or to the manor belonged in bulk to the village (mir) and was allotted every year for cultivation to the individual villagers who, of course, refused to improve it since manuring, draining, irrigating, etc., required a heavy outlay that the profits from one year's farming would not cover.

The village group calmed down and not only ceased to hinder the cutting of the forest, but many . . . hired themselves to do this work.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 51.

82. In Nasutów, an estate of Count Zamoyski, the servants organized a strike. The *parobeks,* having fed the stock in the morning, did not go to the usual work but came together in the yard and began to consult among themselves. The brewer asked the brewery-workmen not to interrupt the work which had been begun; so these worked till 4 o'clock and then joined the *parobeks.* The manager inquired why they had stopped working. They answered that they had too small wages to support themselves, that their *ordynarya* [allowance of food] was insufficient to give them strength for work. The servants [*posylka*] whom they were absolutely obliged to keep were more and more expensive and exacting, so that the *parobek* had to pay his servant more than the latter could earn. Their own pay was so small that they had hardly enough for shoes and miserable rags for the children, and they could not even think of sending them to school. In case of sickness they were treated by the manorial surgeon-assistant, but if it was indispensable to send for a doctor the *parobek* had to pay from his own pocket. The manager answered that he would talk with the Count and give them an answer. In the evening the *parobeks* again fed the stock and went calmly home. The next day in other estates belonging to the hereditary dominion of Count Zamoyski . . . the servants stopped working . . . [but always they continue to feed the cattle].

In the entire neighborhood people from five estates come together at a time and walk from estate to estate; those who left first go home and new ones join the crowd. Only it is bad that they have not come to an agreement among themselves and do not know themselves what to demand. The owners of the estate would like to come to an understanding with their servants and every one would agree willingly to just demands of the *parobeks;* but the latter do not know what to hold to and either require something different the next day or make such unwise demands that it is impossible to come to any understanding.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 13.

83. *Warszawskij Dniewnik*, a governmental paper published in Warsaw, writes: "In the district of Zamość . . . the movement of country workers began on March 18th, coming there from the neighboring district of Krasnystaw. Crowds of workmen began to go from manor to manor asking the owners for an improvement of their condition, and in case of refusal threatening a strike. When the workmen came to a manor the local workers joined them. They were required to visit six manors and only then were allowed to return home. Whoever did not want to go willingly was forced by violence or threats. Some manor-owners, wanting to keep those workmen without whom they could not get along, payed ransom. . . . Beside this, in every great manor at the request of the newcomers, they had to be given food or 10 copecks per person for food. The workmen asked insistently, nobody knows why, every owner to give them a written certificate that they had called on him. The police with the help of a squad of Cossacks succeeded in suppressing the movement. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 15.

84. [Letter to Priest Anusz in Parana, Brazil, who was promoting Polish emigration to that country]. . . . And now we take the liberty of describing to you, Reverend Father, our present life. We are serving at the manor and maybe it is not unknown to you . . . how hard it is for us to spend our years of youth on the sweepings of the manor. . . . They call us rascals, asses and other most grievous names and pay us very little for our hard and enduring work, for pouring our sweat over their broad hides of land—only 12 *korcy* [48 bushels of grain], 25 roubles, 200 rods of land including the garden (less than one morg) . . . of the worst sort, and only one cow and such a miserable one that it just drags out its days, for they keep it only to increase their manure and not to give milk to the farmhand. They also require us to keep a servant who must be paid [by us] 30 to 35 roubles a year with board, while the manor pays us for his work by the day (10 copecks per day during 3 months, 15 copecks during 6 months and 20 copecks during 3 months). Therefore please reckon yourself how it is possible to find one's living, Reverend Father. How can they find

pleasure in thus abusing poor people? They rouse you up at 3 o'clock in the morning and you have to work till 9 in the evening, one hour off for dinner; and at every occasion you are scolded: "You rascals, I am paying you with money and not with chaff. Therefore do what you are ordered." At every step they remind you, like a beggar, of their pay. They remind you a hundred times about the penny they handed you, saying: "I don't reproach you, but still I gave it to you." This is the way those who give us work admonish us constantly as if they were giving this miserable living by mercy, whereas one has to work not for what the paltry food is worth but five times its value.

A man would not resent this so much if he were at least treated in a human way . . . and not like a dog. In our country a poor man cannot find any commiseration anywhere, the star of the poor people in the Kingdom of Poland has already vanished. It is a great question if it will ever light up again. Maybe sometime, but much time will have to pass before this people becomes enlightened and establishes one sheep-stall and one shepherd who will show himself a real shepherd and an imitator of Christ. At that time the poor man's star will perhaps begin to shine, but that will not be for us; we must not delude ourselves but must look for people of good-will and must beg them for sincere advice. . . .

We meet people who advise us to start for Brazil but we hesitate to leave blindly because it is a long journey during which we could lose much. In our country a man is already accustomed to his misery. Still when he hears that somewhere with other people conditions are better, for a while he awakes from this deep sleep and thinks that perhaps it is even true. But when he looks over this large world which the eye cannot measure he reckons that there can be no place where a poor man would be better off, and with this thought he falls asleep once more and continues sleeping. . . . People here talk in various ways, some praise and others blame [Brazil]. So we cannot trust anybody, but only believe in you, Reverend Father, that you will write us the truth. Have the kindness . . . to write us under what conditions they give away land, whether they sell it [etc.; 2 pages of questions].

Perhaps this letter is too unpleasant and too tedious for you,

Reverend Father, since it is written so spaciously; but we must pour out under tears what we feel and think, and tell you also our humiliation and the misery that is oppressing us and our depression of mind because it is a hard blow to have to leave this our beloved soil, this mother who has produced us and given us the right to life. But life here is so difficult and burdensome. Grief shakes one's heart when one thinks of it, that we intend to part from this soil. How sad it is, although we do not own one bit of this soil, for if we owned only a few acres, we would never sell them nor would we ever leave this Polish soil, since we would consider it our duty to love and cherish it like our bodily mother. But what can we do, unhappy people! We can only direct our longing to this soil, wishing it might stay under our feet and not slide away with every new year as this [our leased] strip of land does at present. One reckons: "Where shall I be next year if—which God prevent—they should dismiss me from here? This is only half bad as long as I am yet a young man and healthy, but for my old age I am threatened with vagrancy, wearing a wallet and a beggar's stick, having no piece of roof of my own over my head under which I could quietly await dear death. And here in the manor beggars are not allowed to enter." I have myself seen how the watchman by order of the lord conducted a beggar out of the gates, dragging him like a dog by the neck so that the pitiful old beggar's bones crackled. I thought to myself: "That is because you have served the lords faithfully." The watchman, pointing with his finger, said: "There to the village, old dog. You shall not tease the dogs here and anger his lordship." Having seen this I was dumbfounded for a moment, and afterwards it struck me that the same fate was awaiting me for my old days, for though I have children, what kind of support could they give me? Probably the same I gave to my parents. It was lucky that God the Highest called them away to his Glory, so that they had it easy. . . . How should a child support its parents in their old days, since it does not feel any duty toward them because they are all ignorant like snuff in a horn [box]. We are forced to terminate this our writing because you would become disgusted, Reverend Father, from reading all our griefs which are unlimited. . . .

From the archives of *Zaranie*.

85. [People have been discussing in *Zaranie*] whether the lot of manorial *parobeks* is bad or good. But we, the peasant farmers, know very well what is their lot, for we see everything—how they work, how they are treated, and how many of them go begging in villages, having lost their health and strength working in manorial service, and in addition often bear reproaches from farmers and their wives for their former eagerness to serve the lords to the detriment of the peasants. . . . But perhaps the readers of *Zaranie* are curious to learn who are those lords who treat their servants in such a way as described in an issue of *Zaranie*, . . . in particular, the owner of Kurów, where a driver's cow was seized because his father died and he had no *posylka* and so was ordered to pay a fine of 25 roubles for the church. (I have heard that after long bargaining and begging it ended in his paying 5 roubles.) Well, this owner of Kurów . . . and other estates, . . . a magnate so wealthy that building a new church would perhaps make less difference to him than giving one rouble for a church to his driver, . . . a few years ago, when his manor-servants demanded an increase of wages, brought Cossacks against them who drove them to Sandomierz and beat them on the way (happily, in Sandomierz, they were set free). After this incident, as I have heard, Mr. K. . . . fled abroad for fear of vengeance. There he seems to have contributed much toward sending here missionary Redemptionists. Our poor people, encouraged by their priests, came in crowds to the revival, wasting thousands of their bloodily earned money and their precious time. But this was just the thing the K. . . . and others of this kind wanted. . . . When I went to such a revival in Ćmielów, a missionary was preaching. In a soft voice, playing the angel's part, he said: "Lord have mercy. When this soul was in its body it often fasted." And then, imitating the devil, with wrath: "He fasted, for he had nothing to eat, not in order to chastise himself." Thus besides [those times] when you have nothing to eat, you should also fast voluntarily, otherwise the devil may win the case. But the missionary forgot that the worst chastisement is not to have anything to eat and that a workingman must absolutely nourish himself in order to have strength for work, for from nourishment he derives this strength.

Even now the more eager ones among us collect contributions and carry them to Cracow to those missionaries as a reward for their having been here and taught thus. One of those boasted here that when he brought 18 roubles to these missionaries they treated him with wine (for they are poor and do not drink cheap whiskey). No wonder that in the estate of such religious lords as Mr. K. they practice imposing fines for the church; they want to help the *parobek* toward his salvation and send him to heaven as soon as possible.

Letter to *Zaranie,* 1910; unpublished.

86. [One of the many proofs of the solidarity between the landless peasants and the peasant-farmers, in spite of the lack of common economic interests.] . . .

Upon one of the numerous crosses raised by Mr. M., owner of the estate of Włostów . . . these words are sculptured: "Only that one can be great who knows how to be humble." O, you humility, second nature of the Polish peasant! You are the chief instrument in the hands of the "true prophets," it is you who have bred us for centuries. . . . Humble peasant soul, who if not they, those "true prophets," have brought you to such ignorance, humiliation and misery? Did you not groan enough under the yoke of serfdom, precisely at a time when they [the clergy] possessed the greatest power in the world? Who if not they were spreading and confirming your slavery? Is it not they who killed your self-reliance, to which *Zaranie* calls you today?

"Peasant, do not send your daughters to Kruszynek [school]." "Peasant, do not read *Zaranie,*" say our benefactors. Do not read, do not learn, do not send children to school, only listen to lords and priests, be humble and you will be "great" in temporal life and after death you will obtain eternal life. This the "true prophets" want for us. And what do we, the peasants, say to this? Will our hungry spirit be satisfied with inscriptions upon crosses, do we need nothing but sermons read from the book, "Sermons for Sundays and Holydays," and repeated from year to year? They put not only our spirit, but even our body to sleep, for who of us does not yawn or even doze when the priest talks to us with a bored, monotonous voice. It cannot be otherwise. Dead words can only rock to sleep. . . .

I ask Mr. M., author of the cross with the inscription "Only that one can be great who knows how to be humble," whether he is joking or really means to indicate the way to greatness, and if this is the way by which he has reached his own greatness—as well as the title of Chamberlain of His Holiness, the Pope. Mr. Chamberlain, how ironic sound those words of yours in view of your own greatness in comparison with those little ones for whom you ordered them to be sculptured on the cross. . . . You have wide estates, palaces, titles. Why, you do not seem to sin by humility! Three years ago you inherited Włostów. Last year you rebuilt the stables on this estate. They look nice, indeed. This year you are extending your palace. But what did you do for the good of the body and spirit of those little ones who work for you? You will answer: "I have built many crosses." This is true. "I have built a hospital for the disabled and crippled." This is true; though not from your own money, still it is true. This hospital is their end, this is their reward, for they are so insignificant, so humble, are bowing so low; there, is this asylum in their old age, exhausted by work, they will reach "greatness."

Fragment of a letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished. Probably from a peasant-farmer.

2. *Religious Revolutionism*

The Polish peasant is not a mystic; religion is for him a matter of social organization on the basis of given mythical beliefs and magical practices rather than of personal mystical connection with the divinity. This is why, as we have already noticed in Volume I, there have never been any popular heresies, for beliefs and practices divergent from those of the church never assumed in the eyes of individuals a sufficient mystical importance to make them break with the social system of the church. Religious revolution became possible only recently when this social system began to be felt as unsatisfactory, and it took the form of a revolt against the social control exercised by the church, not against

the religious dogmas and ceremonies for which the church stands. Divergence of dogmas and ceremonies came secondarily as a rather artificial addition of theologians who participated in the movement. Two interesting examples are taken here to illustrate this new process of growing religious heterogeneity.

The first is the heresy of the *Mariawitas*. This heresy was started, indeed, in a half-mystical way by a few priests grouped around a woman visionary, Kozlowska, who seems to be vaguely identified by them and by herself with a new incarnation of a vague feminine divine principle whose first and chief personification is Mary—thence the name of the sect. But the real significance of the latter and the source of its popularity lie elsewhere—the vow of poverty which the priests of the *Mariawitas* make. In the relations which exist between a priest and his parishioners in a country parish money-matters constitute a very difficult situation. The standard of living of the priest is on the average much higher than that of a peasant-farmer. Moreover, many priests, particularly those of peasant origin, consider their profession a career made for the benefit of their families and exploit their flock rather ruthlessly. As long as the prestige of the priest remains unchallenged the peasants interpret his economic demands as necessarily resulting from his position, and the honor of the parish community seems to require that its priest be at least as well-to-do as other priests, just as it requires a church building of a certain size and æsthetic perfection. But, of course, along with this standard there always coexisted the opposite standard of simplicity and disinterestedness, which some of the clergy applied in their behavior. This standard has been lately more and more popularized by the demo-

cratic propaganda, and the *Mariawita* movement is thus in harmony with a certain evolution of popular opinion which may lead to a complete modification of the peasant's attitude toward the clergy.

Another interesting example is the case of the paper *Zaranie*. The latter, a brilliantly edited popular weekly, radically democratic, standing on the exclusive ground of the interests of the peasants as a social class and tending to develop among them class solidarity as against the higher classes, had been for several years attacking on every occasion the abuses of priests. The clergy, after vainly trying to counteract its influence by counter-propaganda, resorted to radical means and simply forbade the peasants to read *Zaranie*. In one diocese the bishop even went so far as to excommunicate the paper and its readers, who were not to receive absolution for their sins until they stopped reading it. Naturally, this action provoked the indignation not only of the radical but even of the moderate elements of Polish society, and among the peasants furnished a pretext for the expression of all those revolutionary attitudes which had for some time been growing in connection with the rôle which the church played in controlling all social life in the country for the benefit of the clergy and of the upper classes.

87. [One out of many like incidents during the first ten years of the development of the *Mariawitas*. Both sides were aggressive, the *Mariawitas* as a new sect, somewhat more. Description somewhat exaggerated.]

Our parish Dobra had almost 3,000 Catholics; but in 1906, on February 6th, a great misfortune befell us. On that day falls the yearly church-festival of St. Dorothy in our parish. About 6,000 persons from the neighborhood were gathered to receive the absolution of their sins and to listen to the word of

God. But then the local priest, Paweł Skolimowski, who is now a *Mankietnik* [nick-name for *Mariawita*], ascended the chancel. Instead of proclaiming the words of God . . . he suddenly—O my God!—begins to throw mud upon our priests and bishops. And as their custom is, he spoke about the holy sacrament. . . . And the people present, except some few, believed him and his wicked words . . . and began to oppress our Catholics. Once all the farmer *Mankietniks* of the village Imielnik met and went to the village-elder, Jan Plucinikowski, demanding of him that he give back the eagle and the seal, signs of an elder, because he was not a *Mariawita*. Plucinikowski said . . . they should accuse him before the chief of the district; if the latter dismissed him, he would gladly give them the signs back. But the arrogant *Mankietniks* resolved to reach their end. Wojciech Góralczyk and Antoni Wiśniewski came forward, bound Plucinikowski with ropes and demanded the signs. Only when the son of Plucinikowski . . . came in and took an ax, they all fled. . . .

Then once, on August 2nd, 1906, on the day of Our Lady of the Angels, Skolimowski proclaimed that it was a holiday. But since immemorial times our parish has never kept this holiday, so our Catholics began to work as on every working-day. But they, the bigot *Kozłowskis* from different parts, whose number reached 7,000, went through the fields, together with the socialists, drove people away from work, and overthrew carts [filled] with grain. But what was worse—O my God—they went to the houses of the true Catholics, put revolvers to their heads and compelled them to submit to the control of the *Kozłowit* priests. And they went in crowds to the house of Żurek, where our orthodox priest lived. . . . [He was away.] They threw his books, clothes, medals and images out of his room and tore two gowns [either because the *Mariawit* priests had abandoned black gowns for gray or because, professing poverty, they owned only one gown each]. . . It went so far that during 8 days we had to hide ourselves and not spend the nights at home, because the crowd, headed by a certain Słoma, a socialist from the city of Łódź, wished to compel us to fall away from the true Roman Catholic faith. . . . But gradually all this came to an end. On November 28th, 1906, with a committee and the chief of the

district, we took our church back. But it was very sad, because only the four walls were left; the *Mankietniks* robbed us of all the furniture, images, altars, banners, etc. . . .

Among 3,000 inhabitants there are 1,800 *Mankietniks* and 1,200 Catholics. The *Mankietniks* are gradually coming back to their senses and returning to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. But in the end I must complain . . . against my brothers the Catholics; . . . they persecute them at every step and so confirm them in their false Kozłowit learning.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

88. [This is typical of the innumerable letters denouncing the activities of country priests which the paper *Zaranie* received after it had made its anti-clerical position clear. All the accumulated grievances of a public or private character used this opportunity to express themselves. There was also much imitation of the letters already published.]

In our dear *Zaranie* one may read correspondence from different regions, but of our country around Rawa nobody writes. One might believe milk and honey were flowing around us. But here also manifold needs exist, only the people are still sleeping the sleep of the just. . . .

The parish Łęyonice . . contains 1,000 souls. The people are poor and ignorant to a degree that you would hardly encounter in any other part of the Polish Kingdom. With every step you discover misery. The houses are like booths, the stock is dwarf-like, and if you look at a man, pity grasps you; he looks as pale and ragged as a beggar.

In the year 1905 the curate of this parish was Father . . . Wojewódzki. And since the priest's house was, as he declared, already old and no longer habitable, the parishioners decided to build a new one. Indeed, brother readers, those paupers, under the pressure of the curate's exhortations, erected a parsonage like a little palace, larger than the local church, containing 14 rooms and 12 cellars. The old parsonage they sold to the curate . . . and he transformed this old thing where dwelling was an impossibility into an elegant house for which he received several hundred roubles. And since the workmen had still a claim of more than a hundred roubles, he promised to satisfy them out

of his own pocket, but he never paid them. Would it not have been better to build for this money some schools rather than a priest's house?

Now for more than a year the curate of this parish has been Father Siedlecki and he demands payment of the rest of the contribution [pledged to Wojewówzki], whereas the parishioners, on account of the above mentioned Wojewódzki's obligation and because they can afford no more, do not pay that contribution. Father Siedlecki, wishing to induce the parishioners to pay, one Sunday some weeks ago spoke publicly from the pulpit, after the sermon, the following words: "Wishing that those who refuse to pay the contribution may lose everything but the amount which they refuse to pay, wishing that they may never succeed in making money, wishing that they may pass away miserably, let us pray: Ave Maria. . . ." But this is not the end. Some weeks ago he saw one of his parishioners driving past the church on Sunday, and since the few pennies which the man would have offered on the plate were lost to him, he said the same day from the pulpit: "Wishing that those who avoid this our little church and drive to town instead may encounter a sudden death, let us pray with devotion: Ave Maria. . . ."

In the parish of Lęgonice there is no school, no agricultural society, no coöperative store and the gentlemen-landowners do not care about civilizing the peasant. The benevolent pastor cares equally about it. . . . [There are 10 empty rooms in the parson's house where a school could be established.]

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

89. [However natural and justified may be the indignation of the writer—that the peasants were made to contribute to the celebration but not admitted to participate in it—the attitude which is the source of this indignation is really quite new. Traditionally, there was no connection whatever between contributing to the celebration, which was interpreted as almost a religious duty, in the same way as contributing to a church ceremony, and participating in it, which was a social matter and implied a social equality within at least certain limits. The claim voiced by the writer is thus a sign of revolt against the traditional class system in general and the idea of a class difference between the priest and his peasant parishioners in particular.]

If some one had travelled through Kolno on the fourth day of September, he would undoubtedly have thought that there was some popular convention. Our town was festively decorated and in front of the church everything had been adorned with green. If you looked closer and strained your hearing, you would have heard cries: "Long live our dear priest!" Yes, my dear brothers, priest Kuderkiewicz was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood. Many priests came to attend this celebration and even Bishop Karaś took part in this solemnity. . . . And twenty of them were enjoying themselves with the music of the orchestra and nobody thought about the improvement of the condition of the people. . . . You peasants must be satisfied that each of you had the privilege of giving 5 *złoty,* chickens, eggs, etc. for the jubilee. You must understand that you did not give it for nothing; you had the pleasure of gazing through the window and observing how your benefactors were drinking different liquors and wines together. For your gifts, which you took from your mouth, you were forcibly driven out of the church when you wanted to get in. You must know that only gentlemen with high hats are allowed there, and you peasants are superfluous; your business is to give but not to be present.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

90. [Characteristic example of that mixture of genuine personal reflection and artificial, imitative doctrinairism which is very often found in self-educated individuals on all levels of intellectual development who are isolated from direct contact with social circles in which intellectual standards are evolved and maintained and who draw their standards exclusively from reading.]

"My Kingdom is not of this world." When Christ came on this earth he scrutinised the relation of the world [illegible], and after perceiving so many wrong-doings and the falsehood reigning, he was taken with such pity and grief that he was forced to weep. . . . He saw the sons of this mother-earth put to heavy slavery [and] so worn out, emaciated, and starved that, though alive, they looked like skeletons. . . . He saw so many disinherited children of this earth. Looking at such conditions, he spoke these words: "My kingdom is not of this world. I do not want to agree with such a devilish world. I did not come to

build prisons and *katorga* [for hard labor], but I came to bury the old world, where for a coin they sell people and their strength, and even youth and virtue; [I came] to build, on the contrary, a new mansion for brotherly love. . . ." Christ entrusted to his pupils the fulfillment of the plan for building here on earth the kingdom of God . . . on the foundation of justice and universal love. Two thousand years have nearly passed since the establishment of the foundation of Christ. I ask you [priests] what have you built on this, Christ's foundation. Certainly not the kingdom of God, but the kingdom of wrongdoing, of slavery and of capital. You missed the program of your master. Today every one of you is a capitalist, and nevertheless you dare to maintain that the world that is, is a good world. . . . You misled the people from the road of Christian truth; you ruined the Polish people. You could have made the peasants citizens, for crowns were falling off the heads of kings at your voice. But instead you took the side of the great nobility. If some reform was intended to free the people from under the whip, then you were threatening with thunder those who dared to advocate the freeing of the peasant. By these curses which you were casting, you even cast him into slavery in order to protect your own standing, because you are not the sons of the fatherland but the sons of today's capitalistic order. You do not care for Poland, but you care for Catholicism. If Poland had not been tied by the strings of the clergy, she would be today an independent and free empire. You did not care to bring into the Polish fatherland welfare and education, but you cared to strengthen Catholicism. . . .

When one reads history, then he sees that the bravest sons of the fatherland were ruined by your politics. Warneńczyk perishes from the sword of the Turks; Batory comes back from Moscow because there they are promising to accept Catholicism; Sobieski defends Vienna because there Catholicism is concerned. . . . Not long ago Wilhelm, King of Prussia—the devourer of Poles, the headsman, he who tortures Polish children and imprisons priests—was celebrating the 25th anniversary of his reign. For this the Holy Father sent blessings and good wishes to him; and we, the Polish people, are ordered to pray and to be silent. And when the peasant, looking at all that, does not

want to keep silent, then the thunders of anathemas fall on his head, he is not granted forgiveness for his sins, he is threatened with hell.

And what about various pastoral letters? Does it become pupils of Christ to remain in the service of the powerful of this world to fight with this kind of arms in the twentieth century? What did we do to you by allowing you to accumulate treasures, silver and gold! . . . You do not believe and do not profess the ideas of Christ and therefore we do not believe you either. And when you anathematize us, you make yourselves ridiculous, for the peasant does not believe in such fables. We believe in a God of brotherly love.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

91. [Typical for a moderate revolutionist. Attempt to interpret the new tendencies as being in perfect accordance with the real essence of those traditional standards which the revolutionist consciously or unconsciously preserves.]

The pastoral letter of His Excellency the Bishop Augustyn Łoziński forbidding the paper *Zaranie* caused a great stir among us and pained the hearts not only of the readers of *Zaranie* but of the whole people. Although they do not step forth openly, they murmur secretly among themselves against the priests and this decision. They say that the pastoral letter has set the brothers of one country one against another, divided them into two camps which will disagree and quarrel and fight with one another, all for the benefit of our enemies the *Hakatists* [word formed of the 3 letters H. K. T., which are the initials of the three chiefs of the German nationalists, whose main object was to fight against the Poles. The word indicated this German party; here it is implicitly extended also to the Russian nationalists]; these are not lacking in our country and wish to deprive the Polish people of its land and nationality. But just for this reason Poles need progressive and enlightened men for cultural work, and no retrograde clericals. The way to instruction ought not to be obstructed for the Polish people. Every Polish peasant ought to know well how to calculate and to read; and not only religious books, not only in order to say prayers thoughtlessly on a rosary or to kill his weariness.

Such words I have heard from the people, who speak aloud

among themselves and say that things are bad as they are. The people understand already how it ought to be, but the lords and the priests want the people to be dark [uninstructed] and humble. But it is now impossible to fight against the people with such weapons; all this is vain because the peasants' slavery ended in 1864. Now the Polish peasant, although he is poor because he lacks enlightenment and knowledge, is free and independent of the other classes upon which he was dependent formerly. The peasant of today is becoming enlightened; he does not regard any impediments and prohibitions of the priests who forbid him to read useful books and popular papers. Although he well knows that for reading scientific papers he will be cursed and will not receive absolution, he does not mind it because he says to himself that they would like to drag the people back to mediæval times. . . . The peasant of today tries to read all the books and papers which are forbidden, because these are more interesting to him. . . .

Well, my lords and you, brothers in Christ, spiritual guides, if you would go among this beloved people and share its labors and hardships; if you said to yourselves, as once our Lord Christ said, "I pity this people"; if you pitied this people and did well by them, and instead of wronging them, helped them to knowledge and enlightenment; if you did not wrong them in their pay, working for you as they do from dawn until late in the night for small wages, like the hired laborer or the manor-servants, living in a narrow room among pigs, chickens, geese and rabbits, together with their children, in disagreeable smells and foul air; if you treated this people like men and not like cattle—in this case you would have all the people with you and they would follow you everywhere. But you consider the country people as nothing, you despise them as if they were from another stuff than you; you are ashamed to shake hands with them, though they do not ask it at all. You meddle with them everywhere as a dog with a cat, . . . you cheat them on every occasion, and therefore the people do not believe you and avoid you, not wishing to meet you. Only the dark people follow you still, who wear rosaries and chaplets for the human eye, that everybody may see what true Catholics they are. . . .

If we want to have pure water for our use to drink we must

first filter it of the dirt. The same applies to every man, whether lord or priest or magistrate; it is necessary to filter him publicly—through criticism in papers—of dirty habits, such as cupidity, rapacity, drunkenness and theft, without regard to the position he occupies in the world, in order that he may improve and be purified of these dirty habits. So the criticism which *Zaranie* makes publicly is very useful.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

92. [A very good specimen from that class of people who naïvely try to utilize a revolutionary movement for the satisfaction of their personal animosities and the realization of their egotistic aims.]

Farmer Jaroński will not take *Zaranie* into his hands because he says that *Zaranie* is bad, but when he returns from church, instead of taking a good book, or one he considers good and holy, or reciting the rosary, or at least the chaplet, do you know, dear readers of *Zaranie,* what this pious man does? Well, he goes to his Jew to play cards and plays till midnight. . . And I will also add that whenever there is music going on in another village, the whole Jaroński family drives to that music and the father later brings supper for his children, as if they were at some work. That's what this farmer Jaroński does. And he is village-elder and owns 20 morgs. Dear Editor's office of the paper *Zaranie,* I beg you to print the above letter because people say that the paper *Zaranie* does not write the truth. So let them know that there is truth in this. And please forward me at once 2 copies of it; one I will keep for myself and the other for Jaroński.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

93. I inform the Respected Gentleman Editor that to us also our priests want to forbid the reading of our beloved *Zaranie,* which teaches us and strengthens us in religion and the love of the fatherland, develops our muscles [*brains* was intended; in Polish these words have a somewhat similar sound], and makes us real confessors of Christ. When on New Year I was in the editor's office, then Mr. Editor himself asked me whether you [the paper], had not been writing too much against the priests. Our Respected Brother Editor, everyone of the readers says that too little is written, and when we read it to those who are

ignorant and uneducated even they affirm that still more of such work is needed. The priests have kept us in ignorance for centuries; and even lately they touched [the school of] Kruszynek, thinking that they would abolish this our lever [evidently "an uplifting institution"]. But they were mistaken. Leaving this aside—in our commune we have been also working all the time and desiring to establish little schools in the villages, because we do not have as many as we could according to the new law. . . . The priests—especially Priest Pacholski from Żabianka and Priest Rozwadoski from Sobieszyn—were asked to proclaim and to encourage their parishioners to establish primary-schools. The profit was this: At the time of the parish-resolution in Żabianka, Priest Pacholski went out to a neighboring house in order to avoid what is good and beautiful. They know how to use the pulpit for bad purposes, as when he announced that his parishioners should contribute money and eggs on the arrival of the Bishop (and afterwards these eggs had to be thrown into the Wieprz because they became spoiled) but when it comes to education, to enlightenment, then they have their lips closed. And thus the resolution ended. The criers scoffed at those who wanted to sign the resolution for schools, and as there was not enough of the latter, we could do nothing against ignorance. The priests' favorites were claiming: "If these schools were a good thing, the priest would have told us so." And they do not know that our dear priests are as afraid of true enlightenment as the devil of holy water. The following Sunday the same kind of resolution was taken in Sobieszyn as in Żabianka. . . .

And now I inform the editor how priests were fighting against us readers of *Zaranie* in Sobieszyn. I myself have been pushed down from the stairs of the rectory by the priest. It was so: The priest called me and asked: "So you, Miętka, are still reading *Zaranie*."—"I am reading, if you please, Priest." (He had been warning me before.) "O you criminal, O you wretch! I will throw you out of the fraternity." (I am a member of the church committee.) . . . "I will not admit you to confession, I will not impart the sacraments either to yourself or to your family, if you do not stop reading this anathematized *Zaranie*. . . ." Then he pushed me down the stairs so that I almost fell. . . . And

after that he called out [in church] all the readers of *Zaranie;* he wrote letters and sent them through the village-elders to get us to sign these letters promising not to read *Zaranie.*

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

94. Forgive me, brothers, if I, a peasant of Podlasie, formerly Greek-Unitarian, send my complaints to *Zaranie* that things are getting bad among us, because "they have enveloped us with the narrow circle of a chain and call us to give away our spirits." A struggle began among us for science and spirit. O come, Science, in your white garment and illuminate my brethren with the rays of the torch of knowledge!

During our hard times of struggle for the Uniate faith we went in close ranks, we held the faith of our fathers and we enlightened ourselves. During whole nights by the light of a small oil-lamp, we peasants—some 20 of us—read together *With Fire and Sword, The Deluge, Pan Wolodyowski, Quo Vadis,* and many, many other works. We are not accustomed to read only that which our older brethren allow us to read. When everything moves, earth and sun and stars, when nothing in the universe stands till, nothing says: "Enough of this movement; of this work," we won't stand still either; we wish to know the works of God. We rejoiced that we are also Poles and Catholics, that we should rest after 30 years of struggle [when freedom of belief was granted and the Russian government permitted the Uniates to become Catholics].

During the free days of 1905 we saw our different would-be-benefactors and excellencies [aristocrats] when they refused to have their hands kissed, saying that we and they are men alike, only they are more instructed. It is true that before 1905 we did not know them and they did not know us; but today again they don't know us, they are again excellencies, and we are "Hams."

The people of Podlasie wept with bloody tears when some monster, some godless man robbed the miraculous image of God's Mother in Częstochowa. Everybody among us has been there. . . . Where else could the poor Uniate shed the stream of his tears, if not there? He took the last penny with him, a bag of biscuits of black bread, a water-pitcher; he suffered hunger and cold and terror, but for 30 years he went every year

to Jasna Gora [in defiance of the Russian Government]. Nobody guessed who that criminal could be. When the Holy Father offered new crowns, and when we heard of it from our prelate in the church, 1,000 pilgrims went to the crowning-ceremony. The stripped image was shown to us; we could not look at it without indignation and tears. Who are you who could dare to do this?

And then the telegram brought the news that Father Damazy Macoch was the author of it, that he was the bold man. Papers lied in writing that he was a peasant and that only a peasant would dare to do such a thing. . . . But a peasant would rather die from hunger and would not take a penny from Jasna Gora! But it is true, brothers, that the peasant is guilty not only there, but everywhere, in every cloister and church, because he does not spare his bloodily earned money. He gives the last penny and then the Macochs and Komineks arrange wild orgies and sweet idyls.

"Woe to you, learned in the scripture, hypocrites, Pharisees, who eat up houses of widows under the cover of long prayers! Therefore you will bear a hard judgment and your house will be empty." The priests cry from the pulpits: ["Your dead ones are calling.] 'Have mercy, have mercy you at least, our friends, because the hand of God has struck us!' Son, who is calling so from the fire of purgatory? It is your father, your mother. Wife, it is your husband. They left you their fortunes and you forgot them." And so during the whole year, except on Sundays, the priests stand before altars and set the peasants' souls free from purgatory—for money! Three, seven, fifteen roubles, must the peasant give. But if some one has not this sum, this mammon—even if he [the deceased] had gone every day to church during his whole life and it was for a small sin he got there in the fire—he may fall down before the priest and implore him to say a mass, but without mammon—let the dead burn there until consumed.

For money the priest prays, for money he makes people base. Yes, we the peasants are guilty, if the Macochs, Starczewskis, Komineks and many, many others, after having gathered mammon for the peasants' souls, travel to Italy, to Paris and live with the pretty sex.

All the priests ought to have wages, like every other official, and religious services ought to be performed without paying. Is it indeed pleasant for you, priests, when an orphan comes to you begging you to bury her father or mother and you rob her in so sad a moment? The people have grown accustomed to it, you taught them so; [they do not feel] the ugliness of what you say: "If there is no money, let them bury [the dead] without divine service." Even beyond the grave there is for you a difference between a man who has money and another who has none.

And what have you done with this money for the good of the country? See here, every year in Warsaw some one among the great families bequeathes large sums for humanitarian ends, and you? O God! God! enlighten the Polish people! [In one village the priest forbids the reading of *Zaranie*.] . . . And the result is that the people do not want to read anything and scorn those who read. In some villages the life of a somewhat enlightened peasant is a true torture. For many people the results of the work of two young priests who were some years ago in our parish are totally wasted. In many villages a neighbor lives with his neighbor like two dogs, a sister hates her sister, would like to drown her in a spoon of water [proverb], and whoever reads is particularly detested. An example: A young boy came often to me; he had a great wish to read, he took books and read them. His father went to confession and after this forbade him to come to me, although the father himself reads *Zaranie*.

Drinking prevails among young people, developed often during the last few years [and general disorganization]. . . . But not long ago there was a mission [revival] among us, and the people swore to abstain from liquor. It is true that the organist and the liquor-shopkeeper are one and the same person. People see him in the choir singing and playing the organ and after the divine service he hands vodka across the bar to those who want to drink. . . .

In 1906 town-people, Jews and some villagers began to drive wood from the manor-forest, dry wood, as they claimed; in reality they felled thick pines. There have been fights with the forest-keepers. I condemn this, but [on the other hand] the

administration of the estates of Countess Potocka always likes law-suits; there has never been any understanding between the manor and the peasant hut. So it is not strange that the people, wronged for many years by the administration in the matter of servitudes, practiced abuses then. But how and with whose help did the lords suppress these invasions upon their forests? [Probably with Russian soldiers.] Merciful God! We shall remember those our patriots. Why does the Countess Potocka never come here? Why does she never examine this question herself? We do not know. But now the forest-guards do not even allow women to gather leaves for baking bread; they take the ropes of leaves away although these forests are loaded with peasants' servitudes.

Some years ago there was a library in Miedzyrzec for about 2 months, but our elder brothers [priests and nobles] did not want to spread reading among us. The books for this library were offered by some worthy persons, but up to the present about 700 volumes lie shut up in a book-case, because if the peasant (God forbid!) should read, he could learn that he also is a man, while the elder brothers think that he is half a beast. In 100 years there will perhaps be a man from the peasants.

More than once I have asked some older peasant what are these stars which shine on a beautiful night. "Well, these bright ones are souls of bishops, those smaller ones, souls of priests," he said. "And where are the peasant-souls of our forefathers?" I asked him. He answered: "In the fire, in hell." Ten years ago, when a peasant died and his body was carried [to the churchyard], a man who went behind the said train instead of saying, "Eternal Rest," sang: "Four horses were hitched and drew this soul out" [of hell? Allusion to some local belief]. He did not know any other manner of singing. And even now many, many of them have such an idea of the universe.

Here there are some manor-tenants who do not refuse better grain-seeds or any other material help to the peasant; but we need instruction like water, like air to breathe. We need to have a morg produce twice as much as now; but without knowledge there can be nothing. Don't stand in our way, because other nations will laugh at you for pushing your people backwards! Even now in this our country we don't ask you for help, because

for so many centuries there has been none. We don't expect friendship from you. You never entered into our cabins, because an illustrious lord is not the same as a peasant. You will die with a Chinese pride in your hearts. But we address ourselves to those sensible hearts who carry the torch of science. Remember us, brothers and sisters! We want nothing but knowledge, books, that we may know about this earth of ours and other planets, about those milliards of worlds in space, about this drop of dew balancing itself upon a blade of grass on a summer morning, about lightning and cyclones, about the history of nations. Because we have slept much and nobody awakened us. And today, in the twentieth century, they say to us: "Don't read, good peasant, don't read *Zaranie,* because it is a bad paper."

But, Reverend ones, how many are there of those good and religious papers; and up to the present none of them has written even about the notarial alleviations. [The notaries take more than is officially allowed. It is an old custom, which *Zaranie* fought, instructing the peasants how much they had to pay to conform with the law.] . . .

Amend! you priests and lords. Don't play cards. Give the cards to the gypsies; let them tell fortunes to dark [ignorant] people from them. And you yourselves, instead of losing hundreds of roubles at cards, buy books, you priests, for poor children, and you, illustrious ones, for those in your service. Don't sell your lands to Germans nor your houses to Jews. Priests, forbid the smoking of *mahorka* [lowest sort of Russian tobacco] and tobacco, because among us every village spends hundreds of roubles for this poison. Don't check instruction, but spread it with your whole strength and we will help you. And then *Zaranie* will not be terrible for you, because you will work also in a godly spirit, not for yourselves alone, but for the whole country. What even the priests teach already in Warsaw [the popularized results of science] is still a great sin in the country.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

In comparing the typical documents here quoted, we notice that the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants seem usually roused by the propaganda of leaders belonging to the intellectual class. This conclusion is fur-

ther corroborated by the history of the revolutionary movements in Poland during the nineteenth century; with few exceptions, the leaders of these movements have been intellectuals, most of them of noble origin. This is, of course, what should be expected in view of the nature of revolution as compared with mere revolt. To start and lead a revolutionary movement a combination of intellectual development, of familiarity with social and political problems and of social idealism was needed which could be seldom found among peasants, for until recently the great majority of those numerous but isolated individuals of peasant origin who received a higher education were too absorbed in their personal careers, too interested in making a place for themselves above the peasant class, or at least too dependent on the newly acquired cultural values and standards of the upper classes, to identify themselves with a peasant revolutionary movement.

On the other hand, the importance of intellectual leadership should not be exaggerated. It certainly plays a much smaller rôle in revolution than in social reconstruction. What it does is merely to formulate and to generalize attitudes which already exist and tend to active expression. It helps to change revolt into revolution by showing that some particular situation which provokes revolt is an integral part of a complex social status which hinders the satisfaction of many conscious or half-conscious wishes, and that the grievances of the revolting individual or community are not private but public grievances, that many other individuals or communities suffer similar wrongs under the same system. But intellectual agitation is powerless unless there are in the masses the attitudes necessary to pass from a dissatisfaction with particular situations to the criticism

of the whole social organization, and from feelings of private wrong to feelings of public indignation.

In our case these attitudes, to which the revolutionary agitation has successfully appealed, are easy to determine. First of all (as we have already mentioned in Volume I, with reference to economic attitudes) during the last 50 to 100 years a very general and deep change took place in the peasant's attitudes toward life, a change which may be best expressed by saying that, while formerly the individual's life organization had only the maintenance of his social and economic status in view, now his attitudes have become organized with reference to a general tendency to advance, of which land-hunger, social climbing, emigration to cities or abroad, are partial manifestations. This tendency is not a matter of personal, temperamental disposition, but a social current spread by imitation and fed by the popularized information about new possibilities of advance. Now the traditional social organization, particularly the class system and the church, was based on the principle of permanence of existing social and economic relations; it made a small allowance for the climbing of individuals but not for the advance of masses. Thus when the tendency to advance became a mass phenomenon the class system and the church were more and more distinctly qualified as obstacles to be overcome; and the fact that many representatives of the nobility and the clergy took *explicitly* a definite stand in favor of the immovability of the social order and against any changes helped the peasants to become conscious of the nature and the reasons of their own originally vague aspirations and contributed to turn an evolution of social forms into a struggle of social classes. And since at the same time, in view of the economic and cultural

situation of the whole country, in certain fields the opportunities for advance were hardly improving at all, sometimes even deteriorating, dissatisfaction with the existing conditions often developed into a general bitterness and depression. Thus we saw what a deeply pessimistic attitude toward life could be found among the manor-servants who had no hopes of ever improving their economic situation. The particular bitterness characterizing the attacks of those interested in intellectual advance upon the clergy is explained by the fact that educational opportunities under Russian domination were exceptionally poor, and that many members of the clergy, instead of cooperating with the efforts of the progressive part of Polish society to promote popular education in spite of the Russian government, counteracted these efforts at every step.

The second general and fundamental attitude which we find back of the revolutionary movements of the peasants can be characterized as the consciousness of the social power and moral righteousness of a solidary community. This consciousness, which sometimes assumes naïvely exaggerated proportions, has evidently its source in the importance which the community originally possesses in the eyes of each of its members, who feels controlled and dominated by it and accepts its judgments as supreme standards of right. When thus a community whose members have still preserved this primary attitude enters into conflict with outside social elements—individuals of other classes, religious or political institutions, etc.—and acts as a solidary unit, it is surprising to see what an almost unlimited faith all the members individually have in the justice of their common standpoint and in the success of their common action. It is almost impossible to persuade a peasant

community which has preserved its primary-group character that its action is wrong or doomed to failure except by breaking it up and discussing the matter separately with each individual. This socio-psychological feature explains the daring with which a peasant group, once resolved to vindicate its claims, often starts and pursues the most radical revolutionary action without apparently the slightest chance of success. It also shows whence comes that feeling of solidarity of wrongs and demands, that consciousness of acting not for one's self alone but for the group, which distinguishes revolution from personal revolt. Later, with increasing acquaintance with the external political and social conditions, the primary peasant community loses its naïve faith in its own righteousness and power; but then, as the contacts between communities grow, there develops a super-communal solidarity, the primary group conceives itself as part of a wider social body, class or nation, and the same unlimited faith is transferred to this new "great community."

We hardly need to emphasize the fact that these two fundamental attitudes underlying the revolutionary movements of the peasants—the tendency to advance and the consciousness of social power and moral righteousness of the community—are by no means socially destructive attitudes; on the contrary, if properly directed, they are, as we shall see presently, the most efficient factors of social reconstruction.

SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

The decay of the traditional social organization is, as we have seen, due to the appearance and development of new attitudes leading to activities which do not comply with the socially recognized and sanctioned schemes of behavior. The problem of social reconstruction is to create new schemes of behavior—new rules of personal conduct and new institutions—which will supplant or modify the old schemes and correspond better to the changed attitudes, that is, which will permit the latter to express themselves in action and at the same time will regulate their active manifestations so as not only to prevent the social group from becoming disorganized but to increase its cohesion by opening new fields for social cooperation.

In this process of creating new social forms the rôle of the individual, the inventor or leader, is much more important than in the preservation and defense of the old forms or in revolutionary movements which tend merely to overthrow the traditional system, leaving the problem of reconstruction to be solved later. For even when the defense of the traditional organization is assumed by particular individuals the latter act merely as official or unofficial representatives of the group; they may be more or less original and efficient in realizing their aim, but their aim has been defined for them entirely by social tradition. In revolution, as we have seen, the individual can generalize and make more

conscious only tendencies which already exist in the group. Whereas, in social reconstruction his task is to discover and understand the new attitudes which demand an outlet, to invent the schemes of behavior which would best correspond to these attitudes, and to make the group accept these schemes as social rules or institutions. More than this, he must usually develop the new attitudes in certain parts of society which have been evolving more slowly and are not yet ready for the reform; and often he has to struggle against obstinate defenders of the traditional system.

We are not concerned here with the methods by which the social leader discovers the new needs of society and invents new forms of social organization; this would lead us far beyond the study of the peasant class. What interests us is, how are new forms imposed upon the peasant communities and what is the social organization resulting? Now, it is clear that in order to have a peasant community consciously accept any institution different from the traditional ones it is indispensable to have this community intellectually prepared to meet new problems. Education of the peasant is thus the first and indispensable step of social reconstruction.

Further, we have seen that social disorganization came as a consequence of the breakdown of the old isolation of peasant communities; the contacts between each community and the outside social world have been continually increasing in number, variety and intensity. It is evident that any attempt of social reconstruction must take this fact into account; a social organization based exclusively upon such interests and relations as bind together the members of an isolated community would have no chance to last and to develop. But, on the other hand, in constructing a new social system those

attitudes of social solidarity which are indispensable to assure a harmonious cooperation of individuals in the active realization of their new tendencies cannot be created out of nothing; use must be made of the attitudes on which the unity of the old community rested. Though no longer sufficient in their old form to organize socially the new interests, they can be changed by proper influences into somewhat different, more comprehensive and more conscious attitudes which are better suited to the new conditions. In other words, the principle of the community has to be modified and extended so as to apply to all those social elements with which the peasant primary group is or will soon be in contact—to the whole peasant class, or even to the whole nation. A wider community is thus gradually evolved, and the instrument through which its opinion is formed and its solidarity promoted is the press.

The social system which develops on this basis naturally tends to reconcile, by modifying them, the two originally contradictory principles—the traditional absorption of the individual by the group and the new self-assertion of the individual against or independently of the group. The method which, after various trials, proves the most efficient in fulfilling this difficult task is the method of conscious cooperation. Closed social groups are freely formed for the common pursuit of definite positive interests which each individual can more efficiently satisfy in this way than if he worked alone. These organized groups are scattered all over the country in various peasant communities, but know about one another through the press. The further task of social organization is to bring groups with similar or supplementary purposes together for common pur-

suit, just as individuals are brought together in each particular group.

The more extensive and coherent this new social system becomes, the more frequent, varied and important are its contacts with the social and political institutions created by other classes and in which the peasants until recently had not actively participated (except, of course, those individuals who became members of other classes and ceased to belong to the peasant class). The peasant begins consciously to cooperate in those activities by which national unity is maintained and national culture developed. This fact has a particular importance for Poland where for a whole century national life had to be preserved by voluntary cooperation, not only without the help of the state but even against the state, and where at this moment the same method of voluntary cooperation is being used in reconstructing a national state system. The significance of such a historical experiment for sociology is evident, for it contributes more than anything to the solution of the most essential problem of modern times—how to pass from the type of national organization in which public services are exacted and public order enforced by coercion to a different type, in which not only a small minority, but the majority which is now culturally passive will voluntarily contribute to social order and cultural progress.

Our study of social reconstruction will thus include the following five problems: 1) leadership; 2) education of the peasants; 3) the wider community and the press; 4) cooperative organizations; 5) the rôle of the peasant class in the nation.

CHAPTER II

LEADERSHIP

The problem of leadership in Poland was particularly complicated because of the combination of two factors—class differences (more persistent among the country population than in cities) and the national situation. The peasant class left to itself would have been unable to produce for many years to come constructive leaders in numbers sufficient for its own reorganization, whereas the national situation urgently required a rapid transformation of the peasant class into a nationally conscious and culturally constructive body. Thus, members of other classes had to assume leadership, at least in the beginning; and, indeed, in no other country has the nobility and the intellectual city class shown as much active interest in organizing the peasants as in Poland during the last 50 years. But this advantage of having more than enough educated and nationally conscious men ready to fulfil the functions of leaders as soon as the need of leadership became obvious was offset by serious disadvantages resulting from the fact that these men were separated from the masses whom they intended to lead by all those attitudes and traditions which were the source and the product of the division of classes.

As far as the nobility was concerned, there is no doubt that, if we except a small number of magnates belonging to the international aristocratic *coterie* and spending most of their time abroad, the average country

squire had a wide "universe of discourse" in common with his peasant neighbor or even his manor-servant, in the professional, religious, social fields, so that he could understand him well enough for the purposes of leadership. But on both sides there were deeply rooted traditional prejudices to overcome before real collaboration became possible. The nobleman was too much inclined to treat the peasant as a permanent minor destined to be always the passive object of a more or less benevolent care of the upper classes, and to claim obedience and one-sided respect as due to his social rank or at least to his superior culture. In matters of organization he naturally tended, often quite unreflectively, to preserve more than was possible of the old system and looked with mistrust or even indignation on many of the new tendencies which began to develop among the peasants and whose first manifestations, sometimes irrational or seemingly anti-social, prevented him from seeing the constructive possibilities implied in their further development. On the other hand, the peasant mistrusted the "lords," particularly when their activity was personally disinterested, for he did not understand its motives; he had to be first educated and organized before he could grasp the full significance and appreciate the motive power of the national ideal. Further, his continually growing desire for economic advance, in connection with the remnants of the old attitude toward the wealthy estate owner (who was treated as somehow outside of and above communal solidarity, to whom neither response nor justice was due because he did not need them), often led the peasant to abuse the good-will of the nobleman-leader, and thus discouraged disinterested initiative. Finally, the fact that between the country squire and his peasant neighbors and servants there

were many business relations which gave many opportunities for trouble, constituted an additional obstacle to successful leadership.

With city intellectuals, the difficulty lay elsewhere. While there were no traditional antagonisms, no inveterate class prejudices to overcome, positive bonds between these two classes were very weak and reciprocal understanding difficult, owing to the lack of contact. Only those among the city men understood the peasant more or less who had either spent their youth in the country as sons of nobles or peasants and preserved their early connections, or who were in an exceptional position to keep continual contact with the peasant class. The great majority of city-bred leaders were idealistic young doctrinaires, poorly acquainted with the practical situations of peasant life and inclined to overrate the pace of possible progress. The peasant mistrusted them less than he mistrusted the "lord," but his mistrust of the latter was connected with fear and often respect whereas with reference to the former there was an unmistakable shade of contempt.

In spite of these obstacles, we find a continually growing number of successful leaders and organizers of peasants both among the city intellectuals and the nobility; but this growth has been relatively slow. This accounts for the fact that a third social group—the clergy—has succeeded in playing a rôle perhaps even more important than that of either of the groups mentioned above, although it began quite late to participate in social reconstruction. It is evident that a country priest has the best possible conditions for becoming a social leader of his parish, particularly in the beginning of the process of reconstruction, when the great mass of his parishioners are passive, and willing to follow a

leader who is otherwise acceptable to them instead of trying to be independent and to organize by their own initiative. There is no inveterate class antagonism preventing collaboration, for the priest, as long as he is considered as an essentially religious personality, is in a sense outside of the class system; only when the worldly attributes of the priest begin to predominate in the eyes of the peasant over his sacral character, reflections are made concerning his class connections. There is a certain mistrust resulting from the often exaggerated economic demands of priests; but with goodwill on the part of the latter this mistrust can be easily overcome. And nobody is in a position to know the peasant better than the priest, in most cases himself a peasant or small townsman by birth and in continuous contact with his parishioners. He is, besides, already a leader in all matters connected with religion, and it needs only some effort on his part to extend this leadership to the economic and political fields. Thus it is exclusively the fault of the clergy or, more exactly, of the church as an institution, that we find relatively few priests among peasant leaders up to about twenty-five years ago. The Catholic Church as international institution with wide political plans never, since the Congress of Vienna, favored the Polish national movement, and it did not explicitly sanction the participation of the clergy in lay social activities until 1893 and the encyclical *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII. But when finally the Polish clergy awoke to the realization of the fact that unless they took an active part in the nation-wide movement of social reconstruction they would lose almost all social influence, they were able rapidly to take an important place among the leaders. Their great rôle, however, seems to be only temporary; the spirit of

independence developing among the peasants deprives the clergy of their exceptional prestige which, in less independent communities, makes the leadership of the priest appear as the most "natural" and obvious, while on the other hand the church system imposes limits on their progress, does not permit them to go as far in the new direction as is necessary to achieve the work of reconstruction.

The last in time and as yet the least important, but probably the most promising for the future is that group of leaders which grows up within the peasant class itself—not men of peasant origin who receive professional education, become incorporated into other social bodies and participate in the reconstructive movement as city intellectuals or clergymen, but those who, having achieved an intellectual and social superiority over the average peasant mass, yet remain members of their class and continue to share all the interests of this class. There have been many such leaders during the period we are studying, but the sphere of their influence in most cases has not exceeded the limits of one community or even one village. But the number of those who, through the press, through political or economic institutions had begun to influence wider circles has been growing, and their rôle seems to have enormously increased lately, during the formation of the Polish state.

In order to avoid misunderstanding we must emphasize the fact that the documents which we are quoting are not meant to characterize types of *leaders,* but to illustrate the psychology of *leadership.* There are rich biographical materials concerning prominent leaders published in Polish—few societies show as strong an interest and appreciation of individual achievements —but we cannot use them here, for the problems which

they raise are entirely beyond the scope of this work. It must be added that the documents included in other chapters of this volume contain much which has a direct bearing on the problem of leadership.

95. [Typical example of the old-time attitude of the nobility toward the lower classes; willing to help *individuals* to advance but entirely unconscious of matters relating to social organization and the progress of the masses. The reactions of the favored individual are also typical.]

On January 1st, 1883, being 20 years old, I came with my father to serve in the manor Pawłówki. . . . On New Year, 1884, I went with my lord to church instead of his coachman. I must mention that during the year my lord had given me many proofs of his grace and favor. On returning from the church, my lord asked me whether I would like to learn to read and to write. I kissed his hand and said that I would like it very much; so he ordered me to come every evening to his office to learn. On the same day he asked me whether I wanted to be a coachman or to become gradually a farm-steward. I answered, a farm-steward. Therefore with the New Year 1884 I moved to the manor; I received there board, a separate small room; my lord gave me a bed, bed-furnishings and clothes and in the evenings taught me to read and to write, when he was at home. On the one hand I got on well, because I had good board, clothes and the protection of the lord, but on the other hand, I had many griefs and troubles because everybody envied me the lord's favor and teased me terribly. My lord required of me also not to deal with anybody, not to drink liquor at all, not to loaf around in the evening, but to spend all the moments free from work in learning. I had been accustomed to all those things from my childhood, and it was very difficult for me to renounce them all. At that time there was a sister-in-law of one of the manor-servants whom they had for a long time intended me to marry. But I knew that if I married her I would lose the favor of the lord and the career which he promised me. So I tried to guard myself against this marriage, and I succeeded.

Sometimes I was guilty, for I did secretly something which was forbidden me because, as people say, "nature draws the wolf

back into the forest." The lord then scolded me in a fatherly way and explained to me that I ought not to do it. . . . I learned to read and to write, I won the confidence of the lord. I assisted him in all the farm-functions, and thanks to his favor I had for my work good clothes and 100 roubles put aside. From March 1st, 1888, I was already a land-steward on a separate farm . . . of the same lord. My lord had long subscribed to the *Gazeta Świąteczna* for me and in free moments I read it and instructed myself. I got so accustomed to the *Gazeta* that the need to read it became second nature. . . . Through reading the *Gazeta* and the books which I got to read I gained instruction and knowledge —how man is obliged to work, how he ought to act and to repay his employer with honest labor and gratitude for lifting him up from the darkness and giving him the occasion to become a useful man. . . .

In 1883 I began my service there as a driver. In 1895 I am manager of an estate of 1100 morgs, with 200 roubles wages and corresponding *ordynarya*. And I owe all this to the protection of a good lord, to instruction and to abstaining from all those bad habits to which I got accustomed in childhood and which all but drew me aside from the way in which my lord put me and on which he led me. Today I have two children and I am trying to educate them. . . . May this my record . . . be an example for others. . . .

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

96. Julian Gościcki, an estate owner in the district of Płock, celebrating on July 2nd the twentieth anniversary of his farming on the estate Lelice, commemorated this day with a beautiful act. After the divine service in the church—for it was Sunday—he invited to his home all the manor-workers with their children and their *posyłkas* and the peasant farmers who had done hired work on the estate, and treated all of them copiously. Four among his workers who had served for 20 years in his manor were given a hundred roubles each and advised not to waste this money on useless things but to keep it for their old age or to preserve it as a help for buying a house or a piece of land of their own. All four asked that their money be left in the hands of Mr. Gościcki until they need it for something important. Mr. Gościcki agreed, but gave them receipts for any eventuality . . .

promising that he would pay them five roubles interest on every hundred as long as this money remained in his keeping.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 30.

97. [A very significant failure as compared with preceding case, due partly to the new method—dealing with group rather than with individuals—where some active co-operation is required. The entire social relation between estate owner and servants remains what it was, and the isolated innovation is naturally misinterpreted.]

The young heir of the estate. . . . Mr. Bolesław Gorecki, who took the estate after his father's death this year, wanted to commemorate his entrance into his patrimonial estate. He decided to introduce a kind of pension for all the workmen in his manor, teamsters, *parobeks*, etc., in the following way. Every servant . . . whether he stayed on the spot or came from somewhere else, was to receive, about New Year, one rouble of earnest-money. Mr. Gorecki wanted every one of those men to leave this rouble with him and he, the owner of the estate, bound himself to add to this rouble 5 roubles more and to give every man a booklet in which it would be written how much money he had deposited. Those who stayed would not take this money back before at least ten years had passed. Then everyone could take his money together with the interest, and he would have more than 70 roubles, or after 20 years more than 150.

If anyone left his service before this time he would receive only the roubles he had deposited, whereas the 5 roubles a year contributed by the estate owner would be divided among the others. After the death of the husband his wife and children would receive all his dues. This pension would in no way interfere with personal property and every year anyone who wished might leave and take back his roubles.

Well, I happened to be there precisely on the day when all the servants of the estate were called. There were more than eighty, and more than a half of them had been serving for over ten years, some much longer. Mr. Gorecki explained to them his idea, showing how they might secure at least some ready money. I was sure that, having listened to the speech in which the idea was clearly expounded, they would accept this innovation with gratitude. But, O Heavens! all of them like one man opposed

it. "We do not want it, Respected Sir! Let it be as it used to be. If you were so gracious as to give us the earnest-money and those 5 roubles in hand, then all right; but if not, then not." All the most sensible persuasions led to nothing; even words of scorn were heard in the crowd.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 47.

98. By the endeavors of the former vicar of our parish [Tuliszków], Priest Jasiński church song was introduced here and performed by a group of men. Priest Jasiński . . . soon left our town and the direction of the singing was taken over by the organist. But somehow the singing lessons soon began to go on in a completely different manner. . . . Gradually as an addition to singing, beer was introduced and a whole barrel used to be emptied at every meeting. Without the barrel the singing lesson did not begin and with the barrel there was not much time left for it, because the matter of the beer had to be settled. . . . Many singers understood that things were going wrong but nobody wanted to undertake a reorganization of that which was disorganizing. In silence the singers withdrew from the association and the singing-group ceased to exist. So a lack of good leadership destroyed a promising work.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 11.

99. [Entirely new methods of leadership. Interest in social organization, not individual advance. No social relations between the leader and the led which would interfere with his organizing activities by introducing the element of class opposition.]

The leader of the peasants, Maximilian Jackowski [is a nobleman and estate owner. He participated first in the revolutionary movements connected with the national uprising in 1863 and was imprisoned by the Prussian government. When in 1865 he left the prison] he had profited in two respects: First, he had acquired in calm studies a theoretic education in political economy which proved very useful to the great practitioner. Secondly, he was now penetrated by the idea which he defended up to his death against all phantastic hopes to the contrary, that the Poles could develop only if they introduced into the very depths of their nation a social organization that would rouse the purposeless and passive mass to conscious work.

He developed this idea during the following years and published in 1870 a program or declaration of faith: *Views as to Our Principles, Problems and Needs.* It is the ungainly writing of a man whose field was practical efficiency and extensive organization.

But before I speak of this peculiar booklet, let me say a few words about the man himself. When I went for the first time to the province of Posen in order to study the situation, an issue of the *Kuryer Poznański* fell into my hands containing [a paragraph written by Maximilian Jackowski which expressed his approval of an article published by a young estate owner who devotes himself to politics]. Surprised at this peculiar public censorship, I informed myself about the usage and found quite a series of similar public declarations which partly referred to persons, partly to party groups, events, the attitudes of the press or of the [Polish parliamentary] fraction, as for instance:

. . . "I express hereby my recognition to the editors of the *Kuryer* for the dignified and calm form in which they lead political discussion in contrast with the level of newspaper ethics which characterizes the *Dziennik Poznański.* I fully and perfectly agree with the political convictions of the *Kuryer Poznański* and with the form of the proclamations, and I beg the editors to publish this declaration in today's issue of the *Kuryer.*"

Nothing characterizes this man better than the domineering, unabashed way in which, until his death in 1905, he publicly judged public happenings. He stood there like a patriarch during the last 20 years of his life (he died at the age of 90) and every declaration which he sharply pronounced—mostly too sharp and too energetic—was accepted with respect, even though the younger leaders were of the opinion that the old Maximilian Jackowski proceeded in a too stormy and undiplomatic way.

Maximilian Jackowski appeared as non-Slavic in nature in so far as he lacked all flexibility and smoothness. In the committees over which he presided he was the committee, for all the others had to be silent or to disappear. When he met serious opposition, he occasionally even made a political use of the peasant organizations which stood behind him. Thus, in 1893 he had the leading organ of the party which opposed him boycotted by the peasant associations, though he had always im-

pressed upon the latter that political fights did not belong to their competency.

However, he would be unjustly judged if he were represented as a kind of rough Hun, for much more prominent than his ruthlessness was his much admired expert knowledge and foresight. The central society of large estate owners which he founded and which his son today leads bears the traces of his influence; the Polish peasant associations founded by him and covering the whole province of Posen like a net have been drafted by him not only in their main outlines but in their smallest details, and in the last years of his life . . . he even interfered with the Polish cooperative system, for he thought that the cooperative societies were assuming a too capitalistic character. The Poles owe it essentially to him that in recent years not only credit associations were founded as before, but also agricultural co-operative societies for buying and selling.

We are tempted to explain the program [published in 1870] of a man who has done so much. . . . In a peculiar mixture of pedantry and vivid experience he discusses the organization of [national] work, basing himself partly on the system of political economy of John Stuart Mill, partly on the practical lesson which Karol Marcinkowski had given to the Poles in his organizations. From these dissimilar elements he draws the conclusion that the Poles should indeed continue to follow the way opened by Marcinkowski but that they should make more definite efforts than before to reach *professional organizations,* in the form of great coherent systems which would be able to embrace the whole country. . . .

In 1873 there were 11 peasant associations, in 1875, 45; in the following year, 61; in 1877, 105; in 1880, 120 associations. Every association was founded by Jackowski himself who during all these years traveled through the country so that the peasants began to worship him as all-present. In his speeches and writings recurred in infinite variations the one idea that a people which has lost its political independence can rely only on the national feeling and that the national feeling disappears when there is no social organization.

In the beginnings of the eighties the nucleus of the peasant class was organized in this way. Every month each peasant as-

sociation had its meeting; once a year the peasant associations of a whole district came together, and every spring took place in Posen the great yearly convention of Polish peasants. Politics was excluded, but the cultivation of the Polish national feeling was not considered politics. Not to let land fall into German hands; to preserve Polish mores and customs; to defend themselves in common against the measures of the Prussian government—these were the main aims of the national organization.

Led exclusively by Poles, the union fostered peasant farming, took care to introduce a rational cultivation of the soil and to apply modern implements, gave advice in matters concerning credit, in questions of insurance. The 13,000 peasants who today belong to this union constitute the nucleus of the Polish "peasant republic" in Prussia.

Prof. Ludwig Bernard, *Die Polenfrage* (1910), 84-96.[1]

100. [Good illustration of the attitudes of peasants toward city people. No definite general prejudice, but sharp criticism in readiness. If a city leader's moral character and practical ability are up to the peasants' standards and he knows how to deal with them, there are no further obstacles to his influence.]

The men who have higher instruction and fortune have different relations among themselves, occupy different positions; they are engineers, doctors, merchants, craftsmen, industrials and others. . . . But there are also some who don't do anything but live on their capital and spend their time in walking and reading different papers and books which they like, and finally in playing at different games and in lying long in their beds. In short, there are honest and unhonest people, good and bad ones; there are people who are religious and polite, but there are also scoundrels in the highest degree, such as one cannot even imagine.

Often it happens that in going afoot or with horses you meet some priest who willingly lifts his hat before everybody, even the poorest one, and praises our Lord God. But also you often meet a so-called gentleman who neither says "Praised be [Jesus Christus]," nor lifts his head, nor even turns his eyes. . . .

[1] This book, a very thorough study of Polish organizations under German domination, has a particular significance because written in the interests of Germanization by a foreign and hostile observer.

In our country many people come to Nałęczów in summer to save their health. Some of them are good enough and work for the benefit of us, the peasants; they give us good advice, useful teaching and beautiful examples. But there are also those who only sow scandal among their brothers. . . . At least 10 years ago I came to the steady use of my reason and when I knew all this [I saw that] among richer and more instructed people there are many who transgress the sixth and tenth commandments of God. . . .

Among us, the peasants, the opinion is that if a man is rich, instructed and honest, he is worthy of great respect, but if he is not honest, we consider it a sin to have any relations with him. Among rich and instructed people one in a hundred can be found honest, but among the simple peasants . . . one in a hundred can be found dishonest.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

101. [The peasant here realizes the contrast between the idealistic intellectual social leader and the egotistic educated Philistine—an essential step toward selecting and appreciating leaders on the ground of their personal attitudes rather than their social position].

I must confess that I became acquainted with men for the first time when I was on the excursion organized by *Zaranie*. . . . [I have lived] in a village near a town and near a sugar-factory where are intelligent men. But . . . with us they are proud and self-conceited in their haughtiness. Well, when I found myself with such a society [as during the excursion], I did not know how to behave among such people as these; they were so polite and kind it was a pleasure. All were equal, there was no difference—one a lord, another a peasant, one intelligent, another stupid; they did not differ as with us. And there were learned and wise men, lords from high spheres and peasants, teachers, and many, many others, and all of the same spirit and the same idea, but an idea which makes people conscious, unites them and makes them like brothers in mutual love. How pleasant it was to listen when they spoke with one another like brothers.

What! With us a would-be gentleman, when he has a suit for 15 *złoty* and a paper-collar for 6 *groszy* and knows how to read and to write a little, like a hen with her claws, and gets a

place in a factory—well, then you, who are but a peasant, don't come near to him! . . . And about the church or the library he does not wish to hear anything because he knows already all the indecent tavern words without any library. How can we, the peasants, work together with such people for progress and be friends with them, if we do not see among them good examples and reciprocal love? . . . We have no good teachers. In our village there is a teacher from Russia, a *kacap* [contemptuous word for a Russian]. And even if there are some, don't believe that they teach the peasants and speak with them like learned men. They loathe the peasant.

Such a teacher has already forgotten how he herded cows and how we went together to school, how himself and others were sitting on the same bench and were treated in the same manner by their teacher. His parents were richer, so they sent him to higher schools and worked themselves that their son might learn. And at last he became a teacher. . . .

Now, the peasant does not know that he ought to speak more politely with Mr. Teacher, that after every word he ought to say, "Please, Sir." Because the peasant teacher refuses to know that he is a peasant himself and the other does not imagine that, as peasant, he cannot keep company with gentlemen; and therefore he does not know how to speak. Moreover, this peasant believes that if the teacher herded cattle and played with him, now he is not obliged to be ceremonious, but he speaks as with another peasant. And today there are also peasants who do not show a serf's soul before such a peasant teacher; knowledge is not today so totally strange to the peasant. But the peasant teacher does not wish to understand this, because he says that a peasant is a fool and he is a gentleman: He gets every month nearly 40 roubles, sometimes even more. And he does not mind what he gets this money for and who gives it to him. What do ideas matter to him? He is neither for the idea nor for the society. He has learned only in order to be a man who gets his wages the 20th of every month.

And there are also men who don't want to remain with "this rabble" [the peasants] during the winter, but try to screw themselves into the district-administration and to become officials, bureaucrats.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

102. [From a woman working in a factory.]

Respected Mr. Editor of *Gazeta Świąteczna.* I became acquainted long ago with the *Gazeta,* for I am an old reader. Although I have not subscribed, I have bought the paper from the newsboy every Sunday. And I loved this paper so much that I desired to subscribe to it, because I came to the conviction that you, Mr. Writer, do not work for your profit or for the sake of conciliating any political party; but this work, in my opinion, is for the sake of the commonwealth, of the whole Polish society.

Respected Sir! I know that my letter will perhaps not reach your hands, because I have known for a long time that God the Merciful has sent upon you a heavy illness. It causes me a great sorrow that this illness lasts so long. I hope with my fellow-readers that God the Merciful will call you back to life. I pray to God that you may still work in the future for us, the Poles, because we are still far away from the end which we ought to have attained already. No paper and no journal has ever been able so to call us to knowledge and enlightenment as you have done by your warm labor in your widely read paper *Gazeta Świąteczna.* . . .

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

103. There came a moment of true sorrow and regret for the parish Szczeglice because our priest, Count Tarło, bade farewell to our parish, moving to Jastrzab near Radom. . . . We felt that not only a priest, but a true guardian and friend of us all was leaving us. We have had priests in our parish before who did their duty no less eagerly, but only in religious ceremonies, concerning faith; our material life interested them little. Only now we understood what is a priest for his parish and how much good he can do.

The priest Count Leon Tarło came to our parish in February, 1898. We received him as priests are usually received; we were only glad that he was young and would always perform the divine service for us. . . . We were accustomed to speak with the priest only when a religious need arose; feeling always intimidated and constrained in the presence of the priest, we tried to settle rapidly all the religious matters in order to be as short a time as possible together with the priest.

We were very much astonished that our new priest gladly spoke with us not only when business led us to him but at every meeting on the road or in the field; he was interested mainly in our farming and our home affairs. In the beginning we thought that the priest intended to raise the tariff for burials and weddings and therefore wanted to know our material situation. So we avoided meeting the priest and for some years we could not understand one another. The priest evidently understood our conduct, changed his tactics and began to occupy himself with our children, who having no occupation loafed around in flocks. From five years up he took them to his garden and gave them different occupations. He let the older ones pick fruit and the younger ones gather it, talking to them and teaching them how the tree grows, how the fruits are formed, which insects harm them, etc., enjoined them to take care of trees, and after the end of the daily occupation paid some money to all the children. Our children got so accustomed to their priest that instead of loafing around without occupation as formerly, they gathered in the court of the parish-house and waited for their spiritual father to come to them.

We old ones followed the example of our children but so lazily that we understood our priest only after some years. . . . In our parish it is now no longer as it was 15 years ago. We understand what instruction can give. Formerly we felt an aversion and prejudice towards papers, so that the priest subscribed to them at his own cost and begged us to read them; now we have 52 papers of our own. We know the value of artificial manure, of agricultural machines, and also the advantage of changing seed grain. We understand what is love of your neighbor and charity, because our priest gave us the example, performing religious ceremonies for poorer people almost without money and even helping the quite poor ones with gifts. We know what mutual help is, so we will try to organize an agricultural circle and a consumers' association.

Forgive us for not knowing you in the first years which are now lost to us, but it is not our fault if we were dark and neglected. May God bless you and give you health that you may further work usefully for society and may you be understood sooner in your new parish instead of being obliged, as among us, to conquer hearts and confidence through your labors.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

104. [Documents 104-110 illustrate various sides of the problem of clerical leadership in connection with the Polish national organization on the one hand, with the Catholic Church hierarchy on the other.]

Parson Wajda, a Polish candidate for Parliament from the election district Pless-Rybnik [Upper Silesia], publishes a proclamation to his electors in which he says among other things: "I am a son of a peasant from the district of Raciborz. At the time of the *Kulturkampf* I was compelled to remain for many years as teacher with one of the most prominent families of Poland. As a Catholic priest who lived at the time of the *Kulturkampf,* I shall defend particularly stubbornly and strongly our holy faith, the rights of our church and its freedom, also the rights of Catholics in the spirit of their full equality before the law with citizens of other denominations.

"You, my dear countrymen, and I as well, are not only Catholics, but by the grace of God also Poles. Since the fight is now directed first of all against everything that is Polish, we must pay the more careful attention to the protection of our nationality. I have never concealed my devotion to whatever makes nationality, that is, to the mother tongue, to our father's customs and mores . . . which is proved by my signature on the proclamation of the clergy which was published nearly a year ago and which you all remember.

"How could it be otherwise! I have grown up under the thatch of a Polish hut, all of my nearest ones are Poles. In remaining a Pole, I have only fulfilled the will of God's Providence, which has commanded me to maintain until my death the Polish nationality."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 8.[1]

105. The administrator of the arch-diocese Poznań-Gniezno, Bishop Likowski, incurred the displeasure of all the Poles by pointing out recently in an address to the clergy the detrimental influence of many Polish people's newspapers, which declare themselves to be Catholic and in truth are such only in words.

[1] *Umschau im Polenlager,* a German mimeographed publication in Katowice, Silesia, endeavored to collect all current data from Polish periodicals bearing on the Polish national movement, for the information of German politicians, editors, etc.

Lech even improvises a "national song of complaint" in reference to that incident and regrets particularly that the Bishop puts himself in opposition to the immense majority of people by his reactionary behavior, which provokes an outburst from the masses and tends to drive a wedge between the people and its leaders the priests. The Polish newspaper in conclusion expresses the hope that the clergy will now as before remain true to the Polish people.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 22.

106. By his speech on the occasion of the deliberation on the Appropriation Bill for the Ministry of Education, Priest Kapitza has thrown a very bad light on the whole Polish nation and the Polish party in the Diet and brought upon himself the suspicion of being friendly to Prussia and a hidden Centrist [belonging to the Catholic party].

We read in *Kuryer Śląski:* . . . "One should forgive Priest Kapitza much, be very indulgent with him; he has erred so long on the by-ways of the Centrum that he does not yet understand the Polish tendencies of today. . . . Priest Kapitza has not yet come to an inner conviction as to whether he is a Pole or a Polish-speaking Prussian. Leaning toward the program of the German Centrum party he should not have accepted the mandate of the Polish party. . . . Priest Kapitza said that he is a Prussian without restriction. . . . Had he asked the chairman of the Polish Party, Rev. Jazdzewski, the latter would have told him that it is a matter of course, about which nobody should wonder, that the Polish nation dreams about its national independence and self-government.

"The attitude of Kapitza toward the government is not antagonistic enough; he should thoroughly revise his standpoint. And most deplorable is his attitude toward the national Polish movement. He sees in it an exaltation and a nervousness which make peace with the government and the Empire impossible. . . . There are in Upper Silesia clergymen of the younger generation who do not share the views of Kapitza although they cannot protest against them publicly because of their dependent condition."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 49.

107. Father Zborowski writes to *Gazeta Kościelna:* "The Prussian government is perfectly conscious how enormous is

the influence of the church upon the Polish people. It sees that whoever wins the help of the church may be sure of victory. Therefore it has several times tried to hitch the church to the car of its own policy, but did not everywhere succeed. The aim of the government is clearly outlined. It wants to expel the Polish language from the churches with the help of the Catholic clergy and thus to Germanize the Poles. Will it succeed in that? Probably not. The Catholic clergy will not permit themselves to be degraded to servants of the Hakatish Prussian government."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 46.

108. *Lech* (No. 290) publishes a leading article *Preponderance of the Clergy,* in which it tries to prove that a predominance of clerical influence might be fatal for the Polish nationality. This fear is naturally directed toward the clergy which is friendly to Germany, for it is said at the end of the article: "There is no doubt that the conditions in our dioceses change rapidly. Should there only come to the head of our diocese a Germanizing archbishop who inclines toward the chapter which has become German—we shall see with horror what will happen! From this point of view we must define the clerical predominance as dangerous and make it clear to ourselves in time to avoid being surprised."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Dec. 19.

109. *Naprzód* shows its hatred for the clergy in the following words: "Prussian cynicism is possible only because of the absolute passivity of the Polish people which the clergy leads on a rope. The clergy cannot fight; they understand only how to plot and to make themselves affluent. A painful blush suffuses Polish cheeks when one sees that the leader of the Poles, Prelate Wawrzyniak, organizes a pilgrimage to Lourdes.

"If it is true that the Poles in Prussia want to remain Poles, then they must be prepared for different methods of fighting. Not the priests, who are dependent upon Rome and the government, but brave men determined to fight must unite and organize the Polish forces."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 26.

110. It is well known that the real, almost autocratic ruler of the Polish financial system is Prelate Wawrzyniak, curate of Mogilno and papal chamberlain [of peasant origin].

In Polish financial circles no important decision is taken without his opinion. The final decisions mostly come even directly from him. His authority is not limited to Posen and West Prussia, but in the Polish banks in Upper Silesia also the last word in discussion is the prelate's. He is known equally in Galician financial circles and in Warsaw, and when a few years ago he undertook a journey to America, he was received even there as leader of the Polish financial system.

Wawrzyniak has a big, heavy exterior, a passionate, choleric temperament, apparently a "man of violence," but one who holds himself under perfect control. . . . On unimportant occasions and provocations he becomes recklessly excited, but when the matter requires it he is of a stony calm. . . . Since 1872 he has been in the Polish cooperative movement, which is watched more closely than any other in the world by powerful authorities and must fear a dangerous penalty for every mistake. During these 35 years he must have learned the most careful prudence.

Here he finds helpful his exact knowledge of law, of the decisions of the highest administrative tribunal and of the usages of the Prussian administration. He knows exactly what can be demanded of him and what he can refuse and he will not easily endanger the Polish financial system by an unreflected action. Thus this energetic, violent, autocratic man has become one of the most flexible and prudent Polish leaders.

Legally his position is founded in the following way. The Polish co-operative associations in Posen and West Prussia have consolidated, according to the German model, into one "Union." The board of directors of the Union consists of seven members who elect from their number the "patron of the associations." Since 1892 Prelate Wawrzyniak has been the patron. Formally his power is not particularly great as he is merely the chairman of this group of seven men, among whom are some very influential and experienced gentlemen. . . . Yet for many years the general assemblies have remained under the dominance of his words and ideas, since there was and is no man in the Polish credit system who could judge of financial matters with the same certitude. And in spite of their independence the particular associations must obey him, for the patron is also curator of the Union bank, and this institution gives credit only to such asso-

ciations as the patron declares to be deserving of credit. His rôle in the general assemblies of the Polish Union Bank is similar. Here he acts in the name of many associations which have the rights of shareholders and sometimes he represents in his person the majority, so that he alone decides exactly what should be done.

What are then the deeds which have given the patron such great power? Wherein does his strength rest? . . . It seems to me . . . that the leaders of great associations are real organizers when they criticise, cut down, prevent dangers in order that the healthy strength which lies in popular organizations may freely develop. The history of the Polish associations confirms this opinion. Wawrzyniak's great strength rests ultimately upon *preventing.*

He has prevented the Prussian government from taking back [from the Union] the right of financial control [of the particular associations], which it gave the Poles in a moment of good disposition. He prevented this with difficulty, for the authorities desired to deprive him of this right. Further, he has prevented from penetrating among the Poles also the struggle and envy between the Schulze-Delitzsch system and the Reiffeisen system which has [among the Germans] absorbed men and capital. And he has succeeded in making the Polish cooperative organization a political power which today constitutes the nucleus of the Polish commonwealth.

Bernard, *Die Polenfrage,* 223-226.

111. [Perfectly typical example of a successful rationalization of the agricultural technique of a group under the influence of individual initiative; leadership based exclusively on success.]

In Suchedniów . . . a farmer read in the *Gazeta Świąteczna* how from a morass a good meadow, and how from useless, good and fertile land can be made. Confident in the wise advice, he began at once to dig pits through his wet meadows and marshes. His neighbors laughed at him [saying], that he was establishing a cemetery upon his land and digging graves for his whole family. When finally he began to carry dust from the road paved with chalk-stones and scattered it upon the wet meadows, they shook their heads saying that he was crazy. But later they saw the result of this work. They were convinced that a piece of meadow

from which formerly a small heap of poor hay mixed with moss had been gathered began to give this careful farmer an enormous wagon of hay, half clover. Then they themselves started to dig pits in their meadows and from morning until night they carry dust from the roads. And therefore where up to the present were morasses and marshes there are now meadows that can be mowed twice.

Ten years ago all the hills among the fields of Suchedniów were white with sand. Whatever was sown upon them was burned by the sun and nothing remained. The sun burned stable-manure still worse. So the owners of these poor lands left them fallow and went elsewhere to do hired work. But this farmer reading the Gazeta finally learned from it that in our country a plant [*łubin*] was cultivated which strengthened sands and furnishes good green manure. He immediately tried to get some seeds of this plant, and having secured some with great difficulty . . . sowed them in his sand. How much talking and laughing at this farmer there was! [People said] that he had sown little flowers for himself, that he was turning into a child. . . . [But when he produced good rye they followed his example.] Those who used to go to hired work returned "from the world," started to cultivate those despised sands and made of them black soil.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 40.

112. [Success in one line taken as guarantee of success in another. A peasant leader is not treated as a natural leader; he has to show the results.]

It seems that in the recently elected mayor, Jacek Dąbek, from the village Opatkowice, we shall have a good manager of the commune, for he is an enlightened man, has been reading the *Gazeta* for over 10 years and follows its advice. He is an orderly manager of his farm so we can hope that he will be also an orderly manager of the commune. God give him good luck!

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 48.

113. [Here the sanction of acknowledged intellectual leaders helps a peasant to have his leadership accepted by others.]

Last Sunday, April 24th, in the village Wysoka . . . died Michal Mosiołek [collaborator of the *Gazeta* under the pseudonym "Radomczyk"]. . . . He was a peasant's son and re-

mained a true peasant up to the end of his life. He always lived in his native village in the house of his parents, who are still living. He was born in the village Wysoka in 1868 or in the following year. He never went to school. He learned almost exclusively and from the very beginning by himself, by his own work, his own investigation, and pushed by his own curiosity. Only for a very short time he profited by the help of the organist, Adamski, whom he always mentioned with gratitude later in his letters. When tending cattle he used to take paper, pencil, a book and a little board to put under [the paper] and profiting by his free moments in the pasture, trained himself in writing.

As a half-grown boy he began to receive the *Gazeta* from the late Błażewicz. And, as he later often related in talk and wrote in his letters, from that time he not only read it but most earnestly studied it. Moreover, he assiduously read various books. And he grew to be an instructed man, really educated, although in his dress and in his life he did not differentiate himself from other peasants.

He was a good farmer and when very young took entirely, for a long time, the place of his father in the house and in the field and improved the paternal farm by his work. He encouraged his neighbors, particularly those of his own age, to read. For his own distraction and to amuse people he played the violin. From a description given in our *Gazeta* he learned how to bind books himself and had some income from this, while he preserved many books in the community from destruction. The village group and the whole commune respected him for his enlightenment, his laboriousness and honesty, and they elected him court-assistant. But when he was offered the office of commune secretary, he did not accept it. For his community he was like a lantern which shines in darkness.

Mosiołek began to write to us while he was still almost a mere boy, and when he had grown to be a young man he continually published in the *Gazeta* letters, news, longer and more serious descriptions. And how he wrote! Few among the men who had finished higher educational institutions could write thus. Anything which came from his pen could be printed without any corrections. . . . He signed himself variously in our *Gazeta,* sometimes with his name or with the initial only, some-

times as "Reader" or "Peasant," and so on. And he wrote to us steadily until the end of his life. We have in store many of his works unpublished up to the present.

When through the *Gazeta* Radomczyk became known in Warsaw and in the whole country, he was asked to write to several other papers also and he willingly contributed his work to these. . . . He was for us a real pride and comfort. He was also the foundation of our hope for the future that, when God orders us to leave, the work will not stop, younger people will undertake it. But incalculable are the decisions of God. Mosiolek began to lose his health, became tubercular, and after long sufferings, scarcely 30 years old, closed his eyes for eternity.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 18.

The general conclusion which our particular data seem to suggest is that leadership, viewed from the socio-psychological standpoint, is not a uniform phenomenon. The apparently simple fact of an individual's influencing the behavior of others in accordance with his will can be the result of several entirely different processes. We distinguish at least three types of leadership which may be called respectively leadership *by fear or hope,* leadership by *prestige,* leadership by *efficiency.*

The first type is the best known and the most general, since it underlies all political and most of economic control. It presupposes that the leader has at his disposal positive or negative values which are the object of the desire or fear of others and which he can at will grant or withdraw, impose or take off. Except in the relatively rare and sociologically unimportant cases of direct physical control among isolated individuals, all such power of distributing values—whatever may be the way in which a particular individual has attained it—rests upon the existing political or economic order; it is institutional, not personal. From this results that

this type of leadership has but little significance for the purpose of social reconstruction in so far as the latter implies the substitution of a new social system for the old one; a leader can use vested institutional power to overcome obstacles which other leaders by virtue of their institutional power put in the way of social reconstruction, but he cannot construct a new system with instruments whose efficiency depends on the preservation of the old system. In our particular case this form of leadership has even less importance than usual, for the Polish leaders at the period we are studying had little power of political control and political parties did not exercise any appreciable positive influence upon the movement of social reconstruction.

The mechanism of leadership by prestige is characterized by the fact that it is the personality of the leader which constitutes in the eyes of those who follow him the sanction for the ideas which he promulgates and for the behavior which he suggests by word or by example. His suggestions are put into action not because any reward or punishment is expected from him, but because they are considered practically or morally right; and they are considered right without being analyzed in reflection or tested in practice, simply because they emanate from him.

Prestige can, as we know, be attached to an individual because he is a representative of a certain class, profession, etc. Thus, the personality of a priest is endowed in the eyes of a believing peasant with a sacral character which is supposed to predominate over his individual imperfections and to impart to him, if not an absolute value, at least a value superior to that which an individual without this sacral character can possess. Superiority of social position is a source of prestige even

independently of any actual power which the superior class may or may not possess. However, it is evident that this kind of prestige is not very secure in periods of rapid social evolution, since it is apt to be impaired by any mistakes which other individual members of the given profession or class can make and which are easily generalized as characterizing the whole group. Thus, we find that with the development of social consciousness among the peasants the prestige which the individual acquires personally as his own particular self is more and more clearly distinguished from and even opposed to the old group prestige; the profession or class is disparaged by contrast with its particular member and the latter exalted by contrast with his class.

Moreover, when the leader relies on the prestige of his profession or class he is forced to keep the traditions and to uphold the *esprit de corps* by which this profession or class tries to maintain its prestige, and this evidently limits his initiative. Finally, purely individual prestige has a much greater influence on the masses because of the particular and well known attraction which everything personal has for the popular mind. For all these reasons, we see that the expansion of the sphere of influence of a popular leader in social reconstruction goes along with a gradual decrease of those sides of his public personality in which his profession, class, etc., are manifested, so that the most important leaders—like Jackowski or Wawrzyniak—can hardly be characterized as priests or noblemen, but simply as individuals, each as a unique personality.

But for this very reason it is impossible to make any generalizations concerning the nature and sources of this purely individual prestige; the characteristic features which make a leader popular may be entirely dif-

ferent in each particular case. Of course, the leader must be judged efficient in his line and must be supposed to be well-intentioned with regard to his followers. But it is precisely the baffling point about leadership by prestige that the judgment of the mass as to the efficiency and good intentions of their leader depend upon the prestige which he already possesses, and that no proofs of real efficiency, sincerity and honesty can give a man prestige unless, for reasons which vary from case to case, his personality happens to become the center of benevolent public attention. For prestige is not the result of a rational judgment of each member of the group individually about the leader *as he is,* but the complex product of a half-intellectual, half-emotional attitude of each member of the group toward the leader *as seen by other members;* the subject of prestige is not the individual as an active personality but the picture of this individual drawn by public opinion.

It is clear that the peasant class constitutes a very favorable ground for the development of leadership by prestige as long as peasant communities preserve their character of primary groups whose members are used to think in social terms and are dependent on public opinion for their ideas and appreciations. This is a very propitious circumstance for social reconstruction, for it permits the leaders to put into effect, by virtue of their prestige, constructive plans whose objective significance is only imperfectly understood by their unprepared followers. In fact, since the very preparation for a new social organization requires social organization and the masses learn fully to understand new social ideals and institutions only in the course of their gradual realization, the process of social reconstruction could not start if the suggestions of the leaders had to be fully

understood and appreciated on their own merits by their followers before being realized in action; the prestige of the leaders, at a certain stage of social evolution, gives to the new and undeveloped social forms that motive power without which the inertia of the masses could not be overcome.

But with the progressing individualization, intellectual development, and critical ability of the peasants, leadership by prestige gradually gives place to leadership by efficiency, in which an individual assumes the leading rôle because and in so far as he is considered more efficient than others—because his ideas and suggestions are judged morally or practically right and are accepted by others on their own merits after reflection or practical test. This evolution naturally occurs sooner in those fields in which the peasant's judgment is less dependent on tradition and public opinion, in which he is better able to define situations rationally from the standpoint of a proper adaptation of the means to the end, instead of defining them from the standpoint of their accordance with traditional rules. Thus, we see leadership by efficiency developing much faster in economic cooperation than in education or politics. It is also evident that the less prestige a leader possesses, the more easily the criteria of efficiency are applied to the activities which he suggests. This explains the fact that sometimes the work of great leaders decays after their retirement; they have carried social reconstruction beyond the point where it should be taken up by minor leaders growing up from the masses. On the contrary, social reconstruction which is carried on by many leaders with relatively little prestige is slower but has an uninterrupted progress.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

The movement for the education of the peasants began in Poland in the middle of the eighteenth century, in connection with the general movement for national reorganization and under the partial influence of French rationalism and the "enlightenment" ideal. The peasant had to be gradually prepared for freedom and active participation in political life, and public education was to be the all-powerful method of preparation. The wide system of public schools established by the Educational Commission between 1773 and 1791 gave free access to peasant children, and many nobles, in order to encourage education, granted freedom to every serf who learned to read and write. This development was interrupted by the partitions. Under Russian domination in particular the conditions of public education grew from bad to worse, so that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the proportion of children in public schools relatively to the number of the population was smaller by half than a hundred years before. The schools were not only few but poorly equipped; the teachers, mostly sent from Russia, were ignorant and inefficient. Besides, the school was used as an instrument of Russification. Similarly in German Poland where education was universal and obligatory, the chief aim of the public school was to Germanize the Poles. Under both Russian and under German domination private teaching without state control was forbidden alto-

gether (except individually at home), private schools under state control had to teach in Russian or German and even so were continually hampered. Polish society had thus to find some other methods to supplement state education in Russia and to counterbalance both in Russia and in Germany the anti-Polish tendency of state schools. After the revolution of 1863 had failed to give Poland political freedom, "popular enlightenment" began to be considered one of the most vital national problems. The ideas of the eighteenth century were revived, modified and developed. The peasant was to be made not only a "thinking man" and a politically conscious member of the Polish nation, but also taught how to improve his economic condition and prepared for social cooperation. Owing to the abnormal conditions of national life which had hampered the cultural development of Poland, popular education assumed a rôle which it hardly ever possessed elsewhere; it became a universal instrument of social reconstruction.

The only method of spreading education which could be always safely used was that of individual teaching or individual encouragement to self-education. Formal social organization for the purpose of public instruction was possible only in Galicia. In the Congress Kingdom each particular commune could establish primary schools under governmental control, but no educational societies were permitted; one was founded in 1905 but dissolved by the government after a year. Thus the problem was to create an informal social organization by enlisting in each community a few individuals who were willing to be educated and to help educate others, and who thus constituted a local center from which education spread through the community. The success of this enterprise depended upon the development among

the peasants of such social attitudes as would make each individual wish to learn and to teach—not always an easy matter in view of the strong conservatism of the peasant.

114. I am sending a brief remembrance of my youth There is no interesting adventure in question, but I think it will interest the readers as a proof that if one urgently and perseveringly desires something he attains it in the end, at least in part. I am the son of a peasant farmer. Until 10 years of age I did not know the alphabet, or, exactly speaking, I knew only the letter B. Father did not send me to school. He always used to repeat: "We have grown old and we cannot read nor write, yet we live. So you, my children, will also live without knowledge." Nothing could have suited me better. In the winter I went sledging with the boys and in summer I pastured geese.

Once my mother took me to church. I looked to the right; a boy smaller than myself was praying from a book. I looked to the left; another one just like the first held a book, and I stood between them like a ninny. I went home and told my father that I would learn from a book. My father scolded me: "And who will peel potatoes in the winter and pasture the geese in summer?" I cried then because I felt ashamed that I should grow up and not know how to read.

Once while peeling potatoes, I escaped from my father and went to an old man who knew not only how to read, but how to write well. I asked him to show me [letters] in the primer, and he did not refuse. I went home thinking: "It's too bad! Father will probably give me a licking." And it came true. Father showered a few strokes on me and said: "Snotty fellow, don't you know that, as the old people say, whoever learns written stuff casts himself into hell?" But I stole out to learn more and more frequently. The following winter father did not forbid it and slowly I learned how to read and write.

When I was twelve years old I had already read various books, but only fables, for at that time one could most frequently find in the village books like *Ali Baba, Sobotnia Góra,* etc. Once I found an old almanac on the road. I looked at it and on the last page read that there was in Warsaw a *Gazeta Świąteczna*

which people order and receive by mail every Sunday. After that I said to one of the neighbors—not a young man: "Do you know, in Warsaw there is a *Gazeta* which every one, even if not educated, can read!" And that man said to me: "Look at him, the snotty fellow! He wants a newspaper!" He said to my father: "Do you know, *kum,* your son will become a real lord, for he says that he will order a newspaper."—"Ho, ho!" said my father, "but where will he get the money?"

After some time father turned me from pasturing geeze to tending cattle. Once another herdsman told me that there was in Suchedniów, not far from our village, a railroad watchman whose name was Korzec, and that he had the *Gazeta.* I immediately gave my cattle to some one else to tend and rushed to Korzec. When I came in he asked me: "What do you want, boy?"—"I came to see what the *Gazeta* to which you seem to subscribe looks like." He showed me the *Gazeta Świąteczna.* I began to read and liked it very much. All right, but where shall I get the money for it?

I began to make brooms and sell them at 3 *grosz* apiece; I plaited whips, and in this way between spring and St. John's Day I saved 2 *złoty.* But that was not enough. Where could I get some more? It was hard to get away from the cattle to earn something. Once I was pasturing the cattle near a colony in the forest. Some strangers approached and one said to me: "Boy, do you know how to read? I would give you a book with interesting stories." I answered that I could and thanked him for the book, but at the same time I asked bashfully for a little money. "You rogue," said the stranger, "what do you need money for?" I said for the *Gazeta.* But he replied: "Perhaps for cigarettes?"—"No," said I crying, "I have already 2 *złoty* and I need 15 *grosz* more to have 2½ *złoty,* and the carpenter says that he will contribute as much more and that would be just enough for a quarter. . . . I took an oath at my first confession that I would not drink whiskey nor smoke cigarettes until twenty-one years old." Then that gentleman took out and gave me not 15 *grosz,* but as much as 3 *złoty* and also the book [saying], "Here you will have enough to subscribe alone to the *Gazeta* for a whole quarter. How great was my joy would be hard to describe. I immediately asked a boy to write to the editor for the

Gazeta, and the following Sunday I already had it in the house. As soon as they saw it in the village they began to say various things about it that only lords ought to read the *Gazeta,* that reading takes time. But I did not listen to them and only read with great delight.

I have now subscribed to the *Gazeta* for 8 years. I no longer lack money for it, as for the last 6 years I have been a forester and live on a farm of 15 morgs. I have grown so accustomed to the *Gazeta* that when Sunday comes I have in one hand the spoon and in the other the *Gazeta.* People say that reading the *Gazeta* requires a lot of time. But on a holiday is there not time enough for both praying and reading? . . . And I say that a peasant in the country needs the *Gazeta* more than one who has already been enlightened in school. We certainly can draw knowledge from the *Gazeta.* It is true that there are some newspapers which are not written for everybody, but as if in a foreign language [using learned words]. However, I am speaking about one which every one, even an uneducated, simple man, can understand. . . . I often say: "If it should be necessary to eat only once a day, I will do it, but I will not cease subscribing to the *Gazeta* until the end of my life."

In conclusion, I send a hearty "God reward" to Priest Woźniakoweski for having forbidden me to smoke cigarettes. I never learned how to let money go up in smoke. Therefore I am able to subscribe to the Gazeta. I also send "God reward" to Marcin Korzec for having shown me the way to the *Gazeta.*

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 31.

115. Respected Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna!* I write to Warsaw with my own hand to subscribe to the *Gazeta* for next year, for I want to continue talking with you through it. Great God reward you for all that you have told us up to the present through the *Gazeta.*

I am the son of a poor farmer in the village Małomierzyce. . . . My father has only 3 morgs of land and that of poor quality; so we, the children, had to leave our home because of poverty. But our father did not let us go into the world without having taught each of us to read and write some. Our father was himself 40 years old and did not yet know how to take a pen into his hand. But now he knows how to write himself and

has taught me, just as you see. My father always endeavored to read the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. He could not subscribe himself but borrowed it wherever possible. In the *Gazeta* he found your advice and bought the *Illustrated Method* of Kazimierz Promyk, the first and second parts and the calligraphic models. From this he learned and taught his children. . . . I am now working hard in a factory.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 50.

116. In the village where I live, the name of which I purposely do not mention, was a farmer about whom no person could say anything good, even if he should wish to. He was an old scoundrel and whenever he had a chance he liked to empty glasses. But it happened that he occasionally borrowed my *Gazeta*. He liked it. He began to borrow it oftener, and then he used to call for it every week and had to read it through. And before we realized it—he became a very orderly farmer.

He renounced whiskey; he is working like every one of his neighbors, he is good, obliging, he goes to church every Sunday and holiday—in a word, it is difficult to recognize the man who formerly did not think of doing any good in the world. Today the old man brought me a rouble and asked me to take it for the payment of the *Gazeta* . . . and related how the *Gazeta* had led him to the proper way in his 67th year.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 53.

117. I also began to learn, although somewhat late; but it is better late than never. But you, especially you, young brother peasants, after reading this paper perhaps you will imitate me, which I encourage you to do. Only you must hurry, because later you will find that your life will not be sufficient to gain the knowledge you want and to learn to love science. This is what I found.

My parents taught me to read at home when I was a little boy; then I learned for some winter months in the village-school. But the farm work did not allow me to finish even an elementary school, so I had to be satisfied to learn a little arithmetic and Russian reading and writing. I read aloud at home with my parents such books as I could get, but my reading then was only mechanical spelling, because I did not understand much and there was nobody to explain to me. I had no difficulty in getting

books, because of a good lady who is yet alive and who lent me as many as she could.

But in later years I had to stop thinking about learning and reading. When I was 17 years old, I left my native nest and went to search for a piece of bread among strange people. [The farm was too small.] . . . In the beginning I served as a *posyłka*. After some time I became a driver. But I did not entirely forget about learning; I thought always that if not now, then later I would learn and not remain in such a position. And I was happy, although sometimes the cold and rain annoyed me; but the hope of a better future gave me strength and energy to work. . . . I could try to become a manor-official. And it was not very difficult, although at that time I regarded the inspectors, land-stewards, clerks and managers as men whom not everybody could equal. I must also make extraordinary progress if I expected to become sometime a farm-clerk. . . .

The land-steward, a good old man, never refused me the *Gazeta Świąteczna* when I asked him. And just about this time there was printed a poem, which I remember up to the present, by Kolibrzyk [pseudonym]. I tried to imitate this and to write verses that seemed like it to me. I hoped that perhaps sometime my name would be printed under some piece of poetry or some tale. So I applied myself to learning and to writing during every noon-rest, and every Sunday and holiday I wrote verses and tales. . . .

Happily, the same year a competition was announced for a collaborator of *Gazeta Świąteczna*. I read the conditions many times; I felt a sincere and strong wish to enter the competition, but at the same time I understood my lack of instruction. Two contradictory feelings began to contend in me—the wish to learn and the fear that my hopes would be deceived. But the first prevailed. I wrote two large sheets full and sent them to *Gazeta Świąteczna*. There were many verses, a novel and news like that printed every week in *Gazeta Świąteczna*. In short, I endeavored to fulfil the conditions of the competition although I did not write in order to receive the prize, but I only wished to know whether I had any opportunity to work and to learn. It seemed to me as if the world pushed me down from the way which led to higher ends into some dark and gloomy gulf, and

I tried with all my strength to tear myself away, because I knew that my work and my learning must bring fruit.

To the first collection of my work in the literary field I did not receive an answer; or rather, I did not see anything that was printed and I do not know [whether anything was printed], because I did not have my own copy of the *Gazeta,* I only borrowed it. I thought first that nobody would pay any attention to my literary samples. But I did not get discouraged. I wrote more, not novels but verses, and I sent them to the *Gazeta.* After some weeks, I was astonished to read an answer full of encouragement.

Emboldened by the printed answer, I said to myself: "I will stop writing, I have still time enough and I will learn more." At last I grew tired of the work of driver in the manor. I went to the village to a farmer, hoping to have more time to learn and to read. And indeed I had more time. I got acquainted with a man, more instructed although a little younger, who had finished a village-school and even wished to go to the gymnasium of Siedlce and become a doctor or an officer, but through the whim of his ignorant parents he had to be satisfied with what he learned in the primary school, and was obliged to complete the most necessary instruction by reading. Then the whole village . . . called him a mayor and me, as more able to write, a secretary. We did not mind idle human talk.

We did not go to hear music, we did not sit at cards, but we spent the whole time free from physical work in common reading and common education. I soon got acquainted with the proprietors of the neighboring manor and got different books to read, with the help of which we developed our minds. In this way we were instructed together. We had always something to talk about, some science or interest, heroes from novels, or historical events. Although we had nobody who could explain difficult passages which we met in reading, still we understood as much as our intelligence permitted. . . .

Next year I was hired as a manor-servant by this gentleman and lady, who lent me books to read. It is true that after New Year I was sad because I had no companion of equal intelligence, but I had books to read and different papers, always fresh ones, many more than before. And I could see my companion every Sunday and holiday, and I told him with pleasure what I

heard and learned in the manor. And I was satisfied; I had small wages, but many books to read. In difficult cases I could ask the lord or lady what I did not understand and they explained with pleasure as well as they could. After 2 years I was so skilful in writing that I could be a farm-clerk. I found a place and accepted it. But the policy of the manager about the treatment of workmen [and the other disagreeable features] did not allow me to remain in this place. . . . I returned to my modest wages under the condition that I shall be able to learn further. Up to the present I have not reached my aim, but I learn, I profit by every moment, hoping to realize my intentions. Ending this article, I inform my readers that I owe to *Gazeta Świąteczna* all the learning that I acquired during these several years.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

118. I have been in many different parts of our country, performing the duties of gardener in manors, and I have had the opportunity to observe closely the life of the peasants everywhere. But it happened that only recently I got acquainted with the environments of Warsaw. Well, I never imagined that near Warsaw a deep darkness could be still found. Yet I learned that it is so. Please listen.

[A farmer was having supper at half past four in the afternoon]. . . . Said the farmer: "It begins to get dark outside already, and when it is night one goes to sleep."—"Why, is there nothing to do in the evening?" I ask. "What can one do sir? The women among us no longer know how to spin and whatever threshing we have we do in the day time. . . . Without boasting I am in the fraternity and more than once go to the priest's house. There are various papers on the table and I saw that they are writing something about France, about England and about the Prussians. Can all this be true? Has the one who writes it been in these countries and seen what is going on there? And what use would all these papers be to me if I were buying them? . . ."

I could not bear any more of this unwise talk, though the host wanted to continue. I was seized with the desire to explain to him how information is sent to the papers about France, England and the Prussians, but I thought: "No, he would not believe

this either!" So I only waved my hand and said: "Well, farmer, there are some papers which do not lie and are moreover written in such a way that you would understand every word in them, whereas in those which the priest has for himself you would not be able to understand everything, and perhaps also they would be too expensive for you, for there are some which cost a dozen roubles a year each."—"Oh! oh!" says the farmer, "I could buy a pig for this money."

But I said again that there is the *Gazeta Świąteczna* which costs only 3 roubles a year. . . . And the peasant again answered me: "Why, sir, whether this paper is cheap or that expensive, both are worth nothing. They all know one another in Warsaw and write thus, and silly people pay money." I finally got angry at the man's being so dark. I thought: "What is the use of talking with you? One only spoils one's mouth in vain! . . . What can you demand from an ox?" and left. . . .

I shall add that the girls in this village dress in the city way, but if you look into their heads you will find there neither a single ray of enlightenment nor even the old healthy peasant sense.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 48.

119. We learned that somebody wrote in the *Gazeta* [see document 118] with astonishment about the darkness of country people in the environments of Warsaw. We were grieved because people throughout the whole country will read it. But having examined our conscience, we must confess our guilt, for we are really dark like snuff-tobacco in a horn [box] and are losing much because of this.

Well, we should not conceal it but improve as fast as possible. And therefore we send to the writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* subscription money for a whole year and address to which we beg him to send the *Gazeta,* for from now on we want to read it profitably.

Paweł Kawka, Village-Elder.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 5.

120. We resolved upon building a school in the village Kozietuly. . . . There was [at the meeting] the father of one of the farmers, an old and serious man. He listened to what was said and finally spoke thus: "Well, you only put a great burden

upon yourselves and others, and there will be no profit except for the teacher. . . . But I know who proposed it—those who want to oppress the peasant so that he will never be able to rise.

Once I was riding back from the city. I saw some lording waving his hand to me: "Stop please, father!" And he asked whether they did not need a clerk for the farm Kozietuły. I said that I did not know. And he spoke on: "Wherever I go everybody tells me no clerk is needed. And what can be done? How live in this world? . . . We are several at home to live and be clothed and there is nothing to buy bread with. It is true that father taught me how to read and write, but if he had rather taught me how to plow and to thresh I would say a prayer for him. . . ."

But what he related teaches only that in giving children an education it is necessary to turn them not into "lordlings," not into "clerks," but into enlightened and sensible farmers.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 1.

121. More than one boasts about [reading] this paper [*Zaranie* and says] that when he did according to its directions and advice, it turned out well for him. I even thought myself that whoever reads *Zaranie* cannot do so without good consequences for himself. But it is not so, for there are many who read papers because he reads only in order that people may say about read. For it cannot be noticed that such readers have introduced any order into their farming either in cultivating their soul or in breeding their cattle. . . . No, it is a pity that such a man reads papers because he reads only in order that people may say about him that he is a learned man because he reads papers. I have talked with many of those who read papers . . . and it sounds as smooth and wise as in a book. But in practice we don't find any examples among them.

And this is mainly so among our peasant farm-owners. As his father and grandfather farmed, he is farming himself. Everywhere is such confusion and disorder that it is hard to believe he reads *Zaranie.* And it is just so, just as I say.

Once my neighbor came to me and asked me: "What is the news from further in the world. What do the papers say?"—"I don't know anything," I told him, "because I have not yet read last week's paper and I have not [a copy of] my own." And

then I made him this proposal: "Listen, neighbor, more than once you have asked me about the news and you are curious to know it. So let us subscribe together to this paper; then you will know how to manage your farm, this paper will teach you everything, and you will have news from the whole world." "It is not true," he said; "don't I see how those are farming who read papers." And he showed me how those who read papers in our village are farming. "One of them," he said, "owns a farm of 30 morgs and I own only 8, but I would not exchange my order and my farm-stock with him." And he spoke the truth.

Letter to *Zaranie;* unpublished.

122. I have been a reader of *Gazeta Świąteczna* since 1882, and therefore I have derived a great deal of knowledge from this dear paper. I could have written many things during so many years, but I never dared because I am self-educated. Now, however, I will try to describe a ludicrous accident which befell me on account of reading the *Gazeta* and also because I encourage others to read.

When I was still a bachelor nobody disturbed me in reading. However they surnamed me "Mr. Newspaperman," and not only in my village but even in the whole vicinity. The people sometimes made fun of me and they did not want to listen to good advice. Once when I was going to church on Sunday, a rich farmer going to church in his carriage overtook me and addressed me thus: "Well, Mr. Newspaperman, the paper does not help you since you must go by foot; it was going to give you everything and still you do not have a horse yet." And I reply: "It is apparent at once that you do not read the paper, although you have a horse. If you read it, then first of all, you would praise God upon meeting [someone], and then you would say something wise."

In spite of that I often hoped that perhaps sometime I should succeed in inducing people to read *Gazeta.* I even found three readers within a short time and I was giving them *Gazeta* every week. I only reminded them not to waste the papers because I intended to compile the whole year's. Once I asked them to return the papers they had read, and here Ignacy began to laugh with full throat. "Look for the ashes over the world," he said,

"all the village has rolled cigarettes out of your papers. . . ."

In the following year I found two others who even paid for the annual subscription for *Gazeta* with me. But it did not last long. Walek got married and his wife has forbidden him to read *Gazeta*. "Only rich [gentlemen]," she told me, "read papers. For the peasant it is enough to read from his book in church."

My other reading partner, Janek, found for himself a wife, a rich girl, Marysia. Once we three were coming back from church and Janek drew near his Marysia and asked thus: "Well, Marysia, is there going to be anything out of my courtship of you?"—"Father has been thinking of you for a long time already," Marysia says boldly, "only they are afraid of your reading papers. That is not becoming to a peasant. Let the gentlemen read papers. For us that is not necessary."

"Eh, Marysia, do not say that," I replied. "Reading good papers and books does not make a man ugly, but ennobles him. And besides this paper teaches us how to farm, how to plant orchards, finally how to behave with bees—and you also like honey."—"Surely I like it," said Marysia, "but my grandfather also had considerable bees and and honey from them although he did not read the papers. . . . You are such a wanderer that it does not matter to you; what you earn by your carpentering you spend for books, papers, Warsaw plants, and you make hives. . . . . And girls look at you unwillingly because you never dance in the tavern or at any amusement, only search all the time in those books, and you look at the bees and Warsaw plants as if you intended to marry them."

"O Marysia," Janek says, "you like fun while I am really anxious for marriage."—"If you are so anxious then promise that you will not read *Gazeta*. I will tell daddy and on Thursday you may come with whiskey." Janek was anxious to get a few hundred roubles with Marysia and pay the debts left after his father. And therefore he promised not to take the *Gazeta* into his hand, and all my work went for nothing. Nevertheless I did not lose hope that something would encourage Walek and Janek to [read] the *Gazeta* when they became better acquainted with their wives.

In a short time I found a girl for myself who was consid-

ered the best pupil in the school. I thought that at least I had got a wife who would not disturb me in reading. But not so! Shortly after the wedding my wife began to reproach me for spending money for nothing, because it is possible to do without reading. . . . I could not persuade my woman by any means. But now already I have a kind of peace. Only still when I read the *Gazeta* aloud, then my wife attempts to say her prayers still louder. . . .

Now I come back to Janek. Considerable time had passed since his wedding when once I came to church and after the sermon. . . . Janek approached me, greeted me very sincerely and began to complain that he was longing for the *Gazeta,* for he had grown a little used to it. . . . "I ask you therefore, my Antek, to be so good as to give me the *Gazeta* during the coming year. I will give you one rouble so that we will pay for it in partnership." And he imperceptibly slid his hand into a little bag, looked around at the people as if afraid of something, and violently thrust a rouble into my hand. I did not want to take it at first, but afterwards I made up my mind that my wife would rejoice at saving a rouble on the expense. But not so! "May your eyes creep out on account of this *Gazeta* and this partner!" replied my woman when I told her about it later.

I at once invited Janek to come from church to my house and I loaned him two volumes. . . . I pointed out to him an article about the cultivation of *łubin* [plant] and its good results. Janek threw himself on my neck after reading it. "Why, I have a great deal of such soil," he says, "which I cannot fertilize with manure; and besides I lack manure. I will get the *łubin* at once and sow it." I was rejoicing that my work had not gone for nothing. I did not foresee that sadness would take the place of joy.

Jan's wife was looking at us standing among the people and she saw Janek give me the rouble. And therefore when he came home, Marysia for salutation struck him on the head with the club for mixing [food] for hogs. . . . [Calls him names and beats him.] Janek not wishing to start a fight with the woman went out of the cottage and did not come back until early next morning. In spite of the frost the poor man slept in the barn. Meanwhile, when Janek was not in the cottage, the children had fine

sport with my volumes; they tore them up entirely. When Janek came home early in the morning, he perceived the pages weltering on the floor. He got angry and they say that Marysia was weeping in the corners. Since this time she has been angry not so much at her husband as at me. "You just wait, wanderer!" she exclaims.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1901, No. 1053.

123. My wife did not remain behind Antoni's and Jan's wives. . . . I have not been a reader of *Gazeta* for a very long time; I got it for the first time only in 1895. Then it was easier for me, because then my wife did not understand what this paper meant. But when she perceived a piece of paper, out of which, according to her understanding, there was no profit, she started to make a row. So on every occasion I had always something to swallow. I had taunts and curses: "May you break your neck! May you get blind, you damned newspaperman! . . . Fixes his eyes [into the paper] and looks like a crow at an old bone. . . ."

There were such rumblings and murmurs all the time. But I endured it all. I did not growl with anger, I only laughed at her silly talk. And when she talked too much, I used to withdraw from her sight and I pitied her lack of sense. But what do you require from an ox if not meat? I was not even surprised, because in their family nobody knew how to read and therefore the daughter was brought up like a calf behind a stove.

One year passed; the time came to order the *Gazeta,* and then it would have been impossible to say even "brum-brum" to the wife about that! But the neighbor who was taking my paper to read during the first year said to me: "See, I will pay for this year and we will read it together." Well, and so it happened.

When I brought the *Gazeta* and began to read, my wife always talked with somebody as loud as she could or asked me about something in order to disturb me as much as possible. My friends used to come to me to learn what news the *Gazeta* brought. When they asked me I used to reply: "I do not know. I read hastily so that it did not leave very much in my memory and I had to give the *Gazeta* away at once. But ask my wife.

She can tell you more because she walks quietly, notices everything attentively and can remember well."

In the beginning I got for this many a time a good reprimand from my wife, but if she did not dare to scold me in the presence of the guest she became ashamed and blushed from anger and left the house. Gradually she grew silent during the time of my reading in order to remember something and to tell when asked. It became a little easier for me because my wife stopped scolding me. I began to read to her some funny stories or some adventures described in *Gazeta* and many times she even laughed heartily. Then again I read to her the *Lives of the Saints,* and at these times she was often moved to tears and wept not a little. And I was very glad that it grew clearer in her head and that she began to respect books.

In the fall of 1897 I moved from the country into the town. I bought a house with a piece of garden, but everything had been devastated by my predecessor. I had to prepare everything according to my way and therefore I was glancing continually into my file and I was altering everything possible. But it was necessary to get the paper again so as to complete my education in farming. I asked the wife whether she would allow me [to get the paper]. And the wife answered: "Well, if you want to. Instead of running to town and fooling there, you will stay at home and read. Besides they write there how to cultivate the soil for vegetables so that we can arrange everything ourselves in the garden and everywhere." And she allowed me to order the paper for 1898, but on condition that I should not smoke cigarettes. I consented. . . .

When I received the *Gazeta* I read all the news and told my wife how, what and when to do [things] and we began to work. We planted gooseberries, raspberries, shrubs for grafting, in the garden we made paths, we manured and dug around the soil and we planted vegetables. I also got from the priest some flower seeds. . . . My wife laughs when she hears that people take us for gardeners and rejoices because they praise our work. And all this she owes to the *Gazeta Świąteczna.* She began to learn herself and now she reads not very badly. Even our 5-year-old daughter is beginning to decipher the primer because her mother forces her to, not wanting her to be ignorant

as she was herself until now. And she does not forbid me to use the money not only for the *Gazeta* but even for books, if they are but useful. God forbid that I read it silently! Whenever I read it must be quiet at home and she pays eager attention to everything. . . .

So, let the readers behave mildly with their wives, just as I; let them read the *Gazeta* carefully, intelligently and let them show by example what the benefit of their reading is. Let the woman see how much good may be done by conforming to what good people describe and advise. . . . But if you read the paper under your nose for yourself, or if after reading you throw it into the corner; if you read it only for play, or if you subscribe to the *Gazeta* only to show off before the neighbors, and if after reading nothing is left in your head . . . well, what wonder that the woman scolds?

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* published, but reference not preserved.

124. I wish to ask you, Mr. Editor, to mediate in this case. There is being felt the lack of education among our young girls and even among the women. We have plenty of schools, thank God! but what of it when there are not enough people to teach our girls? The parents say that knowledge is not necessary to a girl and yet it is the contrary—knowledge is necessary to everyone who wants to get along well. I do not speak of the knowledge of reading and writing, for almost every one of our girls is able to read. We lack other kinds of knowledge. . . . We want our girls to become good wives and good mothers in the future.

Indeed for this purpose and others we have a school in Mirosławice. And I have a candidate for this school in the person of my wife. I am sorry that her parents did not think of this sooner, but we lack enlightenment. . . . Oh, there is money all right for whiskey and cigarettes, but for a paper there is none. . . . So then I beg you, dear Mr. Editor, for mediation in this case. Please find out for me whether the administration of the school in Mirosławice could not accept my wife beginning with the 1st of March. I know that only girls are received there and whether they will accept a married woman I do not know, and that is why I turn to you, Mr. Editor, begging for your mediation.

I am a craftsman. It is a year and five months since I married. And since I have not found in my marriage that happiness that knowledge can give, I have resolved to place my wife in school in Mirosławice, as it is always better late than never. Although her parents brought her up wrong, I expect to accomplish what has been neglected.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

125. Formerly the *Gazeta* was unknown here and now in this recent settlement alone [a parcelled estate] there are 9 copies. . . . At first several people shared one copy and now every one wants to have one for himself. I am wondering whether in the future our dear Writer of the *Gazeta* will have enough of it for us all. And we have already discussed among ourselves how it is possible to cover expenses. Why, if I had to write to somebody 52 letters a year and put a 7 copeck stamp on every letter, I should spend 3 roubles 62 copecks, without counting the envelopes and the paper. I know that sending the *Gazeta* by mail costs less than sending a letter, but still printing costs more. How many people work at it and every one must be paid!

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

126. We lived here like snuff-tobacco in a box. Even if some one went into the wider world and saw some improvements, he had no good idea about them. I did not go anywhere to wander, but read the *Gazeta* attentively and began to work at my husbandry in accordance with its advice.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 2.

127. A few months have passed since we became acquainted with the *Gazeta* and we are reading it with profit. This was due to the good heart of our fellow parishioner, Djonizy Szukalski. He is at present across the ocean, far away from us in a different part of the world where he has to work hard, although not in vain. However, among strangers he does not forget about us here, his brothers and his neighbors. He evidently thinks of our poverty and ignorance and he wants to remedy this. He knows how much education is worth and how much of it the *Gazeta* can impart; and he bought for his hard earned money 25

copies of the *Gazeta* for us, his fellow-countrymen of the same parish. . . .

All of the above mentioned readers receive recently, by order of the same Mr. Szukalski, besides the *Gazeta* a book, *The Orchard near the Cottage.*

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 14.

128. The unfortunate man about whom I am writing is 37 years old; for 22 years he has been entirely deaf. . . . He is a son of poor parents. Since he lost his hearing they gave him away as a servant. They did not send him to school at all; since his childhood he has had to work. And thus when he became deaf, he became also blind [unenlightened], as we may say. I felt sorry that such an unfortunate man did not know what the world was and knew little about God. I began to persuade him to learn how to read and write. But he did not believe he could learn.

I bought him Promyk's Primer and a slate, and with great difficulty I induced him by entreaties to study. And I began at once to teach him. I told him to watch my mouth and then I explained [things] to him by the gestures of my hands. It was very hard. Sometimes he gave up entirely and did not care any more; then I begged him like a child and placed the primer in front of him.

People said that a person "deaf as a post" could not be taught anything. But I wanted to accomplish my design and did accomplish it. During the three winter months, mostly in the evenings, for during the day he was helping me in my work, I succeeded in teaching him to read and write. Then he learned the catechism and prayers, and I even took him to confession.

The poor man lives on his daily earnings. If he needs advice he usually comes to me and I explain to him whatever he needs, by writing it down. I also give him the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to read and in this way he knows what is going on in the world. Now he likes reading so much that if he sees a printed piece of paper, he picks it up and reads. He read also about the auditory tubes for deaf people and now the poor man dreams that the doctors may be able to cure his infirmity when he goes to Warsaw.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 44.

129. The good Lord God blessed me this year in my hard work and I desired to show my gratitude to God for His goodness. I have heard from different farmers how much good reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* does among people. Then I said to myself: Don't let the people in our village be ignorant. Let them also have the advantage of the good information and advice which this *Gazeta* disseminates. And since no peasant in our village has up to the present thought of it, I, a simple woman, from gratitude to God, will pay for the *Gazeta* for our village. [Dictated to an educated woman who forwarded it, with subscription, to the *Gazeta*.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 47.

130. A poor peasant girl, Małgorzata, who did not possess anything but healthy hands for work and also a heart which loved her fellow-men, nevertheless in her poverty bestowed upon nearly half a thousand people treasures dearer than gold and jewels.

When in her youth she became a servant in a manor, Małgosia used to listen, from her own desire, to the way her master's daughter was taught to read and write. She quickly recognized the printed signs and began to practise reading; and every one seeing her desire helped her a little. In time she learned to read and write fluently. Understanding what a treasure she possessed, Małgosia resolved to share it with her fellow-men.

She began then to bring together in the evenings not only girls but *parobeks* also, and with the greatest patience she taught them to read and write. When there were no more servants to teach, she turned to the farmers' children, and besides the children she was willing to teach adults and old people, who wished toward the end of their lives to pray out of a book at least.

She wrote down from memory the name of every one who had learned how to read. And now that she has closed for ever her honest eyes, it is found that by her endeavors 496 persons learned to read and write.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 12.

131. I am a country housewife. . . . I have three little children that need continual care. Before the infant school was

opened I had a lot of trouble with these children and could not manage them. They were always running around the roads with other children and paid almost no attention to my calls and threats; they were pointblank obstinate and disobedient. At one time, even in spite of my order to the contrary, they went out on the street and after a while there came to my ears a shriek from the children. The cause of it was that a farmer had run down one of my children. Thanks to God Almighty, the child suffered no injuries.

Always anxious about my children, I had not a moment of ease. At last God took pity upon us unfortunate mothers and caused good people, willing to come with aid to their fellow-men, to take up the idea of establishing an infant school in Pilica. This was done. I am sending two of my children to this nursery. There they remain almost the whole day. There they study to do fancy work and learn to speak little verses. What is most important, they study religion, how to respect their parents and elders and how to be polite. They have attended the school for a year and a half already and every one associating with them admires them and says: "What pleasant and polite children! They are like angels." And there is reason to praise them. When they meet some one they know they will bow and the girls bend their right leg a little; the boys remove their caps.

During long winter evenings the children meet at my house (those that attend the school) and so do the neighbors. The children meet at my house (those that attend the school) and so do the neighbors. The children entertain us for the whole evening. One of them reads, the next one recites, and another displays her fancy-work, still another one sings, and so on. At nine o'clock they all depart, very pleased and happy. This year on my name-day my children presented their congratulations to me. How pleasant it was to hear the recitation of my daughter! How I enjoyed the children's gift! . . .

The school teachers chose from among the children attending the school a few that have pleasant voices, among whom are also my children, and taught them different religious songs. And now they sing in the choir at the parochial church in Pilica. Formerly a few male voices roared coarsely and unintelligibly, and now it is pleasant in our church when the children sing.

Just after the [feast of] the Three Kings *Jasełka* was played for us, and this also by our children. The young actors and actresses played their parts very successfully. The public rewarded them with frequent applause and praise.

We mothers are very much surprised how the teachers of the school can make such polite and obedient children from such obstinate and impolite ones. We know that it must cost them much, very much labor and exertion; therefore, with every prayer we beg God to grant them all graces.

Letter to *Ziemianka;* unpublished.

132. What have we to do to make the future of our nation better?

Well, I, your brother peasant, give you this advice. The best work is to establish kindergartens in villages. Because it is so: What little Jaś did not learn, big Jaś will not know. And moreover, little children are without any occupation, they loaf around and play dog [bad] tricks. Our mothers in the country are often dark, and moreover occupied with housekeeping. But a kindergarten-teacher devotes herself to and cares for the proper education of the children from their earliest years. But to this end it is necessary not to send children to tend cattle, but to send them to the kindergarten summer and winter. One big village or two small ones situated near one another can establish a kindergarten. A teacher in the country costs 15 to 20 roubles monthly and lodging.

For older children there should be a school in the village, a good school managed by an instructed and moral teacher. How does it seem to you? Which is more necessary in a village, a kindergarten and a school or a beer-shop?

We have spoken about children, but we must not forget about the older youth. Even one man, if he wishes, can lead the youth to good. First he ought to win to himself as many boys as he can, two or three, if possible even ten, and organize a society-circle of the youth. These ought to influence others and win more and more boys from the village or even from several villages. Others, the obstinate ones, will also join this, if they see that the greater part of the youth of the village belong to it. Society-circles like these should also be organized among girls.

Those farmers who know how to play on different instruments would do well if they would let young people come to them during winter evenings to listen to music and to dance moderately and decently, for it is known that young people like dances and music very much. But there should be played only holy, religious and moral songs, national and popular songs, *krakowiaks,* mazurkas, *kujawiaks,* polkas. All this ought to alternate with discussions such as the harmfulness of drinking, good habits, the power of enlightenment, our national history, recreations, learning, and associations organized in different countries, etc. If you want young people to regard the world more intelligently, you must tuck up your sleeves and set to work; otherwise we shall have wild men instead of orderly citizens.

It would be very useful to have in villages voluntary fire-companies and musical orchestras composed of young boys. Popular clubs and libraries ought to be founded, papers taken for the youth. Amateur theatricals would be a good recreation, and it would be well to teach boys and girls declamation. All this must be done on the spot, but it is not enough. It is necessary to send boys and girls to agricultural schools, and those who cannot go should attend at least short agricultural courses.

Dear brothers, let us sincerely set to work. Let us not be the fathers and mothers who say: "Why should I send my boy to learn, since he knows even now how to walk behind the plow." Let nobody say: "Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers farmed without learning." Yes, but your grandfathers and great-grandfathers paid 5,000 *złoty* [$400] for a farm, and you pay now 5,000 or 6,000 roubles for an identical one; your grandfathers and great-grandfathers built a house for 500 *złoty;* your grandfathers and great-grandfathers walked in shoes for 8 *złoty,* and you pay for your shoes 8 roubles. And then, why do you mind what your grandfathers and great-grandfathers did? It is better to give them eternal rest or to say an *Ave Maria* for their sake, but not to record their doings. Times have changed, and men change, the manner of farming becomes better, and we must change our old-type farming. We must follow the more enlightened countries if we want to exist in the world.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

133. We have only one primary school in which, at most, 80 children can find places, whereas there are in the parish 300 more who want to learn. We decided to find some way out, for we know that good learning is very necessary for our children.

So, on Monday, November 13, we came together (all the farmers of the whole parish) in Łobudzice and having discussed it among ourselves, we decided as follows: In the now existing school only such children will be received as already know how to read and write, so that they may learn something else, namely: counting, orthography, about the earth and the world, about the past, and other sciences necessary to everybody.

And for those children who have to learn only how to read and write, we are opening in every village a school for 25 or 30 children; smaller villages will associate in twos so as to have one common school.

For every child going either to the general school or to a village-school the parents will pay 1 rouble, and if this is not enough, we shall all add. We pay the money into the care of a special council which we have already elected. This council will find in each place people knowing well how to read and write and willing to occupy themselves during the winter with teaching, and will choose from among them teachers for the primary schools in villages. Those teachers will receive 15 to 25 roubles each for the winter and will be obliged to teach the children 3 hours a day until May.

Sacred history will be taught in the church once a week, and to that lesson children from the whole parish will come. Then they will also learn a little singing, and while playing useful information will be implanted, as for example, about the preservation of human health, gardening, bee-keeping, etc. We shall pay 4 to 6 roubles for the school rent, every village group will give fuel for itself. Primers, books and writing-pads will be bought for all villages together, for in this way they can be had at a bargain. It seems that we have planned and decided this matter well; certainly we shall have some benefit from it, for we have entrusted the care of our schools to the curate J. Z. and to the teacher B.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*. Published, but reference not preserved.

134. When, after a few years of absence, I returned to my native community, I noticed here an important progress toward the good. It is evident that the Gozdowians apply themselves to learning and that the spirit of enterprise is developing among them. Parents send children several wiorstas to school and in winter they even take their horses to carry them. Those who live still farther away place their children with relatives and acquaintances so as to have them go to school, or they even take a teacher to their village. The cost and the trouble do not discourage them. And therefore every son of a peasant or peasant noble here knows how to read, write and count.

It is not strange therefore if a score of papers come to the parishioners of Gozdowo. They also read books eagerly. The novels of Sienkiewicz are found in every village. . . . I started to talk with a harvester who was handling his scythe exceedingly well. It proved that this peasant knew almost by heart *With Fire and Sword* and *The Deluge* and other novels, and understood everything he read. . . . He told me that for no money would he go to work in Prussia, where the Germans considered our people almost like working cattle and mistreated them. [He said] that they were not paying there so brilliantly and that those who brought home more money often saved it by suffering hunger. He said that an honest peasant will neither go himself nor send his son or daughter to Prussia. "I prefer," he said, "to work hard on my own bed of land than to be tempted by wages among the Germans." The Gozdowians are not satisfied with learning how to read and write; they endeavor to go to higher schools also. During vacations and on holidays one can meet seminarists here, future teachers and others. Soon a Gozdowian will proclaim God's word to them and another one will teach the young generation. How pleasant it will be to them!

They understand here that it is better for a farmer who has little land to send his sons [as apprentices] to handicraft, leaving one to help him in farming; they know that when a piece of land is parcelled into small pieces, bread also is parcelled into small pieces, and thence result later quarrels and offence to God. They say that giving a boy to apprenticeship does not cost so very

much, and when his apprenticeship is finished, the brother who sits on the paternal land will pay him off; and when the other has enough to establish a shop, he will have a means to live.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 51.

135. The [Polish School] Association [in Galicia] unites 247 branch societies with 24,134 members. It possesses: a Polish teachers' seminary, 36 large schools, 92 smaller schools, 16 houses for students, 6 people's houses, 1496 reading rooms with loan libraries.

During the past year 10,000 children received Polish instruction in the schools and 600,000 readers used the libraries; 200,000 persons attended the 3,329 lectures held in all the districts under the auspices of the Association; 135 new libraries were founded with 13,608 volumes costing 11,061.46 crowns; 3,935.91 crowns were spent in supplementing the already existing libraries; 2,046 volumes were sold for 1,407.17 crowns; 3,360 were edited under the management of the association. The total income of the association for the past year was 31,005.42 crowns, 17,051 crowns less than in the year 1905.

Although the activity of the association is extended over Galicia chiefly, nevertheless it remains in continuous connection with the Prussian Polish provinces, since it supplies Polish libraries there with books and financial support.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 11.

The various attitudes of the peasants toward education have an almost unparalleled sociological interest, for each of them can be found in all societies and on all stages of cultural evolution. However wide may seem the difference of culture between the legislative body of a modern state, ignoring or taking into account the problem of endowment of scientific research, and a peasant village, refusing or agreeing to subscribe to popular papers; between a wealthy business man despising all intellectual work which does not bring immediate practical results, and a peasant woman scolding her husband for his seemingly useless reading; between a

scientist working his way, in spite of material obstacles and social indifference or hostility to some great discovery, and a peasant boy struggling with poverty and the opposition of his social milieu for a minimum of instruction; between the trustees of a university who fear the destructive effect of science on public morals, and an old peasant who claims that knowledge of reading and writing leads to hell, the fundamental attitudes are exactly the same.

The general unwillingness with which a conservative peasant group usually greets the appearance of intellectual interests in any one of its members can probably be best explained by its aversion to individualization in any form. A man who reads in a non-reading community has interests which the community does not share, ideas which differ from those of others, information which others cannot obtain; he isolates himself in some measure from his environment, lives partly in a sphere which is inaccessible to others and—what is worse—strange and unknown to them; thus, he in certain respects breaks away from social control. The situation is aggravated by the fact that learning has been associated with other social classes. There may perhaps be also some remnant of the mediæval attitude toward book-lore as having magical connections, either divine or devilish; thus praying from a book in church is highly considered even in communities which are otherwise most averse to education.

When intellectual interests cease to be an exception and begin to be shared by an appreciable part of the community, the feeling of strangeness disappears. But the conservative part of the group often continues to look askance on the spread of instruction, for the latter seems to them to imply indefinite possibilities of change, to

threaten a partial or total dissolution of the traditional social system, and thus arouses opposition from the standpoint of the desire for security.

It is not strange, therefore, if an average member of a conservative peasant community, knowing what reaction to expect from his environment, is not easily induced to become a "paper-man" or "book-worm," unless he has been already made partly independent of social opinion. And even without social pressure, there is not much in learning which appeals to his traditional attitudes enough to justify in his eyes the effort necessary for its acquisition. His average curiosity is satisfied by the traditional channels of personal intercourse with news-bearers and "wise men" to whose information he can apply old and known standards and whom therefore he is often more willing to believe than papers and books, which require standards unknown to him. He does not see how he could apply knowledge to the practical questions which interest him, for this application would mean in most cases a radical change of his traditional methods which he is not prepared to face. In general, as long as he is satisfied with the old type of life there is no inducement for him in new intellectual values.

The development of intellectual interests is closely connected with the breakdown of the isolation of the peasant-community and the consequent disorganization of the old system. The growing contact with the outside world develops in individuals a desire for new experience, and the paper or the book is welcomed both as a partial substitute for real new experiences when the field of the latter is limited by circumstances, and as a means by which the individual can get at least indirectly in touch with men and with possibilities beyond

the narrow circle of his primary-group life. Both motives are particularly strong in young people, where we find the tendency to education often asserting itself without any explicit encouragement or even against discouraging influences. And the same break of isolation which rouses the desire for new experience in individuals weakens also the opposition of the group to the intellectual interests of its members; we have seen in a preceding chapter how the sphere of privacy allowed to the individual increases when the group is no longer able to attain a perfect community of interests and identity of attitudes.

But this spontaneous appearance of intellectual interests in particular individuals and the decrease of the tendency to repress them in the group were not sufficient to spread popular education under such political conditions as existed in Poland. It was indispensable to develop positive appreciation of intellectual values in peasant communities so as to have social opinion encourage every individual effort in this line. This has been done in two ways—by giving to intellectual development a moral significance and by emphasizing the practical applicability of knowledge in connection with economic advance.

The old appreciative attitude toward learning when used for religious purposes gave in most cases probably the starting point for the first method. It was a good thing and a distinction to read a prayer-book in church; even more perhaps to be able to read aloud the *Lives of the Saints* or some other edifying stories at private meetings during Advent or Lent when dancing was prohibited. The passage from religious to serious secular reading was easy; and thus the latter assumed a solemnity and importance which marked its adherents as

serious and decent people, its opponents as lazy or light-headed. More than this: Just as a general moral superiority was supposed connected with religious interests and the knowledge about religious matters, there is a marked tendency on the part of those who show intellectual interests to assume an attitude of moral superiority toward the "ignorant."

A part of the popular literature has encouraged this attitude of righteousness which, though it often took ridiculous forms and provoked strong reactions from the uninitiated, nevertheless helped greatly to raise the standing of intellectual values in peasant communities. The public praise or blame of which individuals or groups are the object in popular papers (on account of their positive or negative attitude toward education) is very similar in its tone to praise or blame on moral grounds and has the same effect of provoking emulation or desire to reform. Further still, in contrast with, though probably not in conscious opposition to the fears of those who see in instruction the threat of social disorganization, we find in the younger generation the popular idea that instruction of itself is the panacea for all social evils, that nothing but lack of enlightenment is the source of whatever moral deficiencies are to be found among the peasants. All this tends to spread the conviction of the meritoriousness of being interested in knowledge, quite independently of its practical utility, and to convert into prestige the originally negative discrimination of which the "paper-man" and "book-worm" are the object. Learning becomes something intermediary between a moral rule and a fashion, not as generally acknowledged as the former but more seriously treated than the latter.

The emphasis put upon the practical applications of

knowledge to economic problems does not in any sense contradict its moral idealization, for economic progress, in particular the introduction of new methods of production and exchange, has been also in some measure morally idealized as contributing to the development of the country. The task of the leaders in this field was rather complex. It was indispensable, first of all, to foster the desire for economic advance and the dissatisfaction with the existing status, since, as we saw, a peasant who is satisfied with his condition does not care about any new practical suggestions. Secondly, this desire had to be partly distracted from those ways which it tends primarily to take—land-hunger and emigration—into entirely new channels; the peasant had to be shown that, even when there was no opportunity of increasing the size of his farm, he could raise its value and increase his income and that, though hired work abroad sometimes was the only way of obtaining any extra capital he needed at a given moment, in most cases more permanent welfare could be reached by using his own and his children's work to develop his farming along new lines.

We shall see later by what specific methods the peasant was induced to consider improvements of his own technique desirable in general; of course, the spreading of instruction was one of the factors of this evolution. But the latter in turn was used to foster the spreading of instruction; it was only necessary to demonstrate to the peasant that he actually could learn practically valuable things from books and papers, instead of merely imitating what he has already seen done. This demonstration was in most communities undertaken voluntarily by some exceptional individuals, more enterprising than the average and more influenced by

the printed word. There were, of course, many failures; but as the experimenter in the interest of his own prestige tried to conceal them, while he boasted widely of every success, the conviction of the practical utility of book knowledge has been developing very rapidly. The method by which those individuals who have already acquired some instruction are made to cooperate in spreading it among other members of their communities, either by teaching them or by persuading them to self-education, also deserves our attention. The tendency to act as a leader and adviser is, of course, a very general one; it is a specific form of the wish for mastery which, as a combination of other social attitudes, plays an important part in social evolution. Now, this tendency is sanctioned and regulated by the real intellectual leaders who more or less explicitly treat the half-educated peasant as their associate and collaborator in the work of educating others, as a member of a new kind of peasant aristocracy on whose efficient social work depends the future of the peasant class. This point will be considered more in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE WIDER COMMUNITY AND THE RÔLE OF THE PRESS

In most European countries the breakdown of the isolation of peasant communities was accompanied—or even preceded—by an incorporation of the peasants individually into the existing political system, so that the main problem of reconstruction which these countries had to face was, how to change the members of primary groups into members of an existing secondary group. But this was not so in Poland, which had no political frame-work waiting to include the peasant as soon as serfdom was abolished. Of course, in Poland, as everywhere, there existed ready economic and cultural institutions of the secondary-group type in which the peasants could and did participate in an increasing measure. But it is evident that none of these institutions can anywhere pretend to control all the members of a concrete social body as does the primary-group or the state.

Furthermore in Poland they were the product of other social classes, inadequately adapted to the peasants' needs, and the necessary modifications and extensions which would make them more useful to the peasant class were in the main impossible under foreign domination. And yet the rapid breakdown of traditional social forms and the urgent need of making the peasants active members of the nation—not only without the help of, but against the efforts of the dominating states—made it even more important for Poland than for other countries that the primary-group organ-

ization should be supplemented by secondary-group system which would both control the individual when the community could not do it and control the community so as to make it cooperate in national activities.

The task which Polish peasant leaders faced was thus as interesting as it was difficult. They had to reproduce under entirely different conditions the fundamental social process by which states have been built, to create a new secondary group from a plurality of primary groups. The main instrument which has always served to realize this aim—military power—could not be used in this case. Nor was any kind of free political union of peasant communes possible, for the partitioning governments were most anxious to destroy all political cohesion of Polish society; the peasant commune was completely isolated politically from other communes and had contact only with the Russian authorities. Religion and the church organization might have been, indeed, powerful means of unifying the peasant primary groups; but they could not be used, partly because of the unwillingness of the central Catholic Church authorities to let the Polish clergy commit itself in national and social struggles, partly because of the suspicion with which the Russian and Prussian governments looked upon the activities of the Polish clergy, partly also because of the undemocratic character of the church hierarchy. Thus the only instrument with the help of which a secondary-group system could be constructed above the primary-group organization was the press, and the only form which this secondary-group system could assume was that of a *wider community,* in which communication through the printed word took the place of direct personal contact, and ab-

stract moral solidarity the place of concrete social solidarity.

The problem was thus, first, to create a nation-wide social opinion, standardized by the leaders, and to subject to the control of this opinion not only individuals but primary communities; secondly, to develop in individuals the consciousness of moral obligation to contribute to the material and intellectual progress of this wider community to which they belonged, regardless of any actual or expected reciprocity of services.

136. [Typical description of a primary group written for the sole purpose of attracting to it the attention of the wider community; this makes it at once a part of the latter.]

Our village . . . is small and in no way peculiar; however, it is a little parcel of our country on which 16 peasant families live, and thus it deserves to have people know about it. . . . As everywhere, among us there are also good and bad, well-wishing and envious people. Mostly, however, the inhabitants of Szklana are laborious, sober and honest. In spite of this, everybody complains about misery more here than elsewhere. This is because the peasants here buy too much land, more than they can afford. . . . The inhabitants of Szklana do not waste money on dress. They wear long white "Cracovian" coats. The heart rejoices when one looks at a stately man dressed in a white shirt, black trousers and waistcoat, a black hat and a white coat.

Almost everybody here knows how to read at least printed matter, and therefore education spreads rapidly. Instead of card-playing or vain and indecent talk, which still could be often heard a few years ago, today reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* prevails. We have 2 copies of it in our small village. In the beginning, when one of the inhabitants ordered it, it was difficult to persuade anybody to read or to listen. . . . If everything is not described exactly here, please do not wonder, for I am not a writer but merely a peasant from under a straw roof, who is more accustomed to the plow than to the pen.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 25.

137. [Shows some of the motives leading an individual to wish to inform the wider community about his place and his narrower group.]

Although I have often written in our *Gazeta* about this village, and you know it already and are acquainted with it, I have in mind to talk again about it because here I passed my childhood years, knowing neither suffering nor trouble; here I dreamed, an innocent, quiet little boy in this remote village. . . . Oh, how lovely are these whitened cottages, these low thatches lulled into sleep by the sweet stillness of the evening, bathed in the brightness of the moon! Some like better to live in a strange country on German or other [foreign] ground, but for me nowhere shines the sun as in this my native village.

Well, brothers, today I have to pride myself upon our youth who go forward eagerly as best they can and fight already quite well with ignorance. It is true that there is still a good deal of evil but we must not grieve but work until we are at last able to throw out this poisonous plant. . . . I have only one objection to the young people, that they like evening entertainments which spoil the heart and stain the soul, diminish health and . . . repute. Many a one who danced so incessantly went down to the cold grave prematurely; many a one bitterly regretted it. . . . O young people, watch yourselves!

And now, my dear neighbors, I must complain a little about you, because you have so long been deliberating in vain how to unite your lands. Many others did it long ago, because they had the understanding and will. . . . We must not lose even a moment if we want to overcome our hard ill-fortune. But you could not come to an understanding because there was a great lack of concord and on the other hand—say what you will—a great deal of hypocrisy and jealousy. Oh, but for this cursed jealousy that rules the heart of man, before which flees the holy love of our fellow-man as before a vampire, it would be better in the world, brothers; we should love each other, everyone would be as happy as a child, the vain world would become a paradise!

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1911, 16 [in verse].

138. [Here information about the primary community is clearly connected with reformatory purposes.]

Old people say that in the time of their youth the inhabitants of Janów did not care much for progress, did not mind if their town remained far behind others. [Young men married at 18 and did not improve their husbandry. Roads were in poor condition.]

Now much is changed here. Fathers try to educate their children to be enlightened people; they train their sons to be priests, teachers, artisans. We have in town several handworkers; but most people occupy themselves with masonry. Every spring many Janowians go to work in the larger cities. Their wives remain on their farms and work alone, poor women, in the sweat of the brows. Alone they plant and dig potatoes; without the farmers' help they harvest the rye and bring it into the barns. Only in the fall the farmer returns with some money. It is too bad that women must tire themselves out in farming, but what can be done? We have no other way, we must leave them alone, for here on the spot we have no factories and it is difficult to earn anything.

Formerly our commune office was in the village Złoty Potok, but we burgesses did not like to have our office in a village. We began therefore to exert ourselves to have it transferred to our town. And we have succeeded, though the inhabitants of Złoty Potok were very angry with us. But to say the truth, it is easier for them to come to the town than for us to go to the village, for in town they have the opportunity of buying whatever they need. . . .

We have a good seamstress. . . . Many Janowians send their daughters to her to learn cutting and sewing. In almost every home there is a sewing-machine. Only it is a pity that the girls, having learned to sew, waste too much time in making dresses for themselves. Often it happens that one sees, by the side of a mother going to church in an old woolen dress, a daughter in a hat and pelerine. But they get the worst of this themselves, for nobody wants to take such an over-dressed girl for a wife. The handworker says: "When she becomes the wife of a master, her head will turn still more, she will want to dress still better, and I shall have to work for it." And the country boy seeing such a lady in a hat and pelerine says: "This is of no use to me. I do not need a sluggard. I shall search for a red-cheeked, healthy

peasant girl who will know how to cook cabbage and potatoes, and will be good for work."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 47.

139. [Attempt to produce a definite reform through the influence of the press.]

We have in our village about 150 morgs of useless ground covered with sand which the wind scatters over the fields. A few wiser farmers would like to plant the place with birch trees; then the village would be in a sort of grove and we would derive some profit.

But the place is common property and must be divided. Our elder, Józef Pawłowski, has consulted us several times, but the meetings resulted in nothing. . . . "I have a right to 5 morgs," cried one. "And I have a right to 10 morgs," cried another. "Some of the land descended to me from my grandfather," "And to me from my aunt" [cried others]. The wiser people are grieved to see such blindness. Our priests constantly remind us that we should do something about the sand. However, the land is not wooded yet. . . . Perhaps this humiliation in the *Gazeta* will finally bring some results.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 49.

140. [Illustration of power of the wider community.]

With great shame I shall tell what my neighbors wanted to do with a young forest which grows on the common pasture of the village. The forest is young—it has grown only 11 years—but very nice; we can have much material from it for . . . [various agricultural implements]. But the trouble is with bad people. When they began to do whatever they wished in this forest they nearly spoiled it; one cut a pole, another needed dry wood, a third went and cut down a whole cartload of young trees. Then all came together in order to find some solution. And it occurred to them to take their axes at once, cut down the forest entirely and divide the wood among themselves.

They called me also to work, but I said: "I have no time, for I must compose in my mind what I shall write to the *Gazeta* about this that you are doing." When I said this they began to reflect a little. They went to the forest, stood and wondered what to do. Then I came and said: "The Lord God will punish

you, for it is a sin to destroy such a beautiful gift of God, such pretty young trees. And the whole world will be astonished at your having done such an injury, for I tell you that I shall write what you do to the *Gazeta.*" They said nothing to this, but somehow nobody started to cut. They went home one after another and the forest was saved.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 51.

141. Dear brother readers, participants in this *Gazeta!* Some time has already passed since I made some noise by my letter in which I revealed to all of you some human tendencies full of pride and wickedness. Though I wrote the truth, I provoked the anger of many people, of those precisely who, hearing my words, recognized that the talk was about them. They showed their wrath against me and called me various names: peasant, *ham,* gossiper, clumsy versifier [this letter is actually written in a rather clumsy verse], newspaper-meddler. And they also changed the name of this *Gazeta* from *Świąteczna* [holiday] to *"Chłopska"* [peasant], because it accepts whatever silly things a peasant, a *ham,* a clumsy versifier describes. [He lives in a town and its burgesses consider themselves superior to peasants.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 33.

142. There were never yet so many readers in Chocianowice as on Sunday, September 5th. Like lightning the news spread in the village that our village was described in *Gazeta Świąteczna* under the title, "Growth of Drinking." Almost everybody, old and young, knew on this Sunday and passed the word that somebody had writen to *Gazeta* about Chocianowice. Honest people praised the man who wrote and said he did very well; others cursed and promised to take revenge on the man who wrote. But those who sell the poison were moved most. One shopkeeper took it to heart so much that he resolved to sell this accursed whiskey no more, and did not sell it; when anyone came to buy this poison the man said: "If I am to be described in the *Gazeta,* I will sell no more." So everybody left with an empty bottle and with a full pocket, and with a curse, not against the man who did not give him vodka, but against the one who wrote to the *Gazeta.* That seller did well, but it was done only in order that people who wanted vodka might come to him once more and beg him [to sell].

Then people resolved to guess who was the man who wrote that letter to *Gazeta,* and they decided not to forgive him when they guessed it. Well, after long trouble they guessed the riddle: "It must be that one [the writer] because he has read the *Gazeta* for a long time, he does not drink vodka, and there is nobody else in the village [like him]." Only they have not carried out their threat, perhaps because that [shop-keeper] sold his resolution to them, like Judas. He justifies himself that he is earning his living, and his allies say yes.

And now I confess that you guessed right who wrote [the letter]. You say that I don't smoke cigarettes and don't drink vodka, and it is true, but I owe it to *Gazeta Świąteczna,* because it led me to enlightenment. Now only I know how to live, how to love my Polish brethren, and how to root out drinking. Further, you say that I slander you. But I had never the idea of slandering you; you slander yourselves. It was clearly written in the *Gazeta* that more than a half [of the villagers] are good and honest. Is it my fault if you don't want to belong to these good and honest farmers? I step out openly against my enemy and my enemy is drink. . . . Through drinking you become enemies of our fatherland. So, if you have at least a spark of love for your mother, the Polish land, you will stand together with these honest men and cry: "Away with drinking and revelry in our village!"

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

143. [This shows how indispensable for individual self-control the backing of the community is, but also how the wider community can be substituted for the primary group.]

In 1887 I read in the *Gazeta* a beautiful and useful article under the title: "To smoke or not to smoke." I read attentively and agreed that it was true. And as I was a habitual smoker—for I smoked ⅜ of a pound of *machorka* a week—this truth made me reflect seriously. I wondered what to do. "Don't smoke," cried my reason. But how to eradicate the accursed habit?

I tried to persuade my neighbors to renounce smoking; I read to them what good and wise people wrote about it. My neighbors answered that they could not stop smoking, for they were "too much used to it, and the loss does not matter, because those who do not smoke are no wealthier." Some also told

such a tale: A man who smoked ceased to smoke and put aside the pennies which he had been spending on smoking, until he had economized 9 roubles. With this money he bought a pig and used all his grain in feeding him. The pig died and the man suffered hunger.

But I succeeded in persuading the most enlightened one among my neighbors, F. Pr. We read again that article in the *Gazeta* and at the command: "One, two, three," we threw our pipes on the ground. We threw into the fire our stores of tobacco and promised to try not to smoke for two months, or at least to buy nothing to smoke. We kept our resolution, but after two months we began to buy and to smoke. But since that time I have been an enemy of smoking. I smoked, but only because I could not withstand temptation. I went into company; one or another treated me with cigarettes and it was difficult to renounce such a treat. But several times I did not smoke for three or four months at once, from spring until autumn. . . . But none of my neighbors would follow my example, and as in winter they come to my house twice a week to have a talk, I, seeing them smoking, took my pipe too.

Last spring, having read in the *Gazeta* opinions of doctors about the harmfulness of smoking, I took them to heart, explained to my neighbors, and on April 5 definitely ceased smoking. Under the eyes of my neighbors, I carried my pipe to the fire and said: "You were burning, destroying my health. Now I am overcoming you, fiend. Get burned, disappear, be lost!" . . . Two neighbors promise to stop smoking, but somehow they still hesitate. . . .

We readers of the *Gazeta,* though our number is still small compared with those who do not read, although scattered throughout the whole world and not acquainted personally with one another, can boldly consider ourselves real brothers, for we have been educated spiritually and we are taken care of by the one *Gazeta Świąteczna.* Let us then listen to her [*Gazeta* is feminine gender in Polish] advice, explanations and exhortations with childlike faith and confidence. Let us take into consideration that the nineteenth year is already approaching its end since the *Gazeta* began to teach us, showing us good and evil; and thus we are approaching our majority and can think for our-

selves about our lot and one brother ask another: "To smoke or not to smoke?" . . .

I would not write at all about my not smoking, for I do not demand any praise; but I publish this as an example and in order to incite my fellow-readers to do likewise. . . . It would be well if neighbors or even more distant readers gave one another a word, a promise not to smoke. Such an association gives encouragement; in company everybody is more cheerful.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 38.

144. [This document, besides illustrating the emotional background upon which patriotism develops, is interesting as a demand for emotional response addressed to the wider community.]

I feel sad, oh sad, to part with this beloved country, with this beloved Polish land; but the time has come for me to leave it. And I bid you farewell, my fatherland, my native land. Let your glory be spread over the whole world; because I must leave you. . . . I go to a strange country like a wanderer. . . . I bid you farewell, too, my native village where I was born. I bid you good-bye, dear parents. Farewell, mother who bred me and taught me the prayer. Farewell, father, who guarded me and led me to some reason and gave me knowledge. Farewell, my whole family, and I beg your pardon; perhaps I wronged you; then forgive me. Farewell, my companions, and also you who did me wrong; I forgive you everything and don't remember it, because you were like stupid men. Perhaps I am also guilty; then forgive me. Finally I bid you farewell, my enemies, and don't believe that I consider you as my enemies. No, don't think so, I consider you all as my brothers, because one God created us all and we are his children. . . .

Farewell, you forests, among which I grew and which vivified me with your perfumes and odors. Farewell also, you poor Kurpie [ancient name of the district]; though you look unshapely and poor, yet you have been my dearest treasure, because I was born and grew up on you. Farewell, every plant which is to be found in my native land. Farewell, you birds which I leave; forgive me and pardon me, perhaps I did you some wrong.

Farewell, my dearest Polish country, my beloved fatherland, because I do not know, perhaps I shall never more come back

to you by reason of death or for some other reason. I am very joyful because of the future glory of my Poland which it will attain now when it begins to have its own management [Russian Poland expected to obtain autonomy after 1905]. I longed for this from my childhood, I aspired to live until I should rejoice with my brothers in our common cause and bear down the foe. But I can hardly wait for this good epoch which I hoped would come because the time has come for me to leave my fatherland. I have lived 20 years and I withdraw lest I should be an enemy of my brothers instead of a helper, lest I should be forced to kill and to be a fratricide. [He goes away fearing he would be called to military service and employed against the revolution.] Please correct it, if I have written something wrong.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

145. Formerly there was awful darkness in this community. At moments free from work people came together under a big tree on a hill and there the oldest story-teller related how years ago ghosts frightened people, how vampires of hanged men were flying about forests and pursuing people, how witches used to fly to the Łysa Góra on their shovels and dance with devils. Then again he told about robbers in the mountains of Swięty Krzyż, about "bewitched" treasures kept in caves with iron doors and watched by a black dog on a chain, also about bewitched knights who some day will rise from their graves and will take this money for their brethren. Thus people talked formerly. And today?

Today also one can frequently see a group of people in the same place, only they do not tell tales about treasures but some one among them holds in his hand the *Gazeta* and reads how people are now governing themselves, how they go hand in hand and work in common because they have already well recognized that they are in Europe, not in Asia, and that they are men, not cattle, and should not permit all kinds of bad people and cheaters to plow with them.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 26.

146. The *Gazeta Świąteczna* has taught us the statutes relative to commune organization. Now our communal meetings are being conducted in accordance with these statutes. At one such

meeting . . . we elected for plenipotentiary Count J., who together with another plenipotentiary every month verifies the communal account books. We can be sure now that the money which we put into the communal fund will be used for the purposes for which we have designed it. Formerly this was not so. Up to last year—I must confess with shame—the management of our commune was very poor.

Formerly there was also the bad habit of electing the mayor for vodka and beer. This year there will also be elections for mayor, but we hope that now we shall elect differently—without vodka or beer. We begin gradually to break off drinking vodka and beer. In the village Szynmanowice in the house of Antoni Budyta, the first wedding in our community without vodka was performed. In the same village, at a village meeting, they decided not to smoke cigarettes near the buildings and to avoid lawsuits as far as possible. Therefore one can seldom meet anyone from this village in court; the farmers settle all misunderstandings among themselves by arbitration. . . .

Alas! Things are not going in the same way in another village of our commune. I give its name, N——, only for the editor, but please do not mention it in the *Gazeta.* Here a few young men, sons of rather well-to-do farmers, got so accustomed to vodka that on every holiday and at every fair they must get drunk. In order to have money for vodka they steal grain from their fathers, carry it to the town at night, and sell it very cheap to traders. If some neighbor dares to say that this is unworthy, they are not ashamed to threaten aloud that they will pay him with a knife for mixing with other people's business.

I must finally mention with sadness a bad custom which is taking root among us; we are gradually abandoning our ancient costumes and dressing in the German fashion.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 31.

147. Duty urges me to write how much I owe to the *Gazeta* and what advantage it brings to every one who reads it. It is true that a man is not always ready to take up the pen with all his domestic worries and his care about the daily bread. . . . Moreover, a fellow is not used to the pen, but to the plow and the scythe. He does not dare to blurt among people a trifling

word, even as, so to speak, it is not proper to go to church on a holiday in a filthy coat. But you, Mr. Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna,* you do not despise my handiwork, and it is a great consolation for me that I can share my thought with many people.

It is only two years that I have been reading the *Gazeta* steadily, and now I even write often for it. I am very sorry that I started to read it so late. As is known to you, Mr. Writer, when I wrote my first letter there was neither order nor construction in it. I did not even dream that my words were going to be repeated in print. But when I saw in the *Gazeta* my awkward writing corrected, I then decided to spend every free moment reading and writing. Many say to me: "What will you get from it?" And I answer that I have already gotten a great deal from reading the *Gazeta,* for it has taught me how to think and write orderly and how to farm well. "You must know," I said, "that a farmer on a 10 morg farm, if he reads the *Gazeta,* surpasses a 20 morg one, because you will find harmony in his house, in his barn, in his field and meadow, and even in his heart he has more fraternal love. Such a person respects the *Gazeta* like his health and is willing to encourage every one to read it, because every one needs education. What is the use of a person's knowing how to read if he does not read? . . . He cannot teach either his children or his servants anything, because he does not know anything himself."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 40.

148. I arrived [in Pałecznica] on a holiday and just in time for mass. Leaving at the same time as the others, I stopped before the church, because a man is always anxious to observe the people of a different locality and desires to guess from what he sees with his eyes what kind of people they are and what one should think about them. The inhabitants of Pałecznica I know a little, as I was there not for the first time; I even have a few relatives in that village. But on Sunday there were many people from other villages. In general I liked these people very much. They dress in country fashion mostly, in the same way as their fathers and grandfathers dressed, without any changes or unnecessary additions. It is pleasant to look at their dress.

I noticed a farmer whom I knew, Szymczyk, a reader of the *Gazeta Świąteczna.* I approached him. We greeted each

other and began to talk. Then others joined us and I convinced myself that I was not mistaken in what I thought of them, for they are pleasant, polite and sensible people. I did not intend to stay long in Pałecznica, but my friends and relatives noticed me, and among them was Mikołaj Laccyk. . . . Finally Laccyk invited me to his house. Szymczyk accompanied us too. The host treated us with whatever he had. Then we began to talk and thus a few hours passed, and none of us felt bored, for we talked about things which interest every one who has only a sound mind and is not too lazy to think. I had a very pleasant time in that house. I had never even suspected that only a few miles away from the village where I lived, I had such well-wishing fellow-farmers.

"Do you remember, neighbor," [the farmer said to me] "that a dozen years ago you visited me, as today, and you reproached me for having a beautiful garden and not planting any fruit trees? And you blamed me also for not wooding my useless grounds. Let us now go to look at that garden and those useless grounds. . . . I do not know yet how much profit there will be this year from the orchard. Last year the trees produced less fruit, but I received 60 roubles for the fruit." . . . "Well, well," said I, "I did not expect that you would manage to do such things." And he answered: "At first your advice, and then the *Gazeta Świąteczna* drove me to it. As soon as you told me that the *Gazeta* would encourage me to progress and that it would teach me how to manage excellently the orchard, the grove and my entire husbandry in general, I immediately began to read it. And you see here what profits I have derived." I saw that he was sincerely thankful to me because I had encouraged him to read. And I thanked him in turn for having listened to my advice and wished him success in his honest work. God bless him!

[Szymczyk had also introduced improvements on his farm, but he had begun later and his success was not as conspicuous as Laccyk's.] . . . There are many farmers similar to these in the village, district and parish of Pałecznica, and their progress in farming is more noticeable since the *Gazeta* and good books have visited many huts.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 52.

149. [Typical, showing how valuable the recognition of the wider community is considered even after death. A poor peasant woman sacrificed her whole life in order to bring relief to her fellow-creatures who were in need.]

. . . She was not looking for recognition for her deeds, and that is why she did not find any reward in this world; she went for it to heaven. We who write this experienced many of her kindnesses and witnessed many of her worthy deeds. Now when she is dead, we call to God: "Father, receive her in eternal glory!" But we would like her virtues and Christian acts to be known to people after her death. Let them be an example for others. Perhaps they will move and warm cold hearts, of which, alas, there are so many in this world. Therefore we ask the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to publish this short remembrance of the benefactress whom we shall keep in our grateful memory forever. [Three signatures.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 45.

150. There are people who like to catch every news in flight and to repeat it as soon as possible. If they have not heard rightly, they guess or even lie in order only to be able to tell something interesting. Why, even to tell is not enough! Many a fellow is ready to describe in a paper something that he does not know at all, that he has heard with one ear from somebody. He has heard a little, he has "sucked out of his finger the rest," as people say, and has sent it to print.

Two weeks ago we read in a paper the news about an earthquake in Rzędkowice. We repeated it as a curious but doubtful thing. And now one of our readers from that neighborhood writes: "I live 2 wiorstas from . . . Rzędkowice and every day I have relations with the local farmers and with Józef Rarański However, I have not heard from anyone about an earthquake in this neighborhood."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 12.

151. It is the duty of every honest citizen of this country to attract attention to the bad actions of either one man or a community in any locality, for in this way people who do not usually see their defects will recognize them and some at least try to get rid of them. But whoever writes about the defects

and errors of some person should take care that there be only sincere truth in his words. . . .

I have been moved to write about this by a letter about the parish Siemoń which was printed in *Gazeta* No. 1137 and signed with the initials J. S. Because I have lived for several years in this parish I consider it my duty to correct the erroneous news about my parish and my fellow-parishioners.

J. S. complains in his letter about the darkness of our parish. . . . He certainly could not find in our whole parish, which has over 7,000 souls, a single grown-up man who does not know at least how to read, and I do not think he could find two hundred —mostly old—people who do not know how to write. Last year two new brick schools were built in our parish instead of the old ones. . . . Some farmers had to pay 20 and even 30 and more roubles each for the building of the schools. Would people who do not care for the instruction of their children agree to this?

Further, J. S. says, that on Sundays and holidays parents send their children to divine service as proxies for themselves, while they drive the geese to pasture. Probably the one who wrote this went not to the church in our parish but to where glasses [instead of bells] ring. Our church, built twenty years ago, is an adornment to the whole neighborhood and holds about 3,000 souls and on every holiday it can hardly contain the people who participate in the divine service. . . .

J. S. says in his letter that the inhabitants of Siemoń call him a mere fool, supposedly only because he subscribes to and reads the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. But J. S. probably knows well that in Siemoń they subscribe not only for the four copies which he mentions but for three times as many, in addition to the papers subscribed to by our respected priests who lend these also to us. As far as I know, the Siemońians call fools those people who have dealings with various outcasts of society or play lords. For is he not worthy to be called a fool who, for example, when going to visit his parents a dozen wiorstas away carries his rubbers in his hand to show them off and only a hundred steps from the village puts them upon his muddy boots? Nobody will win respect here with the help of rubbers or a curtailed German coat. . . .

Perhaps my signature alone would be sufficient for the Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna,* since I am the local teacher. But because I am not the only one who is indignant at the unmerited charges made against the parish of Siemoń, as proof of the truth of my letter others will certify it. [The elder of the village and 6 inhabitants signed as witnesses.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 12.

152. [Religious solidarity seems to be the earliest form of the moral soldiarity of the wider community.]

I have a great request to the readers of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* from a very unfortunate man, the shoemaker, Młotkowski, crippled by blindness. When he was a little boy his father, angered by something, beat him with a stick and struck his eye. The eye hurt the boy for a long time and gradually he grew completely blind in it. When he became accustomed to his infirmity he learned the shoemaker's trade, and he has earned his bread in the work-shop. At present he is 29 years old. He is married and has a child.

Last week a misfortune happened to him. He was cutting a wire which was stretched taut. Suddenly the end of the wire sprung up and hit his eye, the only sound one. The poor man became entirely blind. . . . In his misfortune he is comforted by the hope that God may still pity him. With tears he asks you, the readers of the *Gazeta,* for a prayer to God that he should let him see with his other eye [which the doctors say is the less hopeless of the two]. Do not refuse his earnest request.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 16.

153. For these working people [of Kielce] a new church is absolutely necessary, but they cannot erect it with their own funds, for there are no wealthy men among them who would help the work by large offerings. But the committee for the construction of the church, without heeding the fact that it had only a small fund collected from the local population, started to build. Having purchased a suitable lot it has already put down the foundation for the future church. For, relying on God's help, it counts upon the support of the inhabitants of the more distant as well as the nearer parts of the country. It expects that the solidarity and reciprocity which manifests them-

selves usually when something is to be done for the public good, and particularly for the spiritual good, will incite every one to help at least with a small offering.

By such brotherly help based upon Christian love and good-will our generous fellow-countrymen will tighten their fraternal ties with those members of the community of Christ who, being poorer, will draw from the help of others comfort and spiritual food for themselves. Moreover, sympathy manifested for the common good will bear creditable testimony to the maturity and superiority of the public. And the beautiful church of the Saviour erected in this way, will bring down from heaven through the mediation of this love and of the saving power of the Cross a blessing for the benefactors and will implant a steady gratitude and recognition in the hearts of the Christian-Catholics of the city of Kielce.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 8.

154. Seeing in our country beneficent people who try by all means to spread knowledge among us and to improve our situation, I also desire—not as one of them, for I have not as much knowledge or skill—to add as much as I can to that useful work, even if only from afar, and to contribute to the welfare of our society as much as my weak mind and forces can afford. I therefore ask the honorable Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to publish an announcement that I have for sale shoots of apple-trees and of pear-trees of several species. If any reader of the *Gazeta* who lives in the neighborhood of Bilgoraj needs, either for himself or for his neighbors, such shoots for spring planting, let him apply to me no later than May 1st and I will give them to him without charge. I will gladly show him how to plant, if he does not know that.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 13.

155. At the news of the disasters of flood and hail which befell many regions in our country good people were found in the commune of Kubry . . . who took to heart the obligation of helping thier unfortunate brethren. The first ones in that generous deed were the gentlemen Dąbkowski of Racibory and Skarzyński of Romany. They came to me [the mayor of the commune] with the advice that I should call together all the people of the commune and encourage them to make a contribu-

tion from each morg for the people afflicted by flood. I told them that I had thought of it myself. A week later . . . it was decided to give one copeck from each morg, which would make nearly 230 roubles.

Great praise is due the villagers of Łojów-Awisy. Having calculated that a contribution of 1 copeck from each morg would amount to only 3 roubles, they considered it too little for such a generous purpose. And in order to show their brethren more generosity they decided to contribute each as much as he could afford. . . . They brought 11 roubles to me.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 44.

156. Because on the 3d of March of this year forty years had passed since the endowment of peasants in the Kingdom of Poland with land and the installation of communal self-government, the peasants of the commune of Dobra, in order to commemorate this anniversary and in order to obtain from God peace and a speedy end of the war [with Japan], at the communal meeting on this day unanimously decided: From the net profits of the communal loan and savings banks in Dobra, of which 13,587 roubles had been accumulated, to assign 1) 500 roubles for the purchase of a bell for the church in Dobra; 2) for the purchase of chalices for communicants and of ornaments for the churches in Dobra, Szczawina and Stryków in the region of the commune of Dobra, 500 roubles each or 1,500 roubles altogether; 3) to aid local families of soldiers wounded or injured in the war with Japan, 800 roubles besides the 200 roubles at the disposal of His Excellency the Archbishop of Warsaw for Catholic priests sent to the Far East, or together 1,000 roubles; 4) for the hungry brother-peasants in the commune of Bieliny who suffered most from the flood last year, 250 roubles, and the same amount for those who suffer misery in other regions of the country on account of the flood, or together 500 roubles; 5) for the teachers of 5 schools in the community, who work for the good of the younger generation, for their labor and in view of further encouraging them, 50 roubles each, or 250 roubles.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 14.

157. Brother farmers, we all want a better lot for ourselves; every one among us wishes to be happier. This wish is per-

fectly just. But our other demand is unjust; we want somebody else to earn a better lot for us, we demand of some one else to sacrifice himself for our sake, and we do not ourselves deign to reach after even that which is made ready for us. I speak here about our demand when we peasants require different sacrifices for the sake of the people. Let us profit eagerly from what we have already, but as to the future, don't look for anybody who may give us ready-made happiness.

You wish to have a nice house, nice farm-stock, a nice garden, nice clothes, a nice carriage, good and savory food—you wish to be a gentleman. All right, so be it; everybody will be glad when you get on well. Only don't wish somebody who sits upon a height to come down and sit with you in the mud, but rather arise yourself and sit with him upon the height. Since we have sat long, too long perhaps in the mud, we have dreamed in our heads that there is no way out of it. But happily already an important number of the country-dwellers have seen clearly that there is a way and moved along it toward the height. But, alas, there are still many of our peasants who, although they also perceive the way, nevertheless sit in the mud because laziness has got hold of them and they don't want to rise to go with the others.

So I address myself to you, older fathers and mothers. I demand, I adjure you in the name of the youth to which I belong myself, don't keep your children in the mud, let them go and mount upon this height. Send your children to school. . . . You, boys, don't take empty-headed girls for wives. You, girls, don't accept for anything in the world husbands who have nothing but straw in their heads. Let us be proud that we are farmers, but let us be enlightened farmers. I do not doubt that people will yet strive for the honor of being farmers, as you now strive to have your children priests and engineers, who then are often ashamed of their peasant origin. I tell you that the whole future of the people is in the popular agricultural schools. If you, fathers, do not know how to get out of poverty, your sons when they leave agricultural schools will lead you out.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

158. I wish to share with all the readers of the *Ziemianka* [Country Woman] my views about the so-called woman's move-

ment. How pleasant it is to hear anything of the doings of this movement. For instance, they hold a circle meeting in one place, arrange lectures for peasant women in another; again the women's circles establish nurseries, as the one in Piotrowice. . . . Such projects as the establishment of a coöperative dairy are premature here as yet, and it would be advisable to arrange first an excursion to a neighboring one. We can say safely that the entire field of social affairs that are being discussed at the women's circle meetings is still new to us. . . .

You know well the fact that our peasant women have begun to think only since 1905. For a long series of years the home was the only harbor of the peasant woman, as if it were her only right, the right of the home. We all know that the peasant woman was regarded as something lower than man and is so regarded at the present time. Is it her right, this life of slavery? I think not. And let us not think that it is only a matter of a few exceptions. There are many women among us even at present who live entirely without a definite outline of work, without a better purpose in life; nothing outside of their home interests them. The shutters of their souls' windows are tightly bolted and even doubly so, and the dear spark of enlightenment has no access to them. Hence so many errors committed by the weaker sex. . . . They do not realize how annoying to others is their stupidity and thoughtlessness; they do not realize how much their future welfare depends on proper education. Oh, it is a problem that makes the heart of every citizen ache!

Letter to *Ziemianka;* unpublished.

159. Dear Sisters. We read often in popular papers how our brothers are called to social work and to learning. These appeals are, indeed, very just. But nevertheless in reading them we feel some pain, even some jealousy. Why are only brothers called to work, to learning? And we women, have we the right, ought we to remain in darkness and in social inactivity? Never! It is high time for us women to awake spiritually. Therefore, let us, sisters, call one another to learning and to work for the re-birth of the land. . . . It is a shame for us women that we keep away from such work and even, alas! that we divert our husbands from it.

Who is most to blame that in villages and towns we have

almost no kindergartens and no schools for children? Who is principally guilty that our consumers' associations and Polish shops have little success? Who is at fault that our husbands read little and our children avoid the school? I will say positively: *Only we, the women.* Our women don't care for kindergartens and schools, they pass indifferently by the consumers' shops. We are angry with our husbands and sons when they spend money for papers and books, and often we don't send our children to school and we keep them at home for any trifling reason, for the sake of some work which somebody else could do. If our son or our daughter wants to go to a farm-school, we withhold them because there is work at home and we pretend that we have no money. . . .

Our people is unhappy, dark, powerless, in misery and humiliation. But to a large extent we could avoid our misfortunes, many could easily remove totally their painful penury. For the larger part of our soil is fertile, much wealth is in the earth, much work in the land, but people of strange birth and faith draw all the benefits for themselves, and we, the children of Lech, the children of this soil, which our fathers and grandfathers bathed with their blood, we are in poverty, in neglect, and we look for bread, for wages far away from our fatherland, from our beloved Poland. We, the Polish women, could remedy it if we would and if we knew how to do it. We ought not to boast, but in conformity with the truth we must acknowledge that our husbands respect us and often do as we advise, or simply yield to our claims for the sake of peace—although not all of them.

So we have a great influence in private and in social matters, and therefore it is to a large extent our fault if things go badly with us. But unhappily many women don't acknowledge this fault. Often we care more for nice dresses and hats than for social and national questions, and this is very bad. In this manner we do a serious wrong to society without knowing it. But this unconsciousness does not diminish our fault at all; on the contrary, it makes it greater still because it is the consequence of negligence, of a blameworthy sluggishness and, I dare say, of an aversion to enlightenment and to progress in general.

Indeed, dear sisters, our greatest misfortune is the dislike of

enlightenment. I don't speak about all, because there are women who aspire for good and enlightenment; but the majority even among ourselves, the pupils of the schools of Kruszyna, Mirosław, etc., are such that after leaving school, when we find ourselves in the country instead of awakening and encouraging others we forget totally about our own duties. Let us take this painful truth into our hearts and let us be awe-struck at the greatness of our responsibility. We women can contribute much to the improvement of our people's condition, particularly those among us who consider ourselves wiser and more intelligent.

Zorza, 1914, 10.

160. [This peasant meeting, organized by the National Democratic Party and attended by over 1500 peasants, illustrates the passage from the wider community to the nation.]

The next day after the meeting three participants, elderly men, told us each separately [about the educatory influence of the *Gazeta*]. Here are the words of one of them: "I have belonged for five years to the National Democratic Party. There are in our commune more like me; there are some who have belonged longer, others shorter. There are also readers of the *Gazeta* like us who, however, do not want to belong to the party, and there are others who belong to other parties. We have been called here to this meeting by the National Democratic Party. It rouses us, that is true. I have read that it has been rousing the people [nationally] for 15 years already. But if it had not been for the *Gazeta Świąteczna* none of us peasants would be here at this meeting. We would be the same as our fathers were. Neither would there be speakers like those who have talked. For although the *Gazeta* did not call us to the meeting, it has made us citizens of our country, whereas formerly we were only a dark herd of cattle. The parties would have had nothing to talk with us about. They came to a ready thing."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 52.

The wider community, as we see from our documents, essentially based on the same social attitudes as the primary community—the desire for recognition and the desire for response. The main difference lies in the

higher degree of intellectualization which these attitudes must acquire in the wider community. Whereas in the primary group the individual obtains satisfaction of his social instinct by a direct reaction of concrete personalities, in the secondary group he must be satisfied with an indirect reaction of an impersonal public. Of course, he does not pass without intermediary stages from the primary-group to the secondary-group psychology. On the one hand, in primary-group life there are many situations which prepare him for the secondary-group stage; on the other hand, in secondary-group life, however great may be the prevalence of abstract and indirect over concrete and direct relations, the latter never entirely disappear, and lend to all social activities some of the vividness and human interest which they possess in primary communities.

Even in a primary-group the individual has often to wait for recognition or response, which may never come if others do not indorse his claims. The peasant sometimes even intentionally postpones the satisfaction of his desires and does not claim at once the recognition or response to which he feels himself entitled, if he expects to get more by waiting or if he sees the possibility of startling the group by some unexpected effect. In all these cases, until recognition or response is actually obtained the individual must supplement by imagination the deficiencies of actual reality. Now, the psychological mechanism through which satisfaction of the social instinct is obtained in the wider community also consists in a large measure in supplementing actually experienced response and recognition by imagined response and recognition. The individual who sees his name or his contribution in print imagines the attitudes of the readers, and this has on him an effect similar to

that which actual experience of these attitudes would have. Of course the individual expects actually to experience the imagined response and recognition when he comes into direct contact with particular members of the wider community, and many of our documents show how much the peasant needs that this expectation shall be confirmed and how eager he is to change indirect into direct connections, to meet the people about whom he knows or who know about him through the press. But the ability to be influenced by mere possibilities of social contact as implied in the printed word grows with the intellectual development of the peasant. This growth is particularly rapid when in a primary-group village or parish the majority begins to be interested in printed matter, because then the individual who has any connection with the press obtains direct recognition from his immediate milieu on the ground of his supposed recognition by the wider community.

More difficult to explain is the influence which the opinion of the wider community indirectly manifested through the press has not upon individuals, but upon whole primary-groups. We have seen examples of the powerful social reaction which the mention in print of a village or parish provokes in all its members. It seems that in this case we find transferred to a wider social plane the same attitude which formerly expressed itself in the dependence of the family upon the primary community. When the social horizon of the peasant was limited to his *okolica* the individual reacted to the praise or blame of his family by the community as if it were his own personal matter; this attitude not only resulted from his family solidarity but was enforced by the social environment which refused to dissociate the individual from the narrower group to which he belonged.

Now when the village or the parish is the object of the social opinion of the wider community, the same phenomenon repeats itself; each member of the narrower group is affected by the positive or negative appreciation of the latter, not as an individual but as an integral part of the whole. In the *esprit de corps* of classes and of professional organizations, in national and race pride, the same attitude is found on a still higher social level; it is one of the most general manifestations of the "we"-psychology. Each member's personal reaction is strengthened by the consciousness of a similar reaction of other members, and the blame or praise to which the group is subjected by becoming the center of outside attention acquires for all its members a significance often quite out of proportion to its real import.

On the other hand, however, the wider community gives to the individual the opportunity to dissociate himself from his primary group by publicly assuming a critical attitude toward it or adopting attitudes different from those which prevail in his immediate milieu. Examples of unjustified accusations brought by individuals against their primary-groups show how eagerly this opportunity is grasped by the rebellious elements in communities where social disorganization has been progressing. Nevertheless, even this tendency to use the press as weapon in local struggles can be utilized for constructive purposes, for it makes it possible for the wider community and its leaders to act as arbiters and to impose their standards upon primary-groups. And propaganda of new ideas among the peasants can be successful only if the individuals who first accept these ideas feel independent of the social opinion of their immediate environment. But the peasant needs some social sanction for his attitudes; he may commit an iso-

lated act of revolt but cannot maintain a permanent line of conduct without being backed by some group. The consciousness that he is a member of the wider community gives him a feeling of security which permits him to struggle for the new ideas against his primary-group; and, of course, he must consider himself superior to his environment as bearer of superior standards, otherwise his reformatory tendencies would have no justification in his own eyes. And even then he usually is not satisfied with whatever encouragement he can get from the wider community and its leaders; he strives to gather around himself a group of friends and followers whose personal response and recognition counterbalance the indifference or antagonism of the rest of the community. Thus, the very dependence of the peasant on direct social contracts make him, once converted, a good propagandist of new ideas.

Small groups of such "enlightened" peasants scattered through the country but concentrated by means of indirect communication around some leaders acting through the popular press have constituted a continually growing nucleus of the wider community with which, through various direct personal bonds, an increasing circle of the population was more or less closely associated. As a matter of fact, at the period which we are investigating there were in the Congress Kingdom several such nuclei separated by political differences but partly connected by the cooperation of their members in various social institutions. The most important were the moderate group of which the chief organ was the *Gazeta Świąteczna* and the radical progressive group of the *Zaranie*. Occasional personal contacts between the members and the leaders, and between members belonging to different primary communities added a character

of intimacy to the informal organization of these groups. Their external structure was similar to that of political parties, but their sphere of interest was much wider, for it included practically everything in which the peasant was supposed to be interested. In this respect they resembled primary communities and differed from other types of secondary groups which are always more or less specialized.

The method by which the feeling of moral solidarity was spread among the members of the wider community was calculated to develop the idealistic elements of their nature by appealing to their feeling of personal importance, and vice versa. It was assumed as self-evident that all those who belonged to the nucleus of the wider community should be actively interested in its welfare and progress, should be the first in spreading education, in contributing to common aims, in promoting new and more efficient forms of economic activity, in establishing new social institutions, in fostering harmonious social cooperation—in short, in helping to raise the whole peasant class to a higher cultural level. And on the other hand, all those who actively participated in the work of social reconstruction were considered belonging to the select minority as real collaborators of the leaders; they were treated as the "advance guard of progress," as a kind of aristocracy whose prestige was based not on their social function in the past but on their importance for the future.

At the same time, though perhaps less successfully, attempts were made to impart a new moral vitality to the old religious idea of a wide Christian community whose members owed to one another disinterested help independent of any direct social contact between them. It is hardly surprising that this idea did not have much

practical significance for the peasant in the past. His economic conditions made him much oftener the object than the subject of assistance, and even when he was able to help, his primary-group had claims on all his altruism. Moreover, the clergy by the exclusive emphasis it put on purely religious matters reduced the duties of the Christian community to praying for one another and making collections for new churches. Of course, as the few documents referring to these activities show, even this type of mutual help implies altruistic emotions which can be developed and extended to other fields, but this development in so far as it actually occurred was mostly the work of lay leaders. The most efficient way of stirring altruistic tendencies has proved to be the appeal to sympathetic emotions at public meetings when the susceptibility to emotional suggestions is higher than usual, particularly in primary-group members, and the whole matter leaves a deeper impression. Calamities which befell particular communities—fire, hunger, flood—evidently found the easiest response, and more important than the actual help offered was the attitude which was developed by such response and which could be later utilized for other constructive purposes. An interesting point is that, partly as a consequence of this method of appealing to whole primary-groups for assistance, partly because the individual peasant could do but little in the line of altruistic help outside of his village or parish, this type of solidarity assumed the form of obligation of mutual assistance between primary communities rather than between individuals, whereas the organization for cultural progress was, as we have seen, essentially individualistic. This inter-communal solidarity in which the primary-group acts as a unit has not received perhaps all the attention

it deserves and is not being developed sufficiently. For the peasant primary-group is not definitely breaking up; it is only being reconstructed on new foundations. The wider community will thus always be not only an organization of individuals but also an agglomeration of primary-groups, and its unity cannot be complete unless each of these groups as a whole—not alone through its individual members—is actively interested in the common welfare.

CHAPTER V

COOPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS

The organization of a social group would be perfect if all the attitudes of its members could find a socially sanctioned institutional expression, so that none would act as a factor of disorganization, and if the institutions did not interfere with one another. The first condition is neglected both by conservatists and by revolutionists; the former by hindering the creation of new institutions force new attitudes into socially dangerous channels; the latter, by tending to destroy entirely the old institutions, ignore the old attitudes which persist and thus prepare a reaction. And, of course, there has never yet been any social organization which did not leave some social attitudes without institutional sanction—classifying them as abnormal, anti-social, immoral, etc. As to the second condition, it has hardly ever received adequate consideration, for if we except the unsuccessful attempts to construct perfectly rational state systems, the institutions of any concrete society grow without any common leading principle and thus continually hamper and counteract one another.

In studying the process of reconstruction of Polish peasant communities, we shall keep in mind these criteria, since the reconstruction has been here conscious and planful, actually aiming at the best possible social organization. And thus it is important to learn how far it has been successful. Of course the new system is far from ready; reconstruction has only begun, many

peasant communities are almost untouched by the new movement, many new attitudes have not yet found institutional expression and regulation in any community; finally we do not know yet how war and later the organization of a Polish state have affected the whole process. We can thus judge the principles and methods only by their application in particular cases which may be considered typical in certain respects; we cannot appreciate them unconditionally as applicable to all groups and for all purposes.

As to the old social institutions, the new movement is particularly concerned with the commune. The latter is in principle a politically organized community; but its function under Russian domination was almost exclusively that of an intermediary between the central government and the country population, collecting taxes, sending recruits, and in general executing the orders of the administration. Legally, however, the commune could have been much more than this; it had a degree of autonomy which should have made it a very useful instrument for the internal organization of the community. The traditional passivity of the peasant in political matters contributed as much as the arbitrariness of the Russian executive to deprive this instrument of its utility. Under the influence of Polish leaders, particularly since 1905, the commune began to develop into a really vital institution, though its efforts to prevent the Russian administration from legally unjustified interference with communal affairs were mostly unsuccessful.

Another old institution which the new movement tried to reform was the village as economic body. In spite of the fact that property in the strict sense of the term seems to have always been among the Polish peas-

ants a family, not a community matter, for various reasons which it would take too long to explain the land owned by all the families inhabiting a village is in some measure an economic unit. First, all the houses, each with adjoining farm-buildings (stable, barn, granary, sty, poultry-house, etc.) and usually a small orchard, are concentrated in a village like a small American town. The arable land belonging to all these farms forms one stretch of territory around the village, and the field of each farmer instead of constituting one separate piece is scattered in many small lots over all this territory, intermingled with similar lots of other farmers. Thirdly, pastures, forests and waters are the common property of all the farmers.

Now, this system must be modified in adaptation to the new social attitudes and economic conditions. The concentration of dwellings in old villages cannot be changed; but many new peasant farms—so-called "colonies"—built on land recently acquired from the nobility are isolated. Though this isolation is unfavorable to the traditional gregarious type of cohesion of the village group, it does not hinder the new types of social organization from developing and it prevents innumerable quarrels which result from close neighborhood when the old form of social solidarity has decayed. But even more important both for social and economic reasons was the concentration of the lots belonging to each farm into one piece by means of exchange. The difficulty in the way of this reform was that the law required the unanimous consent of the whole village, and in order to obtain this consent interesting methods were used, some of which are quoted in our documents. Finally, in matters of common pastures, forests and waters, the only solution of the difficulties arising from the individualiza-

tion of economic attitudes was to change from the ancient communism, in which the individual had no direct personal claims to the common property but could use it because he was a member of the group, to the modern cooperative system where the individual has rights to a personal share in the property but voluntarily agrees to have this share remain a part of the common stock because he expects that collective management will be more profitable to himself and to others.

Less efficient and without definite methodical principles have been the attempts to reorganize the most important traditional institution—the family. However, in this respect the situation is hardly any better in the highest cultivated spheres of the western world. The "large family" evidently cannot be revived, and the moral solidarity between the members of the marriage group—husband, wife and children—is but a shadow of the old social unity of the family group. In the peasant class the woman is expected to be the bearer of the new solidarity whereas, as we have seen in the preceding volume, it was the man upon whom the unity of the large family mostly relied. But this movement among the Polish peasant women is too recent to permit us to judge of its results.

The main stress, however, in social reconstruction has been put not upon the reform of the old but upon the creation of new institutions. Among the new attitudes the most general and at the same time the easiest to institutionalize was the desire for economic advance. Here it was relatively easy to show the advantages of common action for men who separately had very small economic means; and the methods of common action and the models of institutions either were ready—in Germany, Belgium, England—or could be

worked out with relative facility. Moreover, the obstacles which the Russian and German governments put in the way of Polish social organization were not as great in the economic as in the political or educational fields. Finally, the poverty prevalent among the peasants made the need of economic progress particularly obvious. The average size of peasant farms in the Congress Kingdom was below 12 acres, whereas an average peasant family counts more than 6 persons, so that only with the most intensive and skilful farming the minimum standard of living could be maintained. For all these reasons the work of social reconstruction during the period which we are taking into account consisted mainly and primarily in organizing economic institutions by which the welfare of the peasant class could be fostered—cooperative shops, loan and savings banks, agricultural associations for common importation and use of expensive machines, of seeds, of high class breeders, etc., commercial associations for common sale of farm-products, industrial associations for common exploitation of raw goods, etc.

All these institutions are run on a cooperative basis and though in fact many of them are still almost absolutely controlled by leaders who usually are not peasants, this control is the result of their social ascendancy, never of their economic supremacy, and active interest and direct personal participation are required of every member. Thus, though founded on an economic basis, these institutions are *social organizations,* not merely business enterprises. This must be remembered in order to understand how these institutions have become the most important instruments of social reconstruction. The institutionalization of other interests—intellectual, political, hedonistic—seems socially successful in the

measure in which it approaches the type of economic co-operation, so that the latter is gradually becoming the model upon which the new form of social organization is moulded.

161. [This document and the five following ones show the development of a consciousness of the need of reforming old and of creating new institutions.]

Our people are ignorant and lazy concerning anything that is good. They do not care for a good administration; there are a mayor and a clerk in the commune; let them worry about this. They are paid, consequently they should trouble themselves. . . . A meeting held not long ago could convince us of this. The clerk—take notice that not the mayor but the clerk—appointed Sunday for the quarterly meeting. . . . One of my friends happened to go to that village precisely where the meeting was held. He met a [peasant] noble who was returning home—there are many peasant nobles in our community. He asked him what was decided. The farmer said that he did not know because he had to hurry home and was unable to wait until the end, so he signed his name. "But why did you sign your name?"—"Well, for that decision."—"Then they discussed what was to be decided?"—"No, only the clerk told us to sign our names. I signed mine and left."

My friend went on. He met another one. He asked him whether there were many people in the communal office. "There are enough, though not all."—"What did you gentlemen decide," he asked again. "I don't know a thing about it. The young people are arguing; let them decide. I only signed my name and left. . . . Why did I sign my name? I do not care." Then my friend met two others and had the same conversation with them. Then he approached the district office. Therein were shrieks and quarrels. He asked some one what the matter was. He was informed that the clerk asked them to sign their names and a few had already signed. Then the clerk said that he had spent a great deal of money for repairing the well and the floors, and that they must repay him. A young farmer said sensibly and politely what was necessary in reply to the speech of the clerk. Then a grey-haired peasant noble cried: "Mr.

Clerk, what is he talking about? He has no vote. Arrest him." The clerk seeing such support ordered the man arrested. And the mayor did not say a word.

Such is the ignorance of some people and the arrogance of others! A clerk has not the slightest right to impose decisions, nor to order them to sign their names before hand, nor to conduct the communal meetings, nor to imprison anyone, nor to inflict any other punishment. For such an abuse of power, the clerk of the commune ought to be called to order and even held criminally responsible.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 10.

162. Somebody once asked an old farmer what a commune was, and received the following answer: "The commune is a cow which the mayor holds by the horns and the secretary milks." And thus it really is in some of our communes. For example, in one commune, not far from the mountains of Święty Krzyż, a meeting was held recently. The secretary informed us that there was a balance of 200 roubles in the office and advised us to divide this money between himself, the mayor, the elders and the constables who took the recruits to the district town. The secretary and the mayor would receive 40 rubles each and the ten elders and the constables 10 rubles each. Only a few farmers were opposed to such a division of the money and the majority agreed with the advice of the secretary.

But is it not a pity for these savings of the commune to be drowned in some saloon in the town? This money might have been spent on something useful for all, for example public baths . . . even if only such as the Jews have. Baths are necessary for the conservation of health and health is the treasure of man. The crosses along the roads are ruined and need repairing or new ones should be raised. . . . Roads are also very bad here and need repairing.

Not long ago there were about a thousand roubles in our savings bank. With this our secretary built a "goat" [slang for prison]. And the "goat" ate the whole thousand, though, as everybody will agree, this whole goat with legs and horns is not worth more than 300 roubles. And where did the 700 roubles go? It is not difficult to guess. The most beautiful farms in

our community are precisely those of the commune secretary and of the tavern-owner.

Thus it happens among us, for the commune-members are dark and among their plenipotentiaries some are also dark, others are painted [not alive, passive]. We have also some wiser men in the commune who seem to have real enlightenment, but I must pin a rag [put some blame] upon them, for, alas, at communal meetings they hide in corners and do not mix at all in the discussion. But good decisions also are made at our meetings. For example, last spring we decided that the protocols of the meetings should be writen in Polish and so they are up to the present. Now everybody knows well what and how it is written in the protocol and there are no such quarrels as formerly occurred on this account.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 48.

163. [Typical instance of the difficulty of reforming the old institutions.]

Please, my dear fellow-readers of the *Gazeta*, write how and in what manner you got rid of that vexatious farming on small scattered lots, because here we cannot find any way of inducing our neighbors to unify their land. Following the advice of the *Gazeta Świąteczna*, which we have been reading for over 20 years, we encourage the neighbors to unification. But in spite of all attempts we have been unable to accomplish anything. There was a new survey of land—a governmental survey. How the commissioner and the surveyors encouraged them! But that did not help either.

There are five of them who do not agree to the survey. And because of them all must suffer on scattered pieces. Oh, what work, what labor it costs it is impossible to describe! Perhaps someone is interested [to learn] why these five people do not want to unite their lots. Only on account of their ignorance. One of them is the leader of all five, but even he does not know how to write or read. He repeats at communal meetings: "Just on account of me there will be no colonies, for I will never consent to that." Now please tell me what can be done to such a man? Nothing helps with him, no persuasion, no instances of other villages. He only repeats all the time the same: "There

will be no colonies here because I won't permit it." And thus 56 people can do nothing against those few who are stubborn.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 24.

164. We have a few *włóka* [*włóka*=30 morgs=37½ acres] of common pasture which became the property of the whole village at the time of the distribution of land to the peasants. This pasture was already then covered with a young forest. If this had been wisely protected there would be today fine lumber, fit even for building purposes. But what happened? It is true that for a dozen years the forest grew peaceably. Then when the young trees were fit for poles, the people agreed to cut a score of trees for fences. They cut a few times a score of trees each time, but it was all right; no destruction was noticeable in the forest, for they cut in spots where the trees grew too thick.

But slowly this order began to be spoiled. One or another went first at night, later even in day-time, and did some damage. Others watched, caught the mischief makers, and complained to the court. But the court did not condemn them, for they were co-owners. This was unwise and unjust. When people learned that no punishment threatened them [they cut wood not only for their own needs but to sell to Jews at a score of copecks a cartload.]

Gazeta Świątęczna, 1900, 6.

165. When our lands were concentrated [a new division introduced in order to have each farm on a single spot] a dozen years ago, the forest was intentionally not divided, in order to keep it better for the commune's use, when the time comes to use it. All decided then to protect the grove and not to pasture any cattle there. But now bad neighbors do not regard this resolution of the community; they drive cattle into it, one or another cuts or breaks trees for fire, like a thief, because he has spent in drinking at the fair in Jeżów the money with which he could buy firewood and he will not dig turf, of which every one among us has a piece sufficient for his wants.

Others whose fields are situated further away envy the former and at every meeting urge the community to divide the forest because it seems to them that it will be easier for everybody to protect his own particular piece. You think badly, my dear

neighbors! If we divide the forest to preserve it from destruction, we shall be obliged to sit, all of us, day and night, and every one watch his own piece; but now one man can protect the whole. After dividing it we could not prevent anyone from driving cattle into our own part nor from coming with a cart and cutting. Fearing our part would be cut down, within a month after the division we would all go with axes and fell every tree. What profit should we have then? The trees are still too young, the best would hardly make laths under a roof of straw and bad stakes in a hedge; we should be compelled to burn most of them. You will believe more easily that I say the truth, my neighbors, when you remember that some 20 or 30 years ago we made a division of the same forest . . . and were compelled to cut it down then, precisely because of the division.

May the more intelligent farmers take this matter to heart and repeat no more these words: "Let the stupid people do as they wish." Because the wiser ones are in fact obliged to withhold the stupid ones and not let them do stupid things.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

166. Everywhere people unite in order to work with common strength for the common good. Why, even amusements are now organized in common, for man can amuse himself better in a group. And as to doing something [serious], it is much more difficult to do it alone than when the strength of many is united. We all know this probably; and yet in our town everybody lives and works for himself, does not think about others, and does not want to unite with them. Therefore there is nothing good among us; we live poorly, we work miserably, and in case of misfortune, in consequence of the lack of help of our neighbors we lose our heads and do not know what to do. [Examples: lack of any organization against fire; no organization for common enlightenment and in matters of education, only a minority of individuals working separately; lack of common amusements; no public baths.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 28.

167. [This document shows the beginning of initiative but with a prevalence still of the attitude typical of all countries in which the state interferes too much with social life—the ex-

pectation that all evil can be removed and all good brought into existence by means of legal decrees.]

The Committee of Ministers in Petersburg received a petition signed by over 200 peasants. . . . In this petition the peasants of Miechow express the following needs and wishes:

1) That the peasants be granted loans for longer periods, to be repaid in installments;

2) That the communal loan and savings banks should be reformed so that farmers may borrow from them to the amount of one-fourth of the value of their farms and repay them not within one year as now but within two and a half years;

3) That the peasants have the right to dispose of the profits of the communal loan and savings banks for the needs of the communes according to the wish of two-thirds of the members of the communal assembly;

4) That it be permitted to establish in villages elementary schools according to the Imperial Decisions of February 19 and August 30, 1864, and that in these schools teaching in the native language be reintroduced. That punishments for teaching at home without special permission be abolished;

5) That the communal meetings and the members of the commune be left free to perform their activities and to use their rights in accordance with the law. That communal decisions be written in Polish in a way that the members can understand and that this language be used in communal courts;

6) That the commune be free to elect the communal secretary, and that the chief of the district be responsible for the abuses of those secretaries whom he appoints;

7) That the provincial and other roads be placed under the management and care of road-councils composed of men elected by communal meetings and of officials appointed by the authorities;

8) That village meetings have the right granted to them of unifying by means of exchange the scattered lots of farmers, if two-thirds at least of the village-group agree to it;

9) That the decision of all disagreements concerning [various economical relations between manor-owners and peasants which resulted from the endowment of the peasants with land in 1864] be settled by courts instead of [special] commissioners;

10) That out of the funds for mutual fire-insurance peasants be granted loans for the construction of houses of non-combustible material;

11) That communal meetings be permitted to establish night-watches and [keep] order;

12) That the decisions of the Minister of State Lands and of Agriculture concerning the sale of lumber from governmental forests to peasants be strictly enforced;

13) That the village groups get back the tavern land left after the abolition of private liquor trade, in order to be able to build schools upon this land.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 21.

168. [The wider community as factor in the realization of needs and in methods of reconstruction].

The fourth competition for small peasant farmers announced by the Agricultural Section was entered by 42 farmers. [In the first competition 18 farmers took part, in the second 19, in the third 23.] The work undertaken in connection with such competitions meets continually growing response among small farmers. With increasing confidence they describe not only their attempts at improvements made in extremely difficult situations but even the heavy cares of their lives, their hopes and intentions for the future. . . . These competitions are very useful for farmers. Every one who enters the competition must describe his farm exactly and in detail, and tell what he aims to do in his work and what results he has reached. Merely answering these different questions compels people who are absorbed in their work and see little beyond the narrow frame of their daily activities to acquire a better insight into their farming, to reflect about what has already been done and what could be further done and what is worth while doing. The arrival of delegates whose duty is to verify the description on the spot is also very useful. Such a verification is apt to suggest many good ideas, to encourage in one thing and dissuade from another. . . .

From the descriptions there is evident great endurance and consistency in the attempts of people who, though sometimes scarcely able to read and write, grasp a newspaper or a book in order to inform themselves about the world and to improve

their own existence and that of their environment. And having once decided to do something they go on perseveringly, they work years but they reach their aim. Such people shine among others and give to all classes of the nation a good example of work and perseverance. . . . Only attachment to the land and devotion to agricultural work can explain these great efforts on the part of people who are often not encouraged nor personally guided by anybody, but who can read, discover mature articles and understand them to the bottom, and these interest them, stimulate and convince them of the usefulness of good printed advice.

While reading this year's descriptions of farms a few remarks about peasant farming occurred to me. The chief hardship in peasant farming and hindrance in its improvement is that the farm is scattered around on non-adjacent lots. Almost all the participants in the competition complain about such a division of their farms. . . . This scattering and mixing among the lots of the neighbors is felt most by the more active people, by those who advance, who do not lose any opportunity to buy land; they buy a few morgs here, a few somewhere else, here an orchard, there a meadow, and in some other place a few morgs of forest land. With every addition their property increases, but the number of lots which constitute this property increases still more and also the difficulty of managing it and the waste of energy. The chief cause, however, of divided land is the partition [of farms] among families. All those who complain about scattered lots are willing to exchange them for land united in one field, but their efforts usually are fruitless.

"A loan for a long term is very necessary," writes Dąbek, "and at low interest, of course. In our community it is very difficult to borrow money from Catholics. Often a farmer has a debt to the communal bank; the time comes to pay it back and he has no money. There is no other way but trying to borrow from a Jew. Today the Jew can take no more interest than 12 per cent a year. But by no means will he lend money at such interest. What does he do then? When a farmer comes to a Jew and asks him for a loan the Jew pretends that he has no money but he can mediate. 'Well, what will you give me if I find money for you?' The man who needs a loan must agree to any

conditions. For example, he borrows 100 roubles for one month, pays one rouble interest and 5 roubles to another Jew for the mediation."

Our peasant who wants to pay off his brothers and sisters or to buy a piece of land, or finally, to introduce some improvements in his farming must sometimes pay 72 roubles a year interest for a hundred roubles loan. The communal banks do not satisfy the needs of small farmers. . . . These most pressing needs of small farmers could be satisfied only by loan and savings banks (or rather associations) scattered in great numbers all over the country, into which all the money which now lies useless in villages could be put at interest to be used for loaning purposes—associations to which even big city banks would not refuse large loans at small interest and which could lend money to be paid back in installments during a long period (at least 10 years) . . .

The third distinct defect which is manifest from all the competing descriptions is the insufficient education of the farmers in agriculture. The majority when they take their farms have acquired only the habit and practice of doing some things but no real agricultural knowledge whatsoever. Only misery looking into their eyes forces them to search for salvation, that is, for means of increasing their income. The greatest help and advice in matters of his agricultural progression, encouragement and necessary information for improvements, have been found by our small farmer in the newspapers published chiefly for him. And thus out of the 42 competitors, 37 write about those newspapers with great gratitude. . . .

The owners of larger estates have contributed relatively little to the elevation of peasant farming. Their influence upon their neighbors in huts—in so far as one can see from the descriptions of farming—seems small, perhaps because, although daily and continuous, it is superficial, whereas the action of suitable newspapers in which the peasant has complete confidence is deeper, more thorough, and steadily pushes small farmers to agricultural improvements. Besides, those who took part in this year's competition began to improve their farming sometimes 10 or 20 years ago and have become advanced farmers. But now in view of the growing intensity of agricultural work on large estates the influence of the latter will gradually grow. . . .

Besides agricultural education, the lack of which is noticeable among small farmers, the lack of general education is also felt by the more enterprising individuals. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 10.

169. Not only in one respect but in everything a change seems to have occurred in the community called Długoborze. . . . Formerly, when people there were unenlightened, they had at communal meetings discussions like those of an old man and an old woman who could not come to an understanding because he was talking about an awl and she about a needle. Consequently they usually ended in idle talk and shouting, and they did not know how to decide anything useful.

Today there is more light in their heads. People have shaken off their selfishness, they understand that by common peaceful efforts a great deal can be done. At meetings they discuss sensibly and easily come to an unanimous agreement. They elect honest and enlightened people to manage the commune. . . . The members of the commune of Długoborze, so it is said, boast that in their communal office everything is done without any charge. Well, they have something to boast of and it is an honor for the community if it has a proper administration. A proverb says: "As the owner is, so is the property"; and reciprocally: As the commune is, so is the mayor.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 39.

170. [At a meeting of a certain commune in the province of Kielce it was decided to enforce certain regulations against smoking, so as to prevent fires. In addition to these restrictive measures the following system of mutual insurance was organized.]

The village-elders are obliged to choose in their villages decurions [one man for every 10]. After the harvest every farmer will inform them how much grain and hay he has gathered. In case any farmer's barn burns the same amount of grain, straw, and hay which he had before the fire will be collected from the other members of the commune. To estimate the loss a council will be formed under the leadership of the mayor consisting of the village-elder, two neighbors of the one ruined by fire and two neighboring decurions. After the loss has been estimated they

will calculate on the basis of the hearth-tax how many sheaves and how much hay must be contributed by each village, and the elders, with the help of the decurions, will immediately collect it and hand it over to the injured man.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 39.

171. From the Reverend priest curate of the parish Witów near Piotrków we received the following words: "Thanks to God, we are beginning to care for the improvement of the roads, which is so very necessary for us. Last winter I tried to induce people to make at least a small stretch of beaten road in the direction of Piotrków. Mr. M. willingly offered 400 roubles for this but the farmers would not agree to bring each 3 cartloads of stones to be bought a mile away. Spring came and my endeavors remained without effect.

But I did not become disheartened nor angry at my parishioners. Only I tried to get stones wherever I could and paved several hundred *sążeń* [1 *sążeń*=2 yards] of the road, beginning from the church. . . . The active youth are beginning to help me. But what is more comforting is the improvement of the roads in every village. For example, in Witów the farmer . . . F. Galas, organized his farm in a model way and repaired the road beautifully. The village-elder Józef Pliwy was the first in the spring to build a strong bridge of cut stone and to fill old holes. Kowalski cleaned and deepened the gutters. Wojciech Magiera repaired the road particularly well. He rounded, straightened, heightened it in the middle, and worked at it strenuously with his whole family.

Perhaps some one may think that I am boring [the readers] uselessly by quoting these names for an insignificant reason. But I beg your pardon, the reason is not insignificant. In our towns mud and holes in the streets are not lacking and in some villages it is difficult simply to cross the road. Therefore one who changes such an obstacle into a nice road is worthy to have his name written even in golden letters. At the example of those mentioned above Michal Wojnecki built a bridge. And thus the example of some incites the others.

The most difficult situation was that of Rogalski. His field lies for over 48 furlongs along both sides of a low road. The rains and wheels hollowed it still deeper until they had lowered

it finally some 3 or 4 feet below the level of the fields, and carriages were unable to pass one another in this strait. In winter the entire pass was filled with snow and the passers-by swore not only at this farmer but at the whole village. Only now the village-group has agreed to take courage and force their neighbor to repair this part of the road. The most eager one, Zieliński, came to me for encouragement. I went to the spot and persuaded the Rogalskis not to hinder us. The village-group plowed down the high sides and threw the earth into the middle of the road. To be sure, the Rogalskis regretted their lawn but they bore it calmly and even invited me to their house to have some fresh milk. Finally the grown-up son of the farmer, Dominik, himself helped to plow and cleaned the gutters on both sides nicely, so as not to have water run through the middle."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 24.

172. Once in the late fall it happened that I had to pass through the village of Domaniewice. . . . I was astonished to see small groups of people engaged as if in searching for or gathering something in the fields and particularly in the sands. Unable to guess what it was I asked a passer-by. . . . And that man said that the peasants of Domaniewice, of their own free will were planting a forest on their own land, all together and in good understanding because the entire village longed to have a forest and to leave it for those who will live after they are gone. . . . I have never seen our people voluntarily work so hard in crowds for the public good. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 11.

173. I have succeeded in persuading the community to which I belong to unify all the farms. . . . People who are opposed to the unification of farms are usually stubborn only because unenlightened. But how often such people, even if unenlightened, are especially attached heart and soul to their paternal soil. They do not believe in any new ways of farming but think that since this paternal soil has nourished their ancestors it will nourish them also. Thus they do not want to listen to any change, to any unification of land. . . . And a dark man is always stubborn. But let us remember that we were also dark and good people have enlightened us. Why do not we try to be good in

order to enlighten our neighbors and to lead them to the source whose value they do not know? . . .

[It seems impossible that in a village where one man has been reading the *Gazeta* 20 years there should be found 5 people so dark as to oppose unification (See document 163).] I have subscribed to the *Gazeta Świąteczna* for only 8 years and read it together with my neighbors, yet I have enjoyed [the possession of] a unified piece of land for two years already. And I overcame my stubborn neighbors not by violence but by goodwill. What hard-working, pious people have those stubborn ones become! How they thirst now for real enlightenment!

I shall write here more in detail about one of them. He was the most stubborn of all. And how he was farming! Enough to say that a dozen years ago he became so negligent that he never left his hut to go anywhere. Small children farmed for him. He would never come to village meetings; you would have had to bring him in a sack. He preferred to pay a fine than to show himself to people. Almost everybody had already agreed to unify the farms. But when we went to his hut to persuade him, he ran away from us and hid himself in the barn. This was a riddle for us. What to do with such a man! And the commissioner did not even wish to hear about the survey of the village until all agreed.

Then we found a means. We elected [this man] village-elder. How everybody laughed at us! How the mayor and the constables scorned us! If some one came for a cart [for official business], he had to wait a day and a night before he got it. When we met [at his house] for a village meeting without having been called by the elder, he ran away from us. But when he had been put into prison several times for not fulfilling the duties which the law imposes upon village-elders, he began to listen not only to the district chief, not only to the mayor but even to every neighbor in his village. He had become a different man after a year. He no longer ran away from us but himself began to call us to meetings.

Then I started to read the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to the people assembled in his house. He began to listen carefully himself [and to think and inquire about various problems] . . . And during the 3 years of his eldership he got so changed that he

even wished to become a mayor, but unhappily the commune elected some one else. But he was no longer the same as before. He came to village and commune meetings, looked into the *Gazeta* himself, and after 3 years from a stubborn man had become the most ardent partisan of a survey of the village and a unification of the farms.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 32.

174. On Christmas and the day after we had a very pretty and useful entertainment in the theater of our town [Częstochowa]. By the efforts of the priests of the parish of St. Zygmunt and thanks especially to the activity of the priest chaplain Adam Helbich, the singers' association in the church of St. Zygmunt performed twice a piece entitled *The History of the Birth of God: A Miracle-Play,* in 5 acts and 10 divisions.

The organist of that parish, Stanisław Borowiecki, an educated man, a connoisseur of music and song, composed and wrote it. . . . The conversation of the actors, the songs of the shepherds and the angels in suitable costumes were very much liked by the audience which filled the entire theater. Konstanty Sulczyński, foreman in a factory, represented very well Simeon the church-prophet, and the young shepherds said very nicely all that belonged to them and sang prettily the *Kolędy* and other songs. The income from the sale of tickets for that play was about 200 roubles net.

On this occasion I appeal to mayors, elders, communal court-assistants and people of good-will in general, encouraging them to introduce, with the help of teachers and organists, similar plays in their villages. They could become the initiators of small theaters in the villages which would give worthy and educational entertainments. This is very desirable at present especially because after the abolition of the taverns people have no place to spend their free moments on Sundays and holidays. The plots for such plays could be taken from the Old and the New Testaments, or from the *Lives of the Saints.* No great trouble is necessary. The stage can be divided off from the spectators by a curtain made even from bed-sheets, and simple country music consisting of violins, basses, and accordeons or flutes, can accompany songs that are not very well learned. O my brothers in work-shops and in fields, let us change our life for a better one!

Let us get rid of anger, revenge, jealousy and bloody fights, for otherwise extermination here and hereafter awaits us! Let us all wish for ourselves for the New Year: To improve, to educate our consciences, our hearts and our souls.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 3.

175. The *Gazeta Świąteczna* was the first during the last 30 or 40 years, and earlier than any one among us, at least in Warsaw, to advise villagers and people in general in the country as well as in small towns to organize associations. And it not only advised; it showed the way to do it, how to form a company or an association legally. We know a number of corporations and associations which were started thanks to the encouragement and the explanations of our *Gazeta* and to the efforts of its ardent readers. And this was at the time when it was more difficult to obtain permission to organize an association than it is today and when associations were seldom heard of because people did not read quite as much; and what is more important, there were no ready models and no exemplary statutes issued by the government. The corporations and associations got along in various ways, depending on the ardor and skill of their organizers. Some of them have not given a sign of life for a long time; perhaps they have ceased to exist. But others are getting along brilliantly and from modest and small beginnings have grown enormously.

The relation between their origin and the *Gazeta* was, however, known only to a small number of people and today there are even fewer who know about it. Some people have died and the new ones, the younger generation, seldom know exactly what happened before. We have not proclaimed loudly this tie between the commencement of the associations and our *Gazeta*, and we have not tried to spread the report abroad. We rejoiced when people united themselves in work and when they attempted to do something in groups solidarily. . . . We did not desire, nor could we desire any praise or publicity on this ground. To encourage people and to give good advice to those people, our readers, was our simple duty. If some one deserved to be praised, it was only those who carried our advice into action for the general good of their communities.

Let these remarks answer the questions which have reached

us and which may later on arise. We are always greatly comforted when we see that something which was lying near our hearts and to which we encouraged people in one way or another is beginning to be realized either as a result of our advice or independently of it and only distantly connected with it but upon ground which was prepared by us. We wrote with pleasure a few years ago about the appearance and the preliminary activities of the peasant association called *"Jutrzenka."* It was not in fact the first peasant association. There existed and there exist now associations which were established earlier and were more exclusively peasant associations because peasants alone without any active help organized and manage them. They were founded in the legal way which we had recommended for a long time, namely, by an agreement acknowledged before a notary. But they exist within more moderate proportions and limits, within one village or small town, and have not obtained any wide publicity.

The *"Jutrzenka"* of Miechów has members among the peasants of several villages; and people of a different class, more powerful and more influential, have called it to life and taken care of it. Moreover, this association became widely known chiefly because of a prize that it won at an exhibition, which the *Gazeta Świąteczna* reported and then many other periodicals repeated the news. After learning about this *"Jutrzenka,"* new associations were continually organized in various communities by the endeavors and under the care of well-intentioned people, following its example and on its model. The aim of every one of these associations is to improve the situation of the farmers, mostly peasants, in three ways: 1) by common purchase of artificial manure, good seeds, tools and other things necessary for agriculture; 2) by obtaining and holding in partnership for the use of the whole community such things as expensive machines which a single small farmer cannot afford, bulls, stallions of good breeds, etc.; 3) by facilitating the sale of agricultural products.

These associations increased in number especially after the exhibition in Miechów. In the month of November alone, so we have been informed, 6 new associations were organized in the Kingdom of Poland.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 48.

176. The useful advice which the *Gazeta Świąteczna* gives to its readers is not wasted. We learned from the *Gazeta* what loan and savings associations are and why people are organizing them. Then we read more than once how such an association arose in some place or other, until finally we decided at the example of others to establish an association for loans and savings in the village Falęcice. More than 30 persons signed the constitution and the petition to the Minister of the Treasury. . . . Every member contributes as his share 50 roubles, 10 to be deposited immediately upon confirmation of the constitution and the balance within 4 years, 5 roubles every half-year.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 18.

177. Upon the initiative of Count F. J. and of the communal judge, Mr. A. D., we established 2 years ago an agricultural and commercial association. . . . In the beginning when we were organizing this association some farmers looked at us with mistrust and there were also some who laughed at us, saying that we wanted to play lords. Now they look at us with envy and willingly join our association, for they see that we have some fine species of grain, cheap and good agricultural implements, and in our stables young cattle of good breed from a bull which we imported from abroad. They see that now we do not overpay as formerly for poor and often also dirty and disgusting ware in miserable little shops. Everything which we need in farming and housekeeping we have in our association.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 31.

178. Forty farmers, peasants from the village Deszno and its neighborhood . . . organized an agricultural association with shares. . . . The aims of the association are mutual help of the farmers who belong to it, improvement of the cultivation of the soil and of farming in general, facilitation of the purchase of necessary things and a more profitable sale of agricultural products.

At its very beginning the association bought with the money deposited by the farmers 10 improved plows, a dozen pure-bred calves and 4 carloads of coal. All this being bought in larger quantities for all or for many at once evidently costs much less than if every farmer buys for himself separately. With the

help of the association a modern agricultural system was introduced on 6 peasant farms. The association has also succeeded so well in facilitating the sale of calves that the farmers receive twice as much for them as was formerly paid in Deszno. Now the members are beginning to import better grain for sowing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 34.

179. Some country weavers, peasants of the village of Srebrna . . . organized a corporation for the manufacture in great quantities of cloth from flax. A great deal of that cloth is bought for the army. If the peasants had not organized a corporation the military managers would not have been able to make arrangements with every peasant individually, nor to buy the cloth in small quantities from each peasant but would have ordered it elsewhere. If any goods are in great demand and the workers want to produce as much of them as possible and to have good profits, they should always associate in a similar manner and elect associates to take care of the sales and deliveries.

Gazeta Świąteczna. Printed, but reference not preserved.

180. There are in Warsaw about 4,000 cabs. . . . Now the cab-drivers are organizing an association for mutual help which will give loans to its members and assistance in case of sickness and for funerals. The membership costs 3 roubles and the monthly subscription 25 copecks. The constitution of the association has already been confirmed by the government.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 11.

181. In the competition article I described the activities of our [women's] Circle in general. At present I want to figure out in detail what it really has yielded to me. I shall begin with expenses. I have belonged to the Circle for 5 years. During the period of these 5 years the payments amounted to 2 roubles, 70 copecks. I bought 13 pounds of wool and 2 pounds of yarn; I paid 20 copecks for the wool and for the yarn, 40 copecks less than here. "Twenty copecks saved on each pound is not great gain," some of the members will say. And yet, it amounted to 3 roubles, 40 copecks to me. Four packages of seeds at 20 copecks cheaper than for non-members amounts to 80 copecks. Now, I have received the *Ziemianka* [The Country Woman] for 2 years at 50 copecks (it costs a rouble). Altogether this is 5

roubles, 20 copecks. Behold, all expenses returned to me and a little more left over.

But I did not enter the Circle for the sake of financial profits but to gain a little knowledge and experience in husbandry. And I have also partly attained this goal, for during these years I have read 140 books, and it is this that I consider the main gain from belonging to the Circle. My God, when I recollect the past, how I often passed and saw books set out for sale and did not have the means to buy them! . . . I at the time called them "the forbidden fruit," and waited patiently for the establishment of the Circle. And now I am so glad, for Madam President has arranged a library for us and is constantly furnishing new books to us.

Further, listening to lectures and talks is very profitable, for they teach young women how to act in all circumstances. Women often suffer from various ailments because they did not know how to act at certain periods. Most often women suffer because after illness [confinement] they begin to work too soon and later there is a real siege with the doctor.

As for bringing up children, I have convinced myself that mothers torture babies with swathing-bands needlessly in fear of prolapsus. As for me, I am absolutely tranquil since I received the right answer in the *Ziemianka*. . . . But I am young yet, so I would beg the older and more experienced mothers to write us about physical and moral child-rearing; for of this information there will never be too much for us.

Further, our Circle is helpful to me in my husbandry. As yet we have very little information about raising calves, although this task is largely in the hands of women. . . . So when I noticed in the *Ogniwo* [The Link] a short chapter on raising calves, I read it with attention and found some advice. . . . I conformed to the advice and my calves grew up well. As for raising chickens, encouraged by the talk at the meeting about keeping accounts, I convinced myself that those chickens which I had been raising so far did not profit me, so I resolved to change the breed. . . .

But not all housewives understand as yet the utility of the Circle, for they often say: "What do those women in the Circle talk about every two weeks? Oh, I would rather stay in church

and say a bit of prayer during that time." And in the meanwhile they will not stay in church but stand in flocks outside of it and slander the passers-by. So, in my opinion, it is far better to give this time to conversation about one's duties than, while waiting for the Vespers to begin, slander people, which is sinful and indecent. . . . [One should not only attend the meetings but practice the advice given and buy or sell necessary things through the aid of the Circle.]

I cannot pass over in silence that adherent of ours, the *Ziemianka.* From it we can learn about venerable men like the Rev. Skarga, Krasiński, Konopnicka, etc. . . . From it we may learn how to improve in cooking and how to prepare provisions for the winter. In it, lastly, we can express our ideas and share our experiences. What is most important, it is cheap; hence, accessible to every woman. I often cannot wait two weeks to get it and think, "How well it would be if the *Ziemianka* came every week." But when I consider that maybe other women, on account of a higher subscription, would not be able to have it sent to them, then I soon agree to seeing it once in two weeks. But when it comes I am as glad as if I met a good acquaintance. Such advantages I have from the Circle and the *Ziemianka.* I hope I shall have more of them if God allows us to work together longer.

Letter to *Ziemianka;* unpublished.

182. About the middle of the eighties the development of the peasant associations [in German Poland] was slowing up in spite of many attempts to found new ones. In particular, the associations were hampered by being considered merely a subordinate annex of the organization of large estate-owners. The Prussian policy of colonization has brought a very rapid change in this respect. The appreciation of agricultural associations was very rapidly modified, for the organization of large estate-owners was discredited, since it was not able to prevent numerous prominent manor-owners from selling their land to the commission for colonization [of Germans in Polish districts.] Whereas during the same years the peasant associations became popular because Jackowski gave them the slogan: "The peasant associations have to see to it that in their districts not a single acre of land passes into German hands." [1]

[1] *Cf.* biography of Maximilian Jackowski, document 99.

This moral rise of the peasant associations, coinciding with the "degradation" of the large estate-owners, made the peasant organization self-reliant and self-conscious, internally independent of the association of "lords." At that time arose the slogan that the peasant associations must be the "bearers of the national propaganda," *i.e.*, wherever the Polish cohesion leaves something to be desired, either because the Prussian commission has come in or because season-work drives an important part of the population here and there, the peasant associations always make an effort to start at least a foundation for organizing work and only when the foundation is thus laid the credit corporation appears in order to complete the construction. . . .

The entire surface of the province of Posen (the organization was gradually initiated in West Prussia) is divided into 26 peasant districts over each of which stands a "vice-patron." The 26 vice-patrons compete with another in order to be able to report yearly the greatest possible successes from their districts, and as the differences in development are great, in these very differences their lies an incitement to show the districts which are yet loosely organized how tightly the net can be knit.

The center of control is in the city of Posen; it is the seat of the Patronage managed by a permanent secretary who edits the weekly *Poradnik Gospodarski* [Agricultural Adviser], the official organ of the peasant associations, and runs all the affairs of administration, financial matters and business correspondence. His superior is the "Patron of the Peasant Associations," an estate-owner who, following the example of his more prominent predecessor, Maximilian Jackowski, often travels over the province and participates in district meetings and conferences in order thus to assure a personal connection among the peasant associations. . . .

This mechanism functions in such a way that 1) each peasant association holds every month a meeting at which three agricultural subjects are discussed and decisions are taken concerning common activities (common purchases, organization of exhibitions, etc. . . .); 2) once a year occurs a district meeting which belongs to the "events" of the agricultural population. Such district meetings, about which the newspapers always publish information, constitute the proper test of the organizations. For

a clever vice-patron secures 300 to 350 members for these meetings, induces the prominent men of the district to appear, arranges discussions of problems which have a particular interest for the population and gives the patron, who almost always visits the meeting, a vivid picture of the economic situation. An unsuccessful district meeting is a sign of weakness and is mentioned with unmitigated censure by public opinion, by the press and in the yearly statements.

Finally, the third type of meeting is the "General Meeting of the Polish Peasant Associations," which takes place every spring and to which each association sends its president and one delegate. Here appear also representatives of other Polish organizations, in particular of associations of workmen, associations of large estate owners and corporations. . . . The general meetings of the peasant associations in the past years have had an attendance of from 800 to 1,000 persons, and bore . . . the character of reviews of peasants. Their significance does not lie in the lectures to which the assembly only half listens, nor even in the decisions of the majority, but in the fact that a mass of peasants come together on one day and feel solidarily. . . .

L. Bernhard, *Die Polenfrage,* pp. 164 ff.

The examples quoted above are, of course, far from exhausting the wide variety and complexity of social forms produced by the reconstructive movement or of attitudes underlying these forms; but they are fairly illustrative of the most important features of the new social organization of the peasants.

If we compare the latter with the primary-group system which it tends partly to supersede, we notice as its first and perhaps most distinctive characteristic the conscious purposefulness of the formation and functioning of the newly created or reformed institutions. The old primary-group was a planlessly agglomerated product of many past generations and each of its members faced it as a reality which simply was there for

no purpose whatever except its own existence. Its mores and beliefs had grown slowly by innumerable additions and modifications without any regard for consistency, without any idea of subordinating them to some common and general aim. If nevertheless to an outside observer the primary-group does not appear as an irrational chaos but as a fairly well-ordered social organization, it is because of the relative stability of the conditions in which it has grown and of the fundamental attitudes that at any moment determine the situations in which community and family life manifest themselves. By a kind of social selection only those forms of behavior became stabilized which under the given conditions were apt to give a fair satisfaction to the leading desires for response, recognition, security and new experience of the members of the group; but no social institution was consciously created for the definite purpose of satisfying a *need, i. e.,* a tendency which can only be satisfied by certain specific values.

On the contrary, all the new or reformed social institutions are consciously created and maintained for definite purposes, are meant to satisfy certain needs by producing the specific values required. They are organized teleologically. And the method of their formation is always the same. Certain kinds of new popular attitudes, originally more or less vague and expressing themselves rather in dissatisfaction with the present than in positive demands for the future, become defined and formulated by the leaders as the need of certain values, and the plan of a new institution—or of a reform of an old institution—is presented as the only accessible way of satisfying a given need. The difficulties begin when, in order to materialize the plans of the leaders, it is necessary to convince the peasants, first

that they really have the needs which the leaders have formulated; secondly, that the institution planned is the best means of satisfying them; thirdly, that the conclusion which the leaders draw from these premises is right and the establishment of the new institution is really desirable. Nothing shows better the primary irrationality of human behavior, the impossibility of interpreting the primary background of life in terms of a logical selection of means for definite ends, than the fact that always and everywhere it is a strenuous task to make society adopt rational methods in any particular line of activity, and that this adoption is never the result of mere intellectual persuasion.

In our case the source of the difficulties seems to lie in the attitudes of the peasant toward the future. As long as the traditional routine of life remains unchanged, the peasant expects the future to be like the past and any change surprises him greatly. But once this routine is upset, the range of his unreflective desires and fears is much wider than that of a man better accustomed to calculating the future possibilities of a new event, and any attempt to express the situation in rational terms and to control it by a definite choice of ends and means appears to him inadequate because it cannot cover all his expectations. Thus, any formulation of those of his needs which actually can be satisfied is apt to fall short of his intellectually vague but emotionally powerful desire for a general improvement of his condition. The idea that a new or a reformed old institution in which he is called to participate will help him best in satisfying these needs is not apt at first to provoke any enthusiasm because he seldom realizes how the future institution will work and thus does not believe in its efficiency, and because he is not used to pro-

ducing important changes by a slow process of systematic social action but vaguely expects them to come as a *coup de théâtre* managed from the outside, just as in the past the abolition of serfdom seemed to him to have come. And finally, even if he is convinced that the needs suggested to him are real and important needs and that the proposed institution can satisfy them, it does not necessarily follow for him that this institution should be established because, unable to calculate the probable nature and limits of the future effects of a new cause, he is often afraid of the vague possibilities of unforeseen changes which the establishment of the new institution is, in his opinion, apt to produce. We realize therefore how indispensable for the creation and reform of rational institutions are those factors which we have investigated in the preceding three chapters—the prestige of leaders, which makes the peasant accept suggestions even without fully understanding their bearing, popular education which makes him more accessible to intellectual persuasion, and the wider community, working by the pressure of indirect social opinion and by the influence of example.

Although all the new institutions are thus formed with the definite purpose of satisfying certain specific needs, their social function is by no means limited to their explicit and conscious purpose. As we have said already, every one of these institutions—commune or agricultural circle, loan and savings bank, or theater—is not merely a mechanism for the management of certain values but also an association of people, each member of which is supposed to participate in the common activities as a living, concrete individual. Whatever is the predominant, official common interest upon which the institution is founded, the association as a concrete

group of human personalities unofficially involves many other interests; the social contacts between its members are not limited to their common pursuit, though the latter, of course, constitutes both the main reason for which the association is formed and the most permanent bond which holds it together. Owing to this combination of an abstract political, economic or other rational mechanism for the satisfaction of specific needs with the concrete unity of a social group, the new institution is also the best intermediary link between the peasant primary-group and the secondary national system. As concrete associations, the commune, the loan and savings bank, the agricultural circle take root in the peasant community, are recruited from community members, and are themselves in some measure still primary-groups. As institutions for the production of specific social values, they are in business contact with other similar institutions and can become the components of nation-wide organizations.

Another important feature of the new institutions is that the participation in them is voluntary and depends, at least in principle, upon the free choice of the individual. Of course there is a pressure exercised upon the peasants in order to make them join the new institutions—the pressure of social opinion whose power grows with the increasing influence of the wider community. But this pressure, just as the positive inducements which the institutions offer, is meant only to furnish motives for individual will; the individual does not become a member of the organization unless he actually yields to these motives and explicitly chooses to participate. On the other hand, there are some qualifications required from the individual who wishes to join an organization, but again in most cases the individual can

voluntarily acquire these qualifications. On the contrary, participation in a primary-group is dependent upon other factors than the individual's choice; he is included in a given group—and excluded from other groups—either because he is born into a certain family or because he lives in a certain territory. In this respect the primary-group is akin to the state in its traditional and still predominant form. We shall return to this in our next chapter. Meanwhile, however, we must attract attention to one interesting fact. The peasant commune is both a primary-group and a political institution—a miniature state with a limited autonomy. Formally, belonging to a certain commune is not a matter of individual choice; everybody within a fixed territory is in administrative and judicial matters subjected to the communal authorities, and the right and duty to participate actively in communal decisions belong automatically to all those who have a permanent residence and a certain minimum of land in this territory. The form of the commune remained unchanged during the period of social reconstruction; and yet the institution as we found it just before the war was in many cases completely different from what it had been 30 or 40 years before—from a taxation and police bureau it had changed into an instrument for the welfare and progress of the community. This radical change of content was brought about exclusively by the introduction of the principle of voluntary cooperation into the institution, by the fact that the members of the communal group agreed of their own accord to do things which they had not done before and made the institution serve purposes which it had not served in the past. Thus though the commune remained a political, coercive institution in matters concerning the maintenance

of the existing order (judicial and administrative), it became also a social, cooperative institution in matters concerning social reconstruction (education, economic progress, development of moral solidarity, national ideals).

This voluntary character of individual participation in the new institutions makes the entire social system realized by these institutions appear as essentially individualistic, particularly if compared with the primary-group organization. And yet the result of the new movement is an increase not a decrease of social cohesion; the new system represents an advance of socialization not only as against the status of disorganization which we have studied in the first part of this volume but even as against the old system at the time of its full vitality. Though the old passive dependence of the individual on the group tends to disappear, active solidarity is becoming deeper, wider and more continuous, for more aims are pursued in common, more individuals, often scattered all over the country, participate in this pursuit, and the latter has a permanence and a continuity which the common actions of primary groups never possessed. There is no doubt that the development of the new individualistic institutions is accompanied by a growth of public spirit and intelligent solidarity which neither the communistic character of the old primary-group institutions nor the coercion exercised by political institutions is able to produce. The explanation of this phenomenon is easy. Every cooperative institution emphatically pursues a social aim. Of course the main slogan of the cooperative movement is the harmony of social and individual interests, and the appeal to individual needs is one of the leading motives in the propaganda in favor of the new institutions.

But naturally when the individual is once a member of a cooperative organization the common social aim—the development, expansion, perfect functioning of the institution—completely absorbs his personal aim. There are hardly any problems connected with those egotistic interests which the institution helps to satisfy; his share of the common advantages is assured, and as a member he seldom, if ever, can expect to increase his advantages at the expense of the institution. On the contrary, there are many problems concerning the institution, its security and its growth, and the atmosphere which he finds in the cooperative group is imbued with common aspirations. He becomes thus interested in social welfare and progress simply by actively pursuing together with others ends which, as he is continually made to understand, contribute to social welfare and progress. The psychological principle of the new organization is simply the assumption that a social system which the individual voluntarily helps to realize must acquire gradually in his eyes a much greater importance and desirability than a system which is imposed upon him and to whose maintenance his positive contribution does not seem necessary. The cooperative method forms in this respect an interesting contrast to the coercive method; by starting with individualism it develops a positive interest in fostering social welfare and progress, whereas the legal system which starts with absolute social control and which the individual is forced to accept produces only, at the best, a negative interest in not hindering social welfare and progress.

These characters of the new organization which we have discussed above lead us to the conclusion that, however limited and imperfect may have been up to the present the applications of the cooperative ideal, this

ideal is eminently capable of becoming the leading principle of a social order whose possibilities of expansion and improvement are practically unlimited. If we apply the criteria outlined at the beginning of the present chapter, we see that cooperation by the very fact that it is based on free individual association for common aims allows for institutional expression of every individual attitude as far as the latter involves a need for certain positive values that can be obtained by planful common activity. On the other hand, the rational character of cooperative institutions makes a mutual adjustment of their aims possible, so that, instead of interfering, their activities supplement one another.

CHAPTER VI

THE RÔLE OF THE PEASANT IN NATIONAL LIFE

The Poles may claim to be the first modern people to develop into a "nation," *i. e.,* a concrete ethnical group whose political unity was but an expression of a deeper, conscious, social solidarity. The Polish Commonwealth, the *Res Publica,* as Poland was termed from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, in spite of having the form of a Kingdom, signified essentially the concrete totality of the nation, not merely the abstract system of the state. This early origin of national consciousness was due in part to the fact that Poland, which from a monarchy had become in the twelfth century a group of principalities, was reunited, not owing to rulers acting by force but by a gradual voluntary amalgamation of separate political units—a proceeding somewhat similar to that by which four centuries later the German nation was created. But perhaps even more important for the formation of national consciousness was the social structure of the class to which this amalgamation was due—the Polish nobility. The latter at that period embraced all citizens with full rights; their differentiation from the rest of the nation came simply as a result of their participation in political life, from which the poorer elements of the country population were excluded for economic reasons, while the town population (where during the later Middle Ages immigrants from Western Europe predominated) was prevented by its foreign character from assuming the political rôle which it

should have played. Under these conditions the nobility was something more than a class—it was identical with the whole politically active part of the nation which gradually, by taking all responsibility for national interests and treating other classes as "political minors," almost identified itself with the nation as a whole.

Owing to these exceptional conditions the political evolution of Poland assumed an entirely different character from that of other European countries. While in the West feudalism and in the East despotism destroyed the early clan system, in Poland this system survived the short period of monarchy and in a new form reasserted itself and became the foundation of a unique political structure. The nobility-nation might be schematically defined as an organized social and political synthesis of noble families. The individual was member of the nation because he was member of a certain family; he was a citizen by heredity, not personally a citizen. That is, he was not a citizen merely from the moment of his birth into a certain abstractly defined political status but he was virtually a citizen long before being born because his family was forever a family of citizens. It might be said that the family bore the essence of citizenship and the individual participated in this essence because he participated in the family.

The Polish noble family was itself essentially different in organization from the concrete peasant family as we have defined it in Volume I, by being typically agnatic. On the other hand, it differed also from the ancient and eastern patriarchal systems and from the mediæval western system of primogeniture in the lack of any natural leadership. Originally and up to the fifteenth century the family, or more exactly the clan (Polish *ród*), was determined by armorial bearings; later

the growing clan subdivided itself into narrower groups distinguished by family names (usually adjectives formed from the names of estates). Though the consciousness of the common origin in the clan lasted sometimes as late as the eighteenth century and the identity of arms remained in a few cases a real bond, in the sixteenth century the principle of the noble family was already more fully represented by these divisions of the original clans than by the clans themselves. The typical noble family at the time of the full development of the nobility-nation system comprised thus the totality of the individuals bearing the same family name and having the same arms. As a social group it was independent of time and space. However scattered over the territory of the Commonwealth, its members were supposed to be united by stronger bonds than those which connected each of them separately with the territorial community in which he lived. Nor did time weaken these bonds; all the past and future generations theoretically belonged to the family in an equal degree, all individuals living simultaneously and bearing the same name and arms, brothers or tenth cousins, were equally related to one another. Only the practical impossibility of maintaining the full actual unity of the group beyond certain limits and the individualizing influence of Roman law affected the applications of this principle.

These agnatic family groups were interconnected by innumerable ties resulting from marriage. The connection by marriage had a different name and a character different from the agnatic blood-relationship. Of course under the influence of Christianity the bond between husband and wife and between mother and children assumed a unique character, which was not in accordance with the whole system. But if we leave this

unique bond out of consideration the difference between agnatic kinship and connection through marriage is perfectly clear. Kinship between all the descendants of the same male ancestor was a primary bond which united individual members into one family. Connection through marriage was a secondary bond between whole families. Two families whose members once intermarried remained distinct, did not in any degree become one family but were for ever connected with each other. And this specific connection was very strong—the strongest social link after kinship. Every individual was expected to know for many past generations all the connections through marriage between his family and others, and at least the most important connections of the families connected with his own.

We can easily understand how in consequence of these two principles—the timeless and spaceless unity of the agnatic family and the timeless and spaceless marriage connection between families—the whole nobility constituted intrinsically one unified society, even aside from the common political interest, how this unity favored the development of the ideal of one nation and how the Polish nobility succeeded in absorbing and Polonizing without any political measures the leading social elements of other racial groups federated with Poland—Lithuania and Ruthenia—by extending to them the same principles, treating them as members of the same social body and actually establishing numerous family connections with them. And it is hardly strange that this social structure of the only politically active class has exercised a powerful influence on the political system of Poland. The essential point in which this influence manifested itself was the peculiar character which the relation between the commonwealth and

its members assumed in the measure in which the early monarchical state was superseded by a republican organization. The fundamental tendency of the nobility was to avoid all positive political obligations which the state originally imposed. Taxes were reduced to an almost nominal minimum; military service was obligatory only for defensive purposes; jurisdiction assumed, in fact if not in form, an ever increasing character of arbitration. The whole system of positive obligations of which the nation as a whole was the object was made to rest not upon the state but upon society, developed not into a system of enforced legal duties but into one of free moral cooperation.

Every family was explicitly supposed to contribute to national life to the utmost of its powers, without any determination or limitation of particular duties. The cooperation was free in the sense in which every moral activity is free, *i. e.*, it could not be imposed from the outside but had to be voluntarily undertaken. But the family as moral subject was expected freely and voluntarily to do much more than any state system could ever force its members to do. Complete safety from any encroachments of governmental powers and complete freedom from any enforced contributions to state activities appear thus not as proofs of a lack of public spirit but as the result of an old and deep-rooted desire to be able to claim as morally meritorious any activities performed for the public cause. This desire is quite naturally connected with the familial structure of the nobility. The family being itself a social body, the oldest and primary object of all individual obligations, any sacrifices which its members made for the nation—at first perhaps even any proof of national solidarity beyond the mere refraining from doing positive harm—

appeared originally as morally free and therefore meritorious sacrifices which the family as a whole was willing to make for the larger social unit of which it had become a part. Such sacrifices came gradually to be considered as a moral duty of the family, instead of remaining outside of the sphere of that which is regarded as morally obligatory; and when not an individual but a group is the real subject of national activities, the public spirit cannot take any other form. It is logically and practically impossible for a group, as long as it remains solidary and self-conscious, to reach voluntarily a point where it would agree to have another group—even a nation of which it is a part—forcibly impose any obligations upon its members instead of appealing to the moral feeling of the group as a solidary unity, for this would mean that this group had lost its solidarity and self-consciousness, had resigned control over its members, and in so far ceased to exist as a group.

But if thus, on the one hand, political life in Poland was more than anywhere else formally subordinated to social life and the state was nothing without the free cooperation of society, on the other hand the whole current of social life was more than anywhere else—except perhaps in ancient Greece and in republican Rome—turned into political channels and the state was the exclusive object of social cooperation. This again is explained by the fact that the nobility was essentially a politically active group. It had differentiated itself from the peasants and the bourgeoisie chiefly, almost exclusively, by its participation in political life, and the right and duty of this participation remained its only reason of existence as a separate class. We might say that everything the nobility did was directly or indi-

rectly supposed to have a political bearing, everything the nobility possessed was supposed to have a direct or indirect significance for the state. The principle which is now in all countries applied to special political offices —the principle that a person or group wielding political power by virtue of an official position is not the owner but only the manager of this power—was extended in Poland not only to political functions but also to economic ownership and social influence. A nobleman, even when he did not perform any specific public function, was not a private person; he was in a sense by nature a public official. His person, his activity and his life belonged to the nation; his fortune was national property to be used for public purposes—one of which was to support himself, his family and his dependents; whatever social influence he had was to be utilized for the benefit of the country. At the same time all his obligations were purely moral; no political power could constrain him to do anything he would not do—no authority except social opinion could control the use he made of his person, his fortune, his influence. The most exact parallel which can illustrate this position is the status of the King as defined by Louis XIV. Every Polish nobleman within his limited sphere could say, *"L'État, c'est moi"*; the King of Poland, whose sphere, though more strictly limited by the Constitution, was in fact usually wider than that of any of his nominal "subjects," was only *primus inter pares,* the sovereign presiding over a confederation of sovereigns.

This system worked just as absolute monarchy did —as long as the moral obligation was felt to be binding by the political sovereign, king or nobleman. The decay of public spirit in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries was fol-

lowed by a movement of reform which led to the Constitution of May 3, 1791; the nobility limited its own sovereignty by giving some power of coercion to special organs of the state and by admitting the bourgeoisie to political life. But then came the second and third partitions of Poland before the Constitution could be made to work. The situation created by the loss of political independence was quite unique. On the one hand, the consciousness of national unity as not merely political but social was so deeply rooted that there was no possibility whatever of interpreting the downfall of the Polish state as an end of the Polish nation. The latter remained and would have remained a unified and active body under any external conditions. On the other hand, all the national activities of the nobility, though based on free social cooperation, not on political coercion, had the state as their object; with the state gone, there seemed to be nothing to do in common except, indeed, the struggle for the recovery of the state. And for 70 years the nobility relentlessly pursued by diplomacy or by sword this new and supreme political aim—pursuing it voluntarily and freely as it had always acted in the past, but with much greater difficulties and sacrifices than ever before. Every unsuccessful revolution brought death and ruin to thousands of families until, after the last disastrous effort in 1863, the spirit and power of the nobility broke down and its political rôle was finished. Thereafter the military struggle for independence was carried on not by any particular class but by special organizations in which, indeed, men of noble origin played the main part—first the National League, later the Polish Socialist Party, finally the military organization under the leadership of Piłsudski. But meanwhile, in expectation of an ultimate re-estab-

lishment of the Polish state, it was evident that however important the maintenance of a revolutionary spirit was for the preservation of national consciousness, national cooperation could no longer be limited to the political field, since the latter was practically narrowed to racial struggle, inefficient parliamentary diplomacy and secret revolutionary preparations. If the nation were to remain a solidary social body, other common interests had to be used for this purpose.

This, indeed, had been already done in some measure. Thus during the nineteenth century, Polish art, literature and science (particularly history) were instruments through which the æsthetic and intellectual interests of the Poles became unified on a national basis, and were utilized for the preservation of national life and culture. Religion was also in some measure a field of national cooperation, particularly in the southeastern part of Russian Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia, where religious and national interests went hand in hand during the persecution of the Uniats. But æsthetic and intellectual interests had but little influence upon the large masses of the population and, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, the rôle of the Catholic Church in Polish national life was limited by its international politics. The most secure and the widest ground of national cooperation lay elsewhere—in the economic domain.

Here the nobility was no longer the predominant factor, as it was in political and even in intellectual life. The function which it performed as economic class was that of large estate-owners, and by the end of the last century, in consequence of several causes—wholesale confiscations following each revolution, economic liberation of the peasants, the financial crisis precipitated

by the importation of Russian, American and Australian agricultural products to Western European markets—the numerical proportion and the economic status of this class, as compared with the city population on the one hand and the peasants on the other hand, had so much decreased, particularly in the Congress Kingdom, that it could not maintain its old supremacy. As a matter of fact, some very successful cooperative institutions, chiefly credit associations, were organized quite early and a few of them, particularly the Land Credit Association of the Kingdom of Poland (one of the best organized institutions of this kind in the world) played an important national function at a period when economic cooperation was practically the only form of social organization permitted by the Russian and German governments in Poland. But in these institutions created by and for the landed nobility other social classes could not participate, partly for political, partly for economic reasons.

It was thus evident that if a national unity on the economic basis could be developed, the nobility as a class would be only one and not the most important element of this unity, though many individual noblemen might be among the leaders in this field, just as in the political and intellectual fields. We find therefore in the last thirty years the question of the landed nobility almost ignored by Polish society—except when, as in Posen, it was connected with the struggle for land between Poles and Germans—and the attention of the nation turned upon the economic organization of the city population and of the peasants. The study of the first does not belong here; we can only mention that this problem presented particular difficulties in view of the large proportion of Jewish population in cities (which for the

most part did not participate in Polish national institutions), and of the competition predominant in trade and industry. No such difficulties were found among the peasants who, moreover, still constitute the absolute majority of the population of Poland and whose economic power—most reliable because based on land—has been continually growing, both because their farming is improving and because a continually increasing number of large estates are sold in small lots and pass every year into their hands. Thus the peasant class began to be considered the future bearer of the economic unity of the nation. By organizing socially and by unifying the economic interests of the peasants through a system of cooperative institutions a vast and coherent social body might be created whose enormous economic and psychological energy could be turned to purposes of national defense and expansion. The peasants would thus become the social foundation of national unity, as the nobility in the past was its political foundation.

That such a plan was by no means chimerical is proved by the results achieved in Posen, where a hostile outside observer, Prof. L. Bernhard, in 1906 employed the words "peasant republic" as the most adequate term to characterize the Polish economic system in this province. Since then the cooperative organizations of the peasants seem to have made an astonishing progress all over Poland, particularly during the war. Lately political obstacles which the German and Russian governments put in the way of Polish institutions have been removed; the division of all large estates among the peasants has been decided by the Polish Diet, and a number of laws favoring cooperative associations have been passed. It is therefore to be expected that the idea of a nation-wide cooperative system, based chiefly on the

peasant class but including probably also the working class of cities, will rapidly progress toward realization.

But in order to have the social organization based on economic cooperation assume a national significance, it is evidently indispensable to implant the national ideal in the masses, to make the national purpose of cooperation conscious and clear. Our documents in this chapter are meant to illustrate chiefly this growth of national consciousness in the peasant.

183. [There were popular prophecies that Poland would be freed about 1913. The belief in such prophecies is very frequent although only half serious. The mystical current of "Messianism" (conceiving Poland as the Messiah of the nations) developed after 1831, the influence of which has lasted up to the present, helped to create an atmosphere in which these beliefs lived. The great Polish romanticists, Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Krasinski, all more or less closely related to Messianism, assume in some of their writings a prophetic character and bear this character in the eyes of the nation, particularly of the youth. Few of the young people with some education fail to be touched more or less by the influence of Messianic ideas.]

We are beginning at last the year 1913, that great year about which our nurses told us when still in our infancy, about which we have read many prophecies, so mysterious but also so dear to our hearts because they showed us the dawn of the future in such beautiful colors. Will these hopes be realized? God knows, for in His Hand is our fate, the future of our families and of all nations.

We must do our share to begin the national work, in order to look with faith and hope toward the future, as he who loses courage is a bad warrior. It is our part to see that this blow [enforcement of the law of expropriation] shall not be deadly but on the contrary arouse us to play the national part and prepare for regeneration. Let us then greet the new year with faith and hope and with the firm decision to work ardently for the Polish fatherland, and God will give us justice and we shall see better days.

Gazeta Polska, 1913, 1.

184. [It is interesting to note how in the middle of the sober and slow process of the construction of the elementary foundations of national life, in the prosaic every-day struggle for existence from which the higher cultural life is almost excluded, the appearance from time to time of an outburst of romantic enthusiasm, a longing for some fuller and more intense self-expression.]

What does the last year mean to us in comparison with the series of those which have passed before the sight of our fatherland? One still deeper scar on the face of this our beloved mother-nation, one more sigh because of her fate, one new delusion with the secret hopes which we began to dream at the beginning of the year which is now passing away.

Yet in spite of all the disappointments, that lapse of time has brought us a new and strengthening faith. It was born last year in the midst of the thunder of cannon in the Balkans and matured on soil drenched in the blood of our brother Slavs. It arose to the admiration of the whole world and comes closer to us, splendid victorious—to cheer us. Its name is heroism!

It is not true that might governs the world! It is not true that the power of the fist can accomplish everything! It is not true that the number of cannon and bayonets decides the victory! It is the spirit which does it, the spirit living in the breast. It is the radiant idea which gives strength and decides the fate of nations. The power of the heroic life of the nation is so violent that it cannot recede even a little from the way once chosen. It is worth while to put ourselves, our love and strength into such service. It is worth while to live the life of a young hero, even if it lasts only for a little while.

Lech, 1913, 1.

185. The proclamation of a "Polish Women's Day" in Beuthen on March 26 . . . says: "In the face of the heavy and injurious blows which have recently struck the Polish population once more, we Polish women in Upper Silesia consider it our duty to announce publicly our common grief and our common hope. We must deliberate together about ways and means of diffusing and strengthening among us the Polish national consciousness, of fortifying our resistance to the Germanization in-

nundation and of warming our hearts for our holy Polish cause.

Therefore hasten here sisters, Polish women from all the towns, villages and hamlets of our ancient Poland. Come all of you and show thus that we are the true daughters of the Polish nation, that we feel heartily, keenly the wrong of our fatherland, and that it is our ardent wish to defend and honor the national ideals which we have inherited from our fathers, and to preserve them intact for the coming generations. Do you appear also, sisters from other Polish provinces and show that we all, from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians, are children of one mother, of the Polish fatherland."

Kuryer Śląski, 1913, 66.

186. The Convention of the Polish Women in Upper Silesia took place on March 31, in the court of the Polish meeting-house *"Ul"* [hive], in Rossberg, near Beuthen. Fifteen hundred women attended the meetings. The following resolutions were passed:

"We Polish women from all parts of the country and from all classes, present at the meeting on March 31, 1913 in Beuthen, conscious of the importance of the present moment, do declare solemnly before the sight of God from the depths of our souls:

1) that we wish to devote our utmost efforts to taking care that our children learn to read and write the Polish language, pray only in this language and receive the sacraments, that they love Christ and honor above all the language inherited from the fathers;

2) that we will always speak only Polish and watch after the purity of our native tongue;

3) that we will work on all national outposts conscientiously and persistently, and for the strengthening of this work will join associations;

4) that we will continually and everywhere stand on guard for our national honor;

5) that we will deposit our property in Polish financial institutions and banks;

6) that we will as far as possible carry out the slogan "Kindred to Kindred," *i.e.*, go only to our own kindred [Poles];

7) that we will tend always to more enlightenment, read Polish books and publications in order to learn to know our

[Polish] civic duties and to bring up our children for the glory of God and the benefit of the Polish nation.

This we promise solemnly in the name of the love of our Catholic faith and native Polish tongue."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1913, 38.

187. [This idea originated in the Polish poetry after 1831—patriotism as basis of all human virtues. We find it expressed often in various forms.]

National regeneration is in the innermost circle of our wishes for freedom. We shall be re-born through our love of the fatherland. When we learn this we shall love it without limits Our national regeneration proceeds very slowly, yet we go forward.

Kuryer Stanislawowski, Dec. 29, 1912.

188. [Immediate and naïve assumption that nationalism is a part of the divine order of the world.]

The Polish nation will beg on its knees the Lord of all Lords to pity its thralldom and put an end to its sufferings. An ardent ray from the hidden sun penetrates the gloomy clouds; this sun is the unconquerable spirit of our nation. God has created all of us Poles. He will not permit our ruin. With Him is our hope.

Gazeta Gdanska, 1912, 157.

189. [Moral effect of national emotions. The Russian Constitution of 1905 provoked in Poland hopes of national autonomy which were not realized.]

In Poddębice . . . the proclamation of the constitution was celebrated with great joy. There were 30 law-suits in the communal court at this time, but all of them except one were ended by the spontaneous agreement of the parties, for people on this joyful day did not wish to quarrel and forgave each other all offences. Only one decree was issued; the court condemned to three months in prison a son who had offended his father and was so obdurate as to refuse to beg his pardon.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 46.

190. [Clear and practical connection of religion and morality with nationality.]

Parents! The time approaches when your children must go to school and not to a Polish one but to the Prussians, which is

very dangerous for you, Poles, Catholics, since it is generally known that Germanization leads to Lutheranization. Therefore if you bring up your little children in the mother tongue, in ancient Polish customs, you may be sure that they will grow into men acceptable to God, the Church and the Polish nation, and will not end their lives in prison or under the axe of an executioner as has so often happened recently in Upper Silesia.

Gazeta Ludowa, 1912, 296.

191. [Connection between religious and national attitudes.] Wohyń is situated on the borderline of that district of Podlasie which is inhabited by the so-called Uniats. God alone knew what went on here during the last 30 years and what we suffered. Every one had to hold his breath so as not to complain aloud nor groan from pain, for he would undoubtedly have perished. Today when after the proclamation of the most high Manifesto of October 30 people from the different parts of the country are beginning to tell what hurts them, we, the inhabitants of Wohyń, wish also to say a few words at least about our life during these three decades.

First the Uniat church here was closed, the Uniat priest removed, etc. Then when the Uniats, having no longer a church of their own, began to go to divine service with us to the Catholic church, our Catholic church was also closed. Our people having no place to pray opened the church in spite of the prohibition. For this enormous fines were imposed upon us by the decisions of the Governor-General Hurko, and troops sent to collect these fines devoured our oxen and cows and destroyed our property. The Uniats paid innumerable fines for burying the dead without religious ceremonies [rather than Greek Orthodox], etc. Mayors were always nominated and not those whom we had elected but such as were imposed upon us. One of those mayors, Stefan Banachowicz, oppressed and actually tortured us and finally, having embezzled the communal funds, ran away. In the school a clergyman of another denomination tried to teach Catholic children in spite of our complaints. Today after the Manifesto of October 30 it is not yet as it should be but it is already different from what it was. Today we are allowed to complain at least.

In gratitude to the Most High God for having sent us a ray of

hope we, poor ruined fellows, though unable to contribute much, have put together at least a few grosz each and collected 34 roubles which we are sending herewith, begging the Editor of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to send 7 roubles for a holy mass to Jasna Góra [Częstochowa] and to distribute the remaining 27 roubles according to his own discretion among our hungry brethren in Warsaw. The mass in Jasna Góra must be said before the altar of the Beloved Virgin of Częstochowa, the Holiest Mother and our Queen, so that she will deign to intercede in our favor before the Most High Manager of the world for all our permissible requests and particularly that he deign to give us back as soon as possible the opportunity of praying in our church of Wohyń which is still closed up to now, and that at last we be no longer persecuted for having been born and for remaining Poles and Catholics.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1906, 3.

192. [Connection between aesthetic and national interests. Poetry written by a peasant who can scarcely spell and never went to school.]

On the 50th anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, I desire to sing the first song of my life to the man "born in slavery, chained in his cradle" [quotation from the poem *Pan Tadeusz*], but I feel too weak to sing it worthily. I will take a lute in my hand, it will inspire me.

O Adam, king of song, poet of eternal glory! I am not able to sing you a magnificent song, but in my place let sing these our waters and meadows, our fields covered with corn and our primeval forests. You, who loved us with the whole strength of your soul, may millions of people honor the 50th anniversary of your leaving the world. May your beloved people wreath you garlands of those field-flowers which you loved so much. Accept them from the country people who put them upon your tomb as an offering for your songs which girls sing in turning the spinning wheels. I am poor; how can I express my gratitude for these songs which you poured in my soul, warming my heart? But I will at least consecrate to your memory 50 trees which willing Polish hands will plant with worship; may they blossom every spring for your sake and rustle softly when I sing your songs.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

193. On December 14 of this year [1905] at a meeting of the commune Jaczew, district Węgrów, it was unanimously resolved:

"Basing our action on the most high Manifesto of October 30, 1905, we demand the introduction from the present day of the exclusive use of the Polish language into the functions of the communal office, the court and the parish office, and the teaching of our children in Polish by a Polish teacher. If these our demands are granted, we will have gratitude and attachment to the Throne, and the calm which will ensue will not be troubled by any bold instigations or agitations. We beg therefore the local authorities to support this question with the superior authority. As long as the above demands are not fulfilled the communal office will remain inactive."

This decision was signed by 329 persons. Decisions like this one were enacted by the communes Korytnica and Borze in the district Wegrow. When this decision was presented by the communal officials to the chief of the district Wegrow, the chief sent the following circular to all the commune mayors: ". . . 1) The most high Ukaz [law confirmed by the tzar] of March 2, 1864, has not been abolished; consequently no one among the inhabitants of the commune has the right to raise the question of the introduction of the Polish language in the offices of the commune or to forbid the mayor and secretary to manage the official functions in Russian. 2) No one among the inhabitants of the commune has the right to remove the mayor or the secretary or any other person from the administration of the commune and therefore these demands of the inhabitants have no reason whatever. 3) If at present anybody among the inhabitants of the commune shall try to prevent the mayor or secretary from performing the official functions in Russian or shall cause any losses to any officials, or if any disorders arise, all this will assume a political character, as an open revolt against the emperor and the government and will be considered an open breach of the oath taken, and the whole responsibility for all the deplorable consequences will be placed upon each commune as a unit. The question of introduction of the Polish language into the functions of the communal and other offices depends wholly upon the power

of the emperor, and all people who think sanely, are faithful subjects and remember their oath ought not to listen to various scoundrels who perhaps promise them mountains of gold but lead them to destruction. They ought to prove their feelings as truthful subjects and quietly await the decision of higher powers concerning their demands. All the resolutions of the communes mentioned, written in Polish, have been presented to the proper authorities. . . ."

When this circular was read at the meeting of the commune to the persons present on December 18, the commune judged the circular to be illegal and resolved unanimously—400 persons were present at the meeting, all of whom signed the resolution—as follows: "We cannot give any answer to the proclamation of the chief of the district Węgrów for two reasons. 1) The Proclamation is written in a language which we do not understand. 2) As we have been informed, it is written in an offensive manner, calling us "scoundrels." As we are a cultured people, we do not wish to write to our authorities in a manner equally offensive, but we mention that the proclamation of the chief gives us the right to do so."

On this occasion we add, in conformity with the decision of today and basing our action also upon the most high Manifesto of October 30, 1905, what we omitted at our last meeting. We demand as follows: "1) The governmental fire-insurance offices shall give us papers written only in Polish. We demand the payments of insurance within a term of no more than two weeks; in case of postponement we demand interest at the rate of 12 per cent a year. 2) We decide to subscribe immediately for every village to the papers *Polak, Zorza* and *Gazeta Świąteczna,* and for the commune office to the paper *Dziennik Powszechny.* 3) The police and the gendarmes shall not be given wagons without paying, and positively shall not be admitted to communal meetings. 4) All adult inhabitants of the commune shall be admitted to communal meetings. 5) We request the abolition of the taxes imposed upon butchers, the insurance taxes on cattle, horses and hogs, and also the road taxes, because the government does not care at all about the state of our roads. 6) We demand the immediate liberation of all political prisoners. 7) We express our solidarity with those who demand that the losses which they have

in consequence of the state of war shall be made good to them. 8) We protest against the abolition of the name "Kingdom of Poland" and the using of the name "Land near the Vistula," or any other [name]. We demand the use of the proper name "Kingdom of Poland." 9) Because these our demands can be realized only by a general autonomy of the land, for this reason we demand the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland with a legislative congress in Warsaw elected by general and direct vote. 10) We commit the execution of the present decision in things which can be immediately executed to the mayor, to the commune representatives and to Mr. Aleksander Głuchowski, elected at the present meeting. 11) The functions in the commune office remain suspended as long as the Polish language is not introduced."

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished.

194. The inhabitants of the commune Kaski met to the number of 310 of the 399 who have the right to vote, and under the presidency of the local mayor Jan Puhała [passed resolutions similar to those found in the last document demanding the introduction of Polish and the autonomy of commune administration, and in addition the following which have a more general national significance]: 13) We protest against the beating of our brothers, the workmen and farmers in Warsaw, Kozłowice and other localities, where quite unarmed and innocent people have been beaten. We demand the removal of the Cossacks from the Kingdom of Poland, because they are not a regular army but a band of robbers, stealing, and demoralizing the population. 14) We demand that military service be performed inside the country and be shortened. . . . 17) We demand that all political offenders be set at liberty. 18) We demand that the inviolability of persons and homes, the liberty of speech and of the press, of associations and meetings be put into effect. 19) We demand that a legislative congress be called for the Kingdom of Poland in Warsaw—one for Russia in Petersburg—upon the principle of general, direct, secret and equal suffrage. . . . 22) We demand that governmental lands be distributed among landless peasants. . . .

As long as our demands are not granted, we will not pay any

taxes, we will not give recruits, we will close the court and we will interrupt all relations with the officials and the police. Here ends the present decision and it is signed. [310 signatures follow.]

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna;* unpublished (1905).

195. Decisions of the peasant meeting in Warsaw.

I. Considering that:

1) The Kingdom of Poland is a separate country, that it has distinct social, religious and national needs, and that from this results the necessity of a separate political organization;

2) that the country can be well managed only if its population is not deprived of voice but decides itself about matters connected with this management;

3) that local authorities can govern skilfully and conscientiously only if they come from the country and from the society itself, and therefore in our country from the Polish population;

4) that forty years of government by Russian authorities have brought incalculable losses to this country;

5) that the present Russian authorities are unable to perform even their primary duty, that is, to assure to the inhabitants safety of life and of property; the meeting of peasants of the Kingdom of Poland decides:

1) Social order and prosperous development are possible in the Kingdom of Poland only after a thorough reconstruction of the political institutions of the country, that is, after the introduction into the Kingdom of Poland of national self-government, *i.e.,* autonomy. This self-government should be based upon the following principles:

a) All laws and regulations for the country should be enacted by a diet in Warsaw, constituted by representatives of the whole country without excluding any estate, any class of the population, that is, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Polish land;

b) The local government must be constituted by Poles and the official language in schools, courts and offices must be the Polish language;

c) Local governments should be responsible to the Diet.

II. 1) Before complete autonomy is introduced the Polish language must necessarily and immediately be made the official

language in all schools, courts and civil offices, and Poles should be called to the civil administration of the country;

2) It is indispensable that the principles of the Manifesto of October 30 be proclaimed not as a promise but as a constitution, and that this constitution be sworn to by the Monarch.

III. 1) The country commune as basis of self-government has great tasks and duties which it must fulfil at every moment, independently of the standpoint of the Russian authorities;

2) At the present moment when disorganization reigns in the Russian government and its authorities do not perform their functions, the commune cannot wait for the call of the Russian governmental offices nor look to them for help but must work with particular zeal, spontaneously satisfying its own needs, extending its solicitude over the inhabitants, and watching for the safety of their lives and property.

IV. The Polish people stand upon the ground of national unity, for only by unity will the work of the nation and her struggle for her rights and welfare be successful. At the present moment when the whole nation must win rights for herself and when the whole nation is in danger, those who incite [her members] against one another in order to settle internal accounts with the help of violence are preparing destruction for her. The Polish peasants will oppose with all their strength all such attempts.

V. The meeting acknowledges that it is the duty of all enlightened citizens of the country to mediate in misunderstandings and quarrels between workmen and landlords, so as to have them settled in good concord and peacefully.

VI. The Polish people, through their representatives at the meeting of the peasants of the Kingdom of Poland, express their attachment to the holy Catholic faith and to their fatherland, Poland, and desire to build the future of the country upon the national and religious principles handed down to us by our fathers.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 52.

196. [This and the following documents concern the boycott by the Poles of the Congress Kingdom and Galicia of German goods in answer to the Prussian "Law of Expropriation," which gave the Prussian Commission of Colonization the right

to expropriate Polish landowners for the benefit of German settlers].

Kuryer Zagłębia is informed that influential German industrial and commercial circles have represented to the Russian government that they will reply to any further boycott by pressure on the value of Russian securities. With reference to this an answer was received from Petersburg [stating] that the boycott will be prevented from spreading. Yet the Warsaw newspapers declare that no one in Poland is thinking of ending the boycott.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 6.

197. *Gazeta Grudziądzka* encourages the Poles with the following words: "How much Polish money is even yet in German Savings Banks and Raiffeisen Banks! Do not those who place their hard earned savings in German banks put in the hands of the enemy a weapon against their own associates, against their own nation? We adjure all those who possess savings not to deposit them in German banks because they will by that become traitors to their own people. Probably no one wishes to help the Prussian government to expropriate."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 11.

198. Mme. Walewska of Warsaw encourages her countrymen to boycott the Prussian resorts and says that every physician who recommends a Prussian resort to his patients commits a sin against the nation.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 52.

199. *Kupiec*, a tradespaper [in Posen], issued a memorial which shows that the first aim of the [Polish industrial] exhibition is to boycott German commerce. The contents of the publication directly encourage boycotting, *e.g.*, in an article it gives a list of Polish firms only, and it is the wish of the publishing company that a copy of that issue be in every Polish house in order to promote in a more efficient way the national commerce and industry.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 87.

200. The boycott committee which was established some time ago issued a call to the school youth to buy books, supplies and

uniforms from Polish firms only and to avoid absolutely every German store.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 7.

201. The boycott committee is planning new methods of boycotting German goods in Galicia. The stores which boycott German ware will be marked by special signs if they declare that they will carry out the rules of the organization, give proof that they do not hide German goods, and permit the members of the boycott commission to examine their stores. The committee will also publish the list of such merchants and a list of German stores and the goods which should be boycotted.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 24.

202. To eliminate German industry from Galicia, the leading Polish circles plan a gigantic move, *e.g.,* an appeal will be made not only to Polish capital but also to the capital of all nations which are friendly to Poland, in order to make it possible to check German industry and prevent the purchase of Polish soil by Germans.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 11.

203. In Cracow a committee of ladies of the highest circles has been formed under the leadership of Princess Czartoryska to promote the boycott of German and Prussian ware in great style, and first of all win for this movement all the women and girls of Galicia.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 51.

204. *Słowo Polskie* of Lemberg, Dec. 28th, 1912, notes with pleasure the fact that the Polish national stamps with the printed watch-word, "Away with Germanism," are continually increasing in circulation in Galicia and that German signs and announcements are less frequent in Lemberg, and "wherever they appear, an invisible and pitiless hand at once tears them down," or, with evident disregard of the embellishment of the city, "covers them with black paint."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1913, 1.

205. The study of the national struggle [in Posen] is so interesting because it discloses a peculiar and striking content in well-known and commonplace . . . forms.

Small loan banks and professional unions are spread over country and town in the traditional way, almost schematically, with sometimes a larger institution on which the smaller, often dwarfish, associations lean. A central bank and central management bind all these together, sometimes receiving the surplus capital and some furnishing necessary help, forming a bridge to the great money market, and giving advice on all questions of organization.

Every country every province has now such a system. . . . Exactly the same [system] has grown up in Posen and in West Prussia since 1860 . . . formed upon the models which had proved successful in more developed provinces, particularly on the Rhine. The same problems are discussed at meetings, and on superficial investigation one does not notice any political interests whatever in this peaceful construction. On the contrary, it is emphatically repeated that all politics should be avoided. "Credit associations cannot be instruments of national struggle," one hears at meetings. "It is to be understood explicitly," says sec. 12 of the program of Polish agricultural unions, "that religious and political problems lie outside of the field of the unions and it is not allowed to discuss such questions at meetings." Besides the Prussian administration takes good care that the Polish associations keep far from everything which could be interpreted as political activity. An association which openly showed political colors would be on the same day denounced to "proper authorities," and as far as I know, it has never been proved by any one that Polish credit associations took an active part, for instance, in Sokol activities or election propaganda, or that they ever used even the smallest part of their income for political purposes. . . .

And yet, in spite of all this, the credit associations and professional unions are . . . the real arsenals in political warfare. . . . The Polish associations are a political power; they have even become gradually the leading political power. This is how the contradiction is explained. The bridge which constitutes the passage from the purely economic business field to the domain of political struggle is called *personal union*. . . . A credit association must keep carefully away from national politics, but the leaders of the credit associations and professional organizations

must take a leading part in national political enterprises. The particular organization stands independent and is limited to its definite business purpose. But the men who stand at the top of the unions and associations are at the same time leaders in political committees and meetings, directors of societies for popular education; they play an important rôle through the press, their influence predominates in preparing the elections, in selecting the list of candidates, in organizing popular Polish libraries, in distributing subventions to students, and thus they unify through their persons the seemingly disconnected public life of the Poles.

The personal union is the living bond of the Polish community. Without the peculiar and extensive application of personal union the mass of Polish institutions and associations would have no real unity. . . . Upon a foundation constituted by credit organizations, unions, and associations stands a group of men which might be characterized as the "government of the Poles." Without possessing any paper constitutional right they exercise real power, so that no important national Polish enterprise can arise which is not decided, suggested or influenced by this "government. . . ."

First the highest leaders of credit organizations belong here. An important decision concerning, for instance, the foundation of a new institution cannot be taken in Posen unless the "patron of the credit associations" has expressed his opinion. It would make a strange impression upon the Poles if this high official of the Polish financial system were not asked for advice, since every one knows that he can estimate financial powers better than anybody else and give warning of dangerous steps. Besides him, the director of the Central Bank and the director of the Industrial Bank play the rôle of advisers in the "government."

Next to these men stands the "patron of peasant associations." Of course he must also be asked, for the powerful organization which follows his leadership is so important for the success of every enterprise that it is impossible to ignore the patron. At his side are the vice-patrons who have distinguished themselves by achieving particular success in their districts. Next to the peasant associations, half rivaling, half patronizing them, stands the old distinguished Central Union of large estate-owners, whose

president together with a few particularly experienced members is considered representative of agricultural interests.

After the agricultural organizations come, with regard to real power, the young workmen's unions, so that the president of the "Alliance of Catholic Workmen's Unions" and the president of the "Alliance of Trade-unions" . . . . have an influence.

The leaders of industrial and commercial associations are, on the contrary, provisionally in the background, partly because of their not very imposing personalities, partly because of the weakness of their organizations.

Among the political associations the *Straz* and the *Sokols* put forward their presidents, but the influence of these men should not be overrated, for the activity of these organizations, consisting in agitation and calculating on sudden effects, prevents any rational work. . . .

To these leaders should be added a few high church dignitaries, and a few members of the nobility who through great wealth and national work have won a strong position for themselves. . . .

Thus there are fifteen to twenty men . . . . in the "government! . . . Up to the present [the latter] lacks, I might say, official political representation, for the Polish faction in the [Prussian] parliament is incapable and unprepared. . . . Only when the faction is properly cleansed and represents a real picture of the Polish commonwealth will the "government of the Poles" manifest more strongly to the outside world its volitions and tendencies.

L. Bernhard, *Die Polenfrage*, pp. 151-154, 214-217.

The content of the national ideals as imparted to the uneducated classes is not even approximately as rich and multiform as that which we find in the Polish intellectual circles in the nineteenth century, and yet, as we see from the examples here quoted, it is sufficiently developed to become in favorable conditions the supreme principle of both individual behavior and social organization. In fact the psychology of the social activities which we have studied in this volume can be properly

understood only if we realize that each and all of them —struggle for the preservation of the old system, revolutionary tendencies, social re-organization with the help of popular education on the basis of the wider community and through cooperative institutions—either have their source in national aspirations and their ultimate purpose determined by the national ideal or at least are continually subjected to criticism and appreciation from the national standpoint. This national background is in most cases not explicitly formulated, partly because it is accepted as self-evident, as a matter of course, partly because its explicit formulation under the given political conditions was not only dangerous for individuals but also would imperil the existence of those institutions whose preservation or development was considered nationally important.

The way in which the national ideal was made to assume in the eyes of society this character of the ultimate purpose and highest criterion is interesting because it resembles closely the method used in religious propaganda. On the one hand, the national ideal is exalted above everything else. Any preference shown, in the case of a conflict, to any other kind of interests is branded as national treason. Thus an indivdual who dared to put borth hedonistic, economic, moral, religious reasons for doing something which may be harmful to the nation or for not doing something which he is expected to do for the benefit of the nation, would incur the strongest social condemnation. On the other hand, the national idea is interpreted as including everything else. It includes individual happiness; the realization of national aspirations will bring to every member of the nation alleviation of his troubles and satisfaction of his desires, and no individual can or should be happy

while the nation is oppressed. It includes economic security; the fact that the subjection of Poland to hostile states has prevented the normal development of its economic possibilities is fully utilized for national propaganda; the poverty of the country masses, the low standard of wages of city workers, the slow progress of Polish commerce, the enormous rate of emigration, are interpreted as direct effects of foreign domination and the individual's prosperity is shown as directly dependent on national prosperity. Intellectual values are easily included in the national idea—art and literature as dependent for their content and expression upon ethnical factors, science as requiring institutions which can freely develop only under favorable political conditions. The acceptance and pursuit of the national idea is further identified with virtue in general—an identification which is justified in a large measure by the fact that active patriotism under foreign oppression really does require high moral qualities whereas desertion of the national cause almost always indicates a generally undesirable character. Finally, the harmony between the national and religious ideals is achieved by identifying wherever possible Catholicism and Polonism—in particular, on the eastern borderland between the ethnically Polish and the ethnically Russian territories. Where this method does not work, as in the relations between Poles and German Catholics in Austria and Prussia, or with reference to Poles of other religious denominations (Polish Protestants or Polonized Jews), appeal is made to .more general principles—nationality is conceived as a part of the divine order of the world in which each nation has a particular mission to fulfil, and whoever hinders national self-determination—be it even an official church—sins against God.

Of course, all these aspects of the national ideal were seldom simultaneously and systematically explained to the peasant; political censorship made open national propaganda through the press and in public meetings very difficult. But in every personal contact with the leaders and members of the higher classes or with nationally conscious individuals of the peasant class, and as far as was possible through the press and by secret agitation, this idea was in every connection emphasized as the highest and most comprehensive value. This gave it an entirely unquestionable authority and produced an attitude of reverence which might not always lead the individual to act in conformity with its demands but at least made him feel that his duty lay in the direction indicated by these demands. The national ideal could become an object of the most intense exaltation, quite equal to that which is found in religious mysticism; at the same time it furnished, like religion, rules for everyday life and endowed the most commonplace activities with a peculiar significance. Just as the religious man refers every act of his to God, so the patriot was supposed to consider every action with reference to Poland. Educating his children in Polish traditions, belonging to a patriotic political organization, going on a pilgrimage to Częstochowa during religious persecutions, reading patriotic Polish books forbidden by the Russian government, teaching neighbors how to read, subscribing to a Polish paper, knowing Polish history, buying a piece of land from a German in Posen, depositing money in a Polish bank, boycotting German ware, contributing to the economic progress of the community, even opening a new business or improving one's farming were treated as meritorious actions from the national viewpoint. But above all the formation and

development of cooperative institutions was idealized as a matter of the highest national importance; each new institution was taken to be a definite step toward the realization of national aspirations. As a result of this attitude, a peasant who did any of these things, perhaps at first for egotistic reasons, or in imitation of others, or under the pressure of social opinion, or perhaps out of consideration for his narrow community, began to ascribe to his actions deeper motives and wider aims than they ever had and thus step by step persuaded himself into actually being influenced by those deeper motives and wider aims. While with the leaders usually the national ideal was the source and the motive of social work, the masses were, on the contrary, led to the national ideal by participation in social reconstruction.

Few subjects of sociological investigation are more interesting and instructive than this evolution by which, during one or two generations the peasant as we have known him in the first two volumes, the member of a primary-group, thinking and acting by tradition and custom with a mental horizon limited to his immediate social environment, becomes a conscious patriot, voluntarily cooperating in the continuous realization of the nation as a morally and practically solidary and culturally productive social body. We have been able only to sketch a few predominant features of this social process which at the moment when our investigation stopped had been achieved for only a relatively small minority of the peasants. The war and the liberation and unification of Poland have introduced into the evolution of the peasant class new factors whose consequences it is

as yet impossible to foresee. All at once the peasant has become the complete master of his destiny; his growing social and economic power, in connection with the fact that he has the majority, may make him the master of Poland. Thus Poland, for centuries a nobility nation, tends at the present moment to become a peasant nation. It will be interesting to see the direction in which this tendency is modified by the future industrial development of this state.

PART III

ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

The preceding parts of this work, though far from exhaustive, give a general outline of the psychology and organization of the peasant communities in Poland and of the evolution by which these communities, formerly almost isolated, became integral parts of the Polish national body. We have found that, except for the higher forms of cultural productivity (literature, art, science, large-scale industry and commerce) in which the peasant class did not appreciably participate and for the maintenance and development of a state system, of which Poland was deprived, our study has involved nearly all the sociological problems which can be raised with reference to a concrete, ethnically homogeneous society which has occupied a certain territory for many generations and come into the possession of a set of social values either originally produced or completely assimilated during its historical existence.

But during the last three-quarters of a century, numerous isolated components of the peasant (and lower city) class—individuals, marriage groups, sometimes fragments of large families and primary communities —have been leaving their original milieu and settling in America, intentionally or accidentally grouping themselves into colonies of various sizes scattered over the territory of an ethnically and culturally different society. The evolution of these fragments separated from their social whole presents a series of new problems, in-

teresting not only from the practical standpoint of the relation of the immigrants to American society but also in view of their general sociological significance.

The situation is really much more complicated than most of the popular American literature concerning immigration and Americanization sees it. It would seem *a priori* and it is generally assumed that the main problems concerning the immigrants can be stated in terms of individual assimilation or non-assimilation. Since the immigrant is no longer a member of the society from which he came, since he lives in the midst of American society, is connected with it by economic bonds and dependent on its institutions, the only line of evolution left to him seems to be the one leading to a gradual substitution in his consciousness of American cultural values for Polish cultural values and of attitudes adapted to his American environment for the attitudes brought over from the old country. This substitution may be slower or faster and various factors—among others living in racial groups—may influence its pace; but the immigrant (or the immigrant's descendant) is considered as still a Pole in traditions and attitudes, or already an American, or somewhere on the way from Polonism to Americanism, and it is supposed that the essential thing to be studied in relation to him is, how he makes this passage.

But in fact, if we look at the Poles in America not from the standpoint of Polish or American national interests but from that of an objective sociological inquiry, we find that the problem of individual assimilation is at present an entirely secondary and unimportant issue. Of course there have been many Poles—a few of the first, many more of the second generation—who have become individually absorbed in American society and

are now more or less completely assimilated; but the number of such cases in proportion to the total population of Polish origin in this country has been rapidly decreasing in the last fifty years. The fundamental process which has been going on during this period is *the formation of a new Polish-American society* out of those fragments separated from Polish society and embedded in American society. This Polish-American society as a whole is, indeed, slowly evolving from Polonism to Americanism, as is shown by the fact that its members, particularly those of the second generation, are continually acquiring more American attitudes and being more influenced by American civilization. But this "assimilation" is not an individual but a group phenomenon, to be compared with such processes as the progressive Germanization of Czech society up to a hundred years ago or the adoption of French culture by the Polish, Russian and German aristocracies in the course of the 18th century. Here the individual does not stand isolated in the midst of a culturally different group. He is part of a homogeneous group in contact with a civilization which influences in various degrees all of the members. And the striking phenomenon, the central object of our investigation, is the formation of this coherent group out of originally incoherent elements, the creation of a society which in structure and prevalent attitudes is neither Polish nor American but constitutes a specific new product whose raw materials have been partly drawn from Polish traditions, partly from the new conditions in which the immigrants live and from American social values as the immigrant sees and interprets them. It is this Polish-American society, not American society, that constitutes the social milieu into which the immigrant who comes from Poland

becomes incorporated and to whose standards and institutions he must adapt himself.

Such an evolution has evidently been socially unavoidable. The individual immigrant brings with him to this country his old traditions and attitudes, but of course not the social organization of the old country. He has a tendency to associate with people coming from the same milieu, and as soon as a group of them is agglomerated the old institutions begin spontaneously to reappear. But it is clear that they cannot be revived here with their full original content and significance. First of all, their reconstruction, being the outcome of an unreflective demand for old social values rather than the realization of a conscious plan to have the old system rebuilt, is a relatively slow process. But although the great majority of immigrants is of peasant origin and therefore very conservative, yet their original attitudes necessarily change in the new conditions with time and the demand for the old values grows less insistent and less definite. Secondly, the groups which the immigrants form here are evidently less coherent than the communities in Europe; around a nucleus of permanent settlers, which is usually of quite recent origin (in a few cases only reaching back to the third generation), there is a shifting mass continually recruited from outsiders who either leave after a short period or are at least for several years ready to leave at short notice. Moreover, whereas the old peasant or small town community was in a large measure self-sufficient, most of the needs of its members being satisfied within the group, the Polish-American community depends on the outside world in such a fundamental matter as economic subsistence, draws its income from work in American shops and factories and consumes almost exclusively

American products. For all these reasons, though the steady influx of new immigrants coming directly from Poland and full of old country memories prevents the interest in traditional institutions from disappearing entirely, the social organization which develops spontaneously here is necessarily only a very imperfect imitation of the old Polish original. It still centers around the family and the primary community, and the fundamental principles of direct personal solidarity and conformity with social opinion are still recognized; but of the many varied and coherent beliefs and customs which made these institutions so rich and vital most are either entirely forgotten or inefficient, or even ridiculous, and whatever new beliefs and customary forms of behavior may have developed in the new conditions are not sufficiently general, numerous, stable or binding to take adequately the place of the obliterated tradition.

Thus in order to satisfy the social needs of its members and to reach the necessary minimum of cohesion, the immigrant groups must sooner or later resort to reflective social activity, must supplement the spontaneous reproduction of old social forms by a new conscious organization. The situation is thus parallel to that which we have found in Poland where the traditional system which no longer satisfies the new needs is partly supplemented, partly supplanted by a new teleological structure (see Part II). Naturally the new organization was begun and partly continued both in Poland and here by Polish leaders of the educated classes; in both cases there being no authority which could enforce the new system as compulsory, the latter had to be developed by voluntary cooperation and based on a mechanism for the satisfaction of certain common needs. Finally, the ultimate purpose of the organization in both countries

has been the social synthesis of many primary groups into a national body. But in all other respects the Polish-American system is, as we shall see, entirely different from the Polish peasant organization. It could not be otherwise. In Poland the leaders were representatives and members of large educated classes whose moral and material support they possessed; they were independent of the masses which they were organizing; the standard which they tried to impose on the peasants appeared in the eyes of the latter not as individual ideas but as social values already accepted and recognized by the upper part of the nation. In the Polish colonies of America, on the contrary, there was *no educated class;* the proportion of immigrants with higher education was always very small, for America did not offer as great opportunities of economic advance to them as to the manual workers, and those who were forced to emigrate for political reasons found a nearer refuge in Western European countries. The intellectual leader here is thus an isolated individual, often economically dependent on those whom he attempts to lead; unless he is a priest, his prestige is usually rather low and even if he could maintain his standards without proper social encouragement, he would still have to adapt himself to the demands of the masses rather than impose his ideals on the masses. Moreover, a large proportion of those who have played the part of leaders here left Poland because they had proved moral, intellectual or practical failures and hoped to have better luck in a new milieu where their past was unknown and they would meet but little competition. These, of course, had few, if any, ideals to impose. Finally, we see the leaders from the old country after a time supplanted by a new native-bred type on a lower cultural

level than the educated European Pole but better acquainted with local conditions.

Thus the efforts of the few national idealists from Poland who wanted the Polish-American institutions to be the instruments through which the Polish colonies in this country should become culturally and politically an integral part of Poland, were doomed to failure. The Polish institutions have, indeed, imported Polish cultural values, but they made a reflective or unreflective selection of them for their own local purposes and gave them a new meaning suited to the specific forms and conditions of Polish-American life, just as they did with American cultural values. Polish-American society has been living more on Polish than on American culture but as it developed along its own lines, Polish culture began to be, as American culture always was, actively interpreted and consciously or unconsciously modified rather than passively accepted. There is a difference of degree rather than of nature between the incorporation of a Polish and an American cultural value; both become vital parts of the life of Polish colonies only by taking their place in that complex which, however vague its outlines and indefinite its characteristics, may be already called Polish-American culture and which, though composed of elements of purely Polish and purely American origin, does not leave these elements to subsist in their purity and isolation but melts them into a new and unique combination to which it gives its own stamp. A good illustration is the language of the American Poles which, though still etymologically Polish, contains an increasing number of American slang words which are treated as roots and used with Polish inflexions and prefixes and whose syntax and literary application (the latter more easily influenced

than etymology by changes in the form of thought) are growing more and more specifically local and neither Polish nor American.

But the evolution of Polish-American society toward "national self-determination" has been particularly striking in the political field. The Polish-American institutions have always proclaimed officially their readiness to serve Poland. During the war the Polish-American society rendered notable services to the cause of Poland's independence and contributed largely to the relief of war sufferings, and at this moment it is working toward the establishment of permanent economic relations between this country and Poland. But these expressions toward Poland should be interpreted rather as manifestations of solidarity offered by a national group to another national group toward which it feels certain moral obligations and with which it is connected by various cultural bonds than as acts of cooperation which a nation demands and receives of its own members. We should not be misled by the fact that a large number of Poles in this country are almost exclusively interested in Polish affairs and are preparing to go to Poland as soon as stable and safe communication is established. Most of them are the unassimilated, those who have not yet become fully incorporated into Polish-American society. And for some who have really taken roots here going to Poland is as much *emigration* as *return*—means a search for new opportunities in a partly familiar but already in some measure foreign environment. We do not know how many will leave; perhaps as many as 15 per cent. or even 20 per cent. of the total number of Poles who are here now, but the Polish-American society will remain with all its institutions. For the latter exist in fact for this society, not for Poland; their

local activities and local interests prevail incomparably over those of which Poland is the object. Although they were originally planned to make the American Poles a part of the Polish national body, they have instead gradually shaped them into a separate and distinct Polish-American body. This new national group is always ready to help Poland, just as it is always ready to help America; certainly no immigrant group has done more for America during the war nor shown a more unswerving loyalty. But its primary interests are in its own national preservation and development, and it will not sacrifice these interests either to Poland or to America. It plans to cooperate in the future—more than it did in the past—in the development of American culture; but it wants to do it as a distinct and coherent national group. All this explains the seeming paradox of "dual allegiance." The Pole in this country sincerely claims to be equally loyal to America and to Poland—and he certainly is, because both loyalties are really only indirect. In fact, if not in theory, his ultimate and fundamental allegiance is to the Polish-American society, and both Poland and America are appreciated rather as the natural and necessary allies of this national group to whom the latter as a whole owes gratitude for its culture, for its economic and political security, and on whose prosperity its own prosperity and standing are dependent.

Of course this characteristic of Polish-American society does not wholly exhaust the situation. We mark here tendencies which in practice are only imperfectly realized. In particular, the organization of Polish-American colonies stands far behind that of any old national society permanently settled in a given limited territory, which it owns economically and politically, and

constructing its new institutions on the firm foundation of innumerable intricate social bonds inherited from the past. Just as the family and the primary community are here much weaker than in the old country, so the new teleological structure raised by reflective and voluntary cooperation, though imposing in its outside appearance, cannot be compared as to the complexity of its functions and as to its internal cohesion with the vast body of economic cultural and political institutions of a modern national group, or even with such a fragment of a national group as the Polish society in Posen under German domination, scarcely larger in size than the Polish-American society.

This imperfect development of the Polish-American social structure manifests itself most clearly in the fact that the combined influence of old and new institutions cannot prevent individual disorganization from assuming an unusual extension. Pauperism, sexual demoralization and the whole scale of delinquency are represented among American Poles in a much larger measure than among the population of Poland from which the immigrants are recruited. And even if we admit that it is usually the most unsettled part of the population which is inclined to emigrate, so that there is a larger proportion of abnormally inclined individuals among those whom Poland sends to America than among those who remain, still we shall find overwhelming evidence that a wide process of disorganization begins only in this country under the new conditions to which the immigrant is subjected, and that the Polish-American social system is not strong enough to prevent its growth. It does, of course, counteract it to a certain degree; but the task which it has to fulfil is beyond its power, since with the exception of a few American institutions which

take the pauper, the misadapted, the delinquent when the harm is already done, the Polish-American organization is the only factor which can have some preventive influence by keeping the individual under direct control and upholding certain standards of behavior which he understands and acknowledges. It must be realized that with a great majority of immigrants of the first and even the second generation the controlling, standardizing and organizing rôle of the American state and society has been up to the present almost negligible. The average Polish immigrant does not participate directly and individually in American life except through business relations. This is, of course, only natural, since no adequate efforts have been made to have him participate. We have seen in Part II what long, disinterested and methodical work of education and organization is necessary in order to have the peasant understand the higher standards of Polish culture and to make him become an active and conscious member of the Polish national system, though this system has been created and maintained by the culturally productive part of his own race. How much more efforts based on adequate sociological knowledge would be needed on the part of American educators and organizers with the peasant immigrant in this country. Until methods are found of completely incorporating the immigrant into the intimate life of American society and making him take part in all lines of American culture—political, economic, moral, intellectual, religious, hedonistic—his life-organization will depend on the efficiency of the Polish-American structure, and any weakness of the latter must inevitably manifest itself in a personal decadence of its members. Individuals coming from a class in which all interests were traditionally social, all activi-

ties dependent on the response and recognition of the immediate environment, cannot remain socially normal if their new environment is not sufficiently close and coherent to follow, understand and appreciate all their tendencies, to encourage all socially desirable and discourage all socially undesirable acts.

Our study will thus concentrate on these two most important aspects of the life of Polish immigrants in this country—the formation of the Polish-American national society, and the individual disorganization resulting from the imperfect coherence of this society and its consequent partial failure to organize and control all the Polish immigrants in a manner sufficient to prevent the spread of moral decadence. When studying this second point we shall also have the opportunity of touching the question of the influence of American legal and social institutions upon the immigrant.

The problems raised in the first part will be sociological chiefly, in the narrow sense of the term, *i. e.*, concerning the content and meaning of social values—rules of behavior and institutions—and their evolution from pre-existing values under the influence of certain social attitudes. In the second part we shall have to deal almost exclusively with problems of social psychology—description and explanation of attitudes as evolving under the influence of certain values. This difference of problems forces us to use our materials in different ways. In the first part of the study, where our task is to describe synthetically and to explain genetically the general structure of Polish-American society, we shall have to leave out most of the materials on which our conclusions are based and use documents rather as examples helping the reader to understand certain particular aspects of the situation than as proofs of the

truth of our statements, which can be sufficiently verified by going to the sources quoted. On the contrary, in the second part where our problem is to analyze typical cases of individual disorganization, we shall give, as far as possible within the limits of this volume, the concrete data from which our generalizations are drawn.

ORGANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

CHAPTER I

EMIGRATION FROM POLAND

Although we have met in our first three volumes many individual types of immigrants, seen the milieu from which they came and ascertained the circumstances and motives which induced them to leave their native country, it is now important to make a general and systematic survey of Polish emigration [1] as a background for the study of Polish colonies in America. For the act of emigration has a selective significance, implies not only definite practical conditions but also a definite psychological predisposition, and we should determine both in order to know what special tendencies, memories and expectations the immigrant brings with him to this country in addition to those general social attitudes and traditions which we have heretofore studied.

The fundamental point is that individual emigration is viewed by the social group as an undesirable and even socially abnormal phenomenon. Except for the relatively rare cases when the group desires to get rid of an individual considered socially harmful, no group likes to lose members. And even if the emigrant intends to return, still for the period of his absence he withdraws from the sphere of control of his group and develops

[1] The materials for this chapter were collected during my three years' experience as director of the Emigrants Protective Society in Warsaw (1911-1914) and during a study of season emigration which I made in 1914 as delegate of the Polish Agricultural Association for the Russian Minister of Agriculture. Most of the documents come from the archives of the Emigrants Protective Society.—F. Znaniecki.

interests which his group cannot share—facts which are resented by a community in proportion to its conservativeness and power of cohesion. Finally, leaving the community is always interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and the remaining members are apt to condemn the emigrant whether they share his dissatisfaction or not, in the first case because he does not stay with them to bear solidarily the common burden and help to improve the situation, in the second case because his dissatisfaction where others are satisfied is more or less an act of revolt.

These usual reasons for condemning emigration are clearly manifested in the peasant primary communities when these are strong and coherent. We find them also, though less marked, in the educated spheres of Polish society. The latter, however, had another reason for opposing emigration, more important than all the others together: Under the peculiar conditions of Polish national life before the war, emigration was considered a national danger. When the national struggle for preservation had to be carried on exclusively by social forces, not only without the help of but against the power of the state, emigration weakened more or less the resistance of the nation by diminishing it numerically, by opening inlets for foreign expansion in the western and eastern borderlands and loosening Polish racial cohesion in territories with a mixed population, by wasting elsewhere activities which might be used for national work, finally by importing—this applied particularly to temporary emigration to Russia and Germany—foreign values which impaired the purity of national culture already strongly affected by forcible Russification and Germanization of schools and other public institutions. Of course this opposition of

the more representative circles of Polish society was unable to check the development of emigration among the more passive part of the nation in which the national interests were relatively weak; nor could it counteract the influence of exceptionally hard economic conditions. The realization of this led to the acceptation of emigration as a "necessary evil" and the efforts of the upper classes were directed merely to limiting its undesirable effects by favoring temporary instead of permanent emigration and by trying to keep at home the most valuable part of Polish society. In fact, the recognized undesirability of emigration from the national standpoint exercised a powerful restraining influence upon all those elements of the nation which actively and consciously cooperated in preserving and developing Polish unity and culture, irrespective of their social class.

This fact is very significant for our present study, for it shows that only a very small minority of the Polish immigrants who come to this country have had any training in rational social cooperation and that for most of them the Polish national ideal has little meaning. Not only have—as we stated in the introduction—the educated middle and upper classes of Polish society furnished an exceedingly small proportion of immigrants (most of whom, moreover, are below the normal moral or intellectual level of their respective groups in Poland), but even among the large mass of immigrants coming from the peasant or lower city class the most educated, most socialized and most productive elements of these classes are very insufficiently represented. In the light of these data the rapid development of Polish-American society acquires an additional interest.

From the general condemnation of emigration on patriotic grounds were excluded, of course, all those cases in which emigration was the consequence or the means of patriotic activities. Many thousands of revolutionists were forced to leave the country to escape death or prison, particularly after 1830 and 1863, and had to seek refuge abroad from the persecution of the hostile governments. But most of them settled in France, some in England, Switzerland and Italy, where they could most effectively work by all the means at their disposal for new revolutions or for a diplomatic intervention of the Western Powers in favor of Poland. Only a few individuals reached America, usually after many years of wandering. The *emigrés* of 1831 became soon assimilated here and left no trace except a few documents referring to an association which they founded—the first Polish association in this country. The second emigration had a much deeper influence upon Polish-American life, for there were already small Polish colonies of workmen scattered over this country and to these the political exiles of 1864 by indirect communication from Europe and by personal contact imparted the impulse which led to the present development of Polish-American society.

In more recent times the revolutionary movement was carried on secretly in Poland, by "underground" methods of organization and propaganda, until it broke out in 1905 in connection with the first Russian revolution. Some of the revolutionists who succeeded in escaping from the Russian repression before and after 1905 came to this country and in some measure revived among the American Poles the interest in the armed struggle for Poland's independence; the majority of them belonged to the Polish Socialist Party, a half na-

tional, half socialistic organization, and these organized and developed the groups of Polish socialists in America.

In addition to this nationally permissible emigration there is another type which has appeared only since the Polish colonies in America have grown large enough to attract the attention of Polish society in Europe. It was generally known that these colonies lacked intellectual leadership and it was supposed that without such leadership they would be soon absorbed in their American environment. And since Polish society could not resign itself to losing permanently these "detached members"—particularly as emigration to America was growing to astonishing proportions—the opposition to the emigration of intellectuals began to weaken, and if intellectuals left with the definite intention of settling exclusively among American Poles and helping them preserve their nationality, they were not discouraged and sometimes even encouraged. However, so imperious were the demands which the difficult national situation at home put upon all available men and resources that we know of only a few cases of teachers, journalists or political organizers who actually came to this country to stay for national purposes. Only the clergy, with its tradition of missionary work and its relatively secure status, developed a regular immigration of "missionaries," whose aim was as much, if not more, religious than national preservation.

While thus with a few exceptions active participation in Polish national life was the most efficient obstacle to the emigration of the higher classes and of the most productive and developed part of the lower classes, on the other hand the isolation of many peasant communities from cultural influences, their lack of contact

with intellectual and economic centers, which allowed the old system to remain in full power until quite recent times, had a similar restraining effect on the emigration of the most conservative and ignorant part of the peasant class. The primary community which controlled its members by enforcing passive obedience to traditional rules reached unreflectively results parallel to those which the highly organized national body reflectively attained by imposing upon its members the moral obligation of actively pursuing the national ideal. Although as we have mentioned before (in Vol. I) and as we shall see in detail presently, economic motives almost exclusively predominate in the emigration of peasants, statistics show that economic conditions which in communities with many outside contacts have proved most favorable for emigration fail entirely to provoke it in those parts of the country where the peasant class is most isolated and conservative. This can be explained only by the coherence of the primary group and the preservation of the traditional system, not by the mere lack of information, for in these same territories the inhabitants of towns, where the primary group organization is weaker than in villages, do emigrate almost as much as elsewhere. There was only one important and very instructive case of intense emigration among the most backward communities—it was a mass movement of colonists to Paranà, Brazil, in the years 1910-1913. We shall return to this later.

The great majority of emigrants is thus recruited from those peasant and small town communities in which the contacts with the outside world are relatively numerous and the process of disorganization of the old social structure has been already going on for some time, whereas the work of social reconstruction by which

the peasants are made active members of the nation-wide system has either only begun or has embraced only the most advanced members, who then normally abstain from emigrating. This means that, generally speaking, the Polish immigrants whom America receives belong mostly to that type of individuals who are no longer adequately controlled by tradition and have not yet been taught how to organize their lives independently of tradition. This kind of material may easily go to pieces if rational social control and encouragement are lacking, but it may also easily be shaped by proper methods into useful elements of some new social construction. It is less reliable but more adaptable than the more advanced or more conservative part of the lower classes of Polish society.

We must now, however, take into account another aspect of the problem. We have spoken of the act of emigrating only as an individual performance and treated it from the standpoint of the relation between the individual and the group which he leaves. And as long as no other factors intervene, emigration must be, indeed, interpreted as a sign that the group which loses members in this way lacks a coherent organization and the power of social control. This is always the situation when those who emigrate, whether few or many, go each on his own responsibility to a destination which in the eyes of the group is more or less indefinite, outside of the reach of the opinion of the others. But the situation changes when for any reason emigration becomes a mass phenomenon, a simultaneous or successive, permanent or temporary *migration* of a large part of the community for a more or less common, definite and known destination. There is still, of course, a certain break of the traditional system, a certain partial

suspension of the social organization which may lead to a permanent decay of a few traditional rules and probably some opposition between that part of the community which favors and that which opposes the migration, but sooner or later social consciousness adjusts itself to the situation and begins to consider the phenomenon as normal, not as a revolt against society. In this case the individual who emigrates may differ from the one who remains not by his non-conformity to social rules but by a prevalence of the desire for new experience over the desire for security, or perhaps merely by a stronger tendency to economic advance.

A typical case of such migration was that exodus to Paranà which we mentioned above and which we had the opportunity of observing quite closely. The Brazilian government offered free transportation from European ports and cheap homesteads on easy terms to families of colonists, and the agitation of steamship agents, after having failed to influence the western Polish territories where either emigration to America or season emigration to Germany was developed, reached finally the more remote, eastern and southeastern parts of the Congress Kingdom, which had never yet had any emigration. This coincided with two other influences which were working in the same direction. The first was the agitation of certain Polish leaders from Paranà who wanted to strengthen the Polish element there.[1] Their enterprise was favored by some Polish radicals who believed in the possibility of making Paranà a Polish state and at the same time hoped to direct there some of the excess country proletariat, and thus indirectly to

[1] Over 30 years ago there was a similar rush to Brazil from the central Polish provinces where American and German emigration were then unknown. Most of the emigrants settled in Paranà and organized there a rather prosperous colony numbering in 1910 about 80,000.

improve the condition of manor servants, which was particularly poor in the eastern part of the country. The second factor was the recent decision of the Russian government to separate certain southeastern districts where Poles were mixed with Ruthenians from the administration of the Congress Kingdom, so as to make Russification possible. The Polish peasants of these districts remembered the long national and religious persecution to which they had been subjected in connection with the Uniat problem and which ended only in 1905. Paranà appeared as salvation from a similar evil. Everything concurred thus to make emigration appear to the people as a mere passage from a community where they were dependent on their employers, had no land and were probably about to undergo a persecution for their faith, to a more or less similar community already inhabited by their brethren, where they would no longer be hired laborers, would have plenty of land and would be free to preserve their religion. There was no idea of any break with the traditional system; it was not like the case of an individual leaving his group to go into an unknown, undetermined outside world. Not individuals, but whole families were going. More than this, we never met a family leaving alone. They always associated in groups, sometimes as many as fifty families, sometimes entire communities. And their destination in their own minds was perfectly determined and clear; they had, or thought they had, direct or indirect communications with Paranà. They expected that a very popular priest who favored the movement was awaiting them on the other side. And if a few more critical ones had some doubts about the conditions there and tried to obtain more detailed information, the great majority imagined everything to be as in

Poland, only better. They carried with them all the agricultural and domestic implements they were allowed to take; many were surprised and grieved that they could not transport their cows and horses. Thus it was regular group migration, which stopped as suddenly as it had developed when discouraging news from those who went first became popularized throughout the country.

This Paranà case helps us understand certain characters which other types of emigration often assume and which we have not yet discussed. Emigration to the United States and season emigration to Germany, after having reached considerable proportions and continued for a long time in certain communities, become in some measure social movements, periodical or continuous migrations, more or less socially determined as to their destination and form and thus, though always considered undesirable by the nation, come to be treated as normal by those primary communities which are not strongly influenced by general national considerations. In season emigration this change of social attitude follows a half planful, half spontaneous regulation of the process. Individuals are not supposed to go alone, they leave in numerous groups with experienced leaders who are not only to take care of business matters as intermediaries between the workmen and their employers but also to supervise the order and morals of the small wandering community. In this they are helped by some of the older members of the group. Each group of workers usually goes year after year to the same locality and to the same employer, making their contracts in the fall for the following spring. Their community knows where they are going and what they are doing. It agrees

more or less willingly to their periodical migration and exercises over them still a minimum of control.

In the case of transoceanic emigration a similar change occurs in a somewhat different way. When many members of a community are settled in America and keep contact with their home, America appears almost as an extension of the community; it is as if a part of the latter had simply migrated to another locality. The fact that in this country they are scattered over many places and no longer constitute a closed group does not seem to play a very important part in the consciousness of the people at home, particularly since there is a tendency of immigrants from the same community to congregate as far as the conditions permit. From descriptions and relations of returning emigrants America—at least America as the immigrant sees it—becomes familiar to the community in Poland. Some social control can be still exercised overseas through relatives, friends and acquaintances. When a member prepares to leave, though he may travel alone, he goes at the invitation of another member and goes to him; from the standpoint of his group, it is not so very different from going to a Polish city to visit a friend and earn there some money. Indeed, the community insists to the end that emigration be only temporary; it never reconciles itself to the idea that the emigrant may never return, may ever cease to be a real member of his original group. America may be a permanent extension of the community as a whole, but for each member separately it should be only a visiting place. And in fact, while among city people many start to America with the intention of staying there are few peasants who do not intend to return. Temporary absence changes into permanent absence slowly by a gradual adaptation to the

new environment, but there is always a latent feeling of obligation to return.

Of course, social regulation of emigration is undertaken only after a longer or shorter period of individual, non-regulated emigration and a community which has had some emigration is no longer as coherent as it was before emigration began; still, it often happens that by accepting and supervising a phenomenon which it cannot prevent it regains some of the control over its members which it had lost. Emigration becomes then a way by which individuals can find an outlet for their non-conformist attitudes without explicitly breaking social solidarity and becoming *revoltés;* at the same time, it is open to the more reliable members of the community, whose participation makes it, so to speak, more respectable and prevents it from being considered a starting-point of further disorganization.

While therefore we maintain our former standpoint that emigrants in general are recruited from the less stable and less organized elements of Polish society, we must nevertheless supplement this statement by making a distinction between those who come from communities with an old emigration—Posen, Western Galicia, the northwestern corner of the Congress Kingdom—and those from other Polish provinces where emigration has not yet become a social institution. This difference manifests itself in this country in the predominant rôle which Poles from Western Poland play in Polish-American social institutions and which cannot be exclusively accounted for by the fact that, as older settlers, they are better adapted to local conditions. On the other hand, it is the Congress Kingdom which has furnished most of those not very numerous intelligent, political emigrants who have given to Polish-American

organizations whatever deeper meaning and general purposes they have.

We pass now from the social significance of emigration to its function in individual life. From the former standpoint the distinction between the two main types of emigration found in Poland—that to Germany and that to America—was relatively accidental. It is quite essential from the latter standpoint for, though both types of emigration serve chiefly economic purposes, their functions are entirely different. This might be deduced from the very difference in the conditions of these two emigrations. Season emigration requires little money, for the cost of the journey from the boundary line is paid by the employer. The journey is relatively short and is made in company with many others in somewhat familiar circumstances. The work is done in the open and is very similar to what the emigrant always did at home. Finally, return at the end of the season is assured; whatever break there is with the old life is only temporary and felt as such. Whereas going to America costs a sum of money which for a small peasant farmer, manor-servant or hand-worker is often a capital which, if invested, might bring a really valuable change in his economic situation at home; and even if the passage money is advanced by a relative from America, it will have to be paid back. The long travel in unfamiliar conditions, particularly crossing the ocean, makes the individual ascribe a great importance to his step, even if intercourse between his community and America has been so frequent that he cannot have the attitude of a pioneer. The work which he does in this country is entirely different from what he has been accustomed to. Even more important is the change from a country to a city environment. And

the break with home conditions is not only very deep but very long; even the emigrant who has firmly decided to return counts on at least two or three years here.

For all these reasons it is obvious that the values which the emigrant wants to obtain in this country are much more important than those which he expects from season work in Germany. In a general way and subject to some later qualifications we may say that by going to season work the emigrant (or his family) hopes to satisfy some particular needs which have arisen in his ordinary course of life, whereas by crossing the ocean he expects to change radically his ordinary course of life. Thus a peasant farmer may go to Germany or send his children in order to pay his debts, to give a dowry to his marriageable daughter or son, to build a new house or barn, to buy some stock; a peasant boy or girl may even want only to buy new clothes or to enjoy some pleasure which cannot be enjoyed at home. A peasant who has only a house and a few rods of land, not enough to get a living from it, or a *komornik* who owns no property at all, considers emigration as a substitute for hired work at home, with a somewhat better living and the possibility of laying a small sum aside for the "black hour" of sickness or old age. On the contrary, the emigrant who goes to America means to return a different man, to obtain—by earning much and spending little —the economic foundation on which to build a new and superior career. If he is a landless peasant, *i. e.,* manor-servant or *komornik,* or will be landless because his parents have not enough land to give some to each child, he wants to save for a farm. If his farm is too small to live on without hiring himself as a laborer, he intends to buy a larger one so as to be completely his own master.

If he is a hard-working journeyman, he dreams about establishing a prosperous business of his own. A girl who has too small a dowry to marry any one but perhaps a hired workman, hopes to become a match for a rich farmer or to marry an "American." (Girls afford the most numerous exceptions to the rule that every emigrant when starting intends to return.) This conscious or half conscious expectation of a radical change in life to be reached by transoceanic emigration facilitates for many immigrants in this country the process by which they are gradually led to accept, first implicitly, then explicitly their new status as definite instead of merely provisional, in spite of the fact that the status of workmen living on their wages is from the traditional standpoint lower than that of independent farmers or masters of handicraft. Increased earning power, which was formerly only a means for acquiring property, becomes an independent object and the basis of a new social valuation. As this modern workman's psychology develops, the standard of living grows higher and sometimes even "conspicuous waste" takes the place of the seemingly sordid economy, which has lost its main justification. The desire for property still subsists but is no longer predominant, for property in these new conditions becomes almost a purely economic category and loses most of its old social meaning, ceases to be the absolute dividing line between the dependent and the independent.[1]

The greater break with the group which emigration to America involves and the greater seriousness of purpose which distinguishes the "American" from the "German" emigrant must both be taken into account

[1] *Cf.* Vol, I, *Economic Attitudes;* also notes to letters of Maks Markiewicz in the same volume.

when discussing the relative reliability of the human material which Poland sends to this country. The class of people who come here have perhaps on the average drifted further away from tradition than those who go to season work; indeed, emigration to Germany is often the first step preparing the individual psychologically and economically for the idea of transoceanic emigration. On the other hand, the "American" emigrant is probably on the average more apt to profit permanently from his new opportunities and more fit for social reconstruction.

There is, however, one reservation to be made. Though the functions of American emigration and season emigration are different, in localities where one of them has become exclusively prevalent as mass phenomenon it is apt to assume the function of the other. Thus in many communities along the southern half of the western border of the Congress Kingdom there is very little emigration to America because season migration, having started early, is almost a social institution, fulfilling more or less the needs which elsewhere drive the peasant to America. The success with which it serves the purposes of individual advance to a higher stage of economy depends in a large measure on social opinion; in some localities the community enforces the principle of productive use of the earnings of emigrants, and there an astonishing general advance has been made during the last generation, whereas in other, sometimes neighboring communities most of the money is spent on drink and clothes, and the economic and cultural level remains low. On the other hand, in the north of Poland there are communities in which going to Germany is considered undignified as compared with emigration to

America, and the latter is often undertaken for trifling reasons.

We must take into account also the connection between emigration and the general economic condition of the country. Of course, we find between these phenomena no direct causal relation of the kind which the traditional economic method assumed whenever statistics showed parallel numerical variations of two groups of facts. The economic conditions are always only a part of the concrete social situation; they influence human behavior just as any other values by acting upon certain pre-existing attitudes and producing together an effect which depends upon both and which combines with similarly produced effects of many other influences. Thus, whether a low economic status which the individual has in his own country as compared with the status which he may reach in another country will induce him to emigrate or not depends first of all on his predisposition. If his prevalent attitude is the desire for economic advance, he will go unless interfered with by other influences; if it is the fear of the unknown, he will not go unless other influences combine with the economic influence. And no desire for economic advance will make him emigrate if his group condemns emigration and he is a conformist, whereas if he has revolted against the group in general, he may leave it even if it is against his economic interests. And so on.

The only case in which we might neglect the varying socio-psychological predispositions upon which economic influences are dependent and claim that certain economic conditions act as if they were the direct cause of emigration would be found if there were an alternative between emigration and starvation, since it can be safely assumed that the desire to live constitutes the most per-

manent psychological predisposition of all human beings and if put before such an alternative every individual would rather emigrate than starve. But such was not the case in Poland during the period which we are investigating. Although the country proletariat during the 40 years before the war had increased in number so fast that the growing Polish industry could employ only about 30 per cent. of the surplus population, the development of agricultural production during these years was sufficiently intense to provide for the remainder. The fact is that emigration—which in 1913 reached its highest record of about 140,000 "American" and 600,000 season emigrants and which since it began has cost the country more than a million people—produced a scarcity of labor of which most estate-owners complained. There was even some talk of importing foreign labor from the East. It is true that as a consequence of the general economic status of Poland the standard of wages was lower than in Western Europe, much lower than in the United States, and in the case of agricultural laborers often barely above the starvation limit; but aside from industrial crises there was no lack of work which would compel the workman to emigrate from fear of starving. Emigration was thus not the *necessary* result of economic conditions. The latter merely gave a justification to the individual for choosing emigration as the most accessible or the only accessible way of satisfying new needs, of improving his situation or, less frequently, of keeping himself or his family on their customary economic level, which certain new factors threatened to lower.

Having thus restricted the conception of the causal influence of economic factors, we can better interpret such relations between economic conditions and emigra-

tion as we have found by statistical methods. We shall not quote the statistics in detail here but only a few general conclusions which we have reached.

1) There is a marked connection between the high proportion of very small farms (which compel the peasant to supplement his income by hired labor) and low wages for day labor on the one hand and intense season emigration on the other hand.

2) A similar connection can be found between low wages for agricultural workers hired by the year and intense emigration to America.

3) In highly industrial districts there is very little or no emigration of either kind.

The first two points corroborate the conclusion which we have reached by observation that season emigration to Germany is mostly resorted to by those who want additional income to satisfy new needs without wishing to change their ordinary course of life—and most of the small farmers belong to this class—whereas mainly those who are dissatisfied with the general prospect of life in the old country emigrate to America, *i. e.*, those peasants who have no farms and not enough money to buy any and whose usual prospect in life is that of becoming agricultural workers hired by the year at very low wages.

As to the third point it seems to show at first glance that even if bad economic conditions are not sufficient by themselves to produce emigration, fair economic conditions—or at least conditions which those concerned think fair—are sufficient to prevent emigration. This conclusion, however, would be too sweeping. We do not need to mention political and religious emigration. Even in so-called economic emigration which almost exclusively predominates in the Polish lower classes we

find many examples showing that even quite favorable economic conditions do not prevent individuals from emigrating when emgiration has become a group phenomenon; thus during the "Paranà fever" many farmers sold their farms and joined the movement for they expected to get more land at a cheaper price in Brazil, and where season emigration has been institutionalized quite well-to-do peasants send their children to work in Germany. Economic conditions alone seem to be sufficient to restrain emigration only among industrial workers, who are more isolated from social influences than peasants in the country.[1] This is simply a particular case of the general law that the influence of purely economic motives grows with individualization.

Will emigration from Poland, interrupted during the war, reassume its former proportions when access to America and to Germany is reopened? It is, of course, impossible to make any prediction for the first few years, while the direct effects of war still persist, without having thoroughly investigated these effects. But we can say with a large degree of probability that after the conditions in Poland become settled emigration to America will be much below its old rate, whereas season emigration, unless artificially checked by the state, may for a long period be more intense than ever. The agrarian reform initiated by the Polish government will provide with land about half a million peasant families, which means from three to four million individuals. Thus the problem of the country proletariat will be settled until Polish industry develops sufficiently to absorb

[1] It is true that the development of industry checks or prevents emigration not only in industrial centers but also in the peasant communities surrounding these centers, but this is because periodical temporary or permanent migration to the industrial center becomes in such communities a mass phenomenon taking the place of emigration abroad.

any surplus of the country population. In addition to this economic change there has been and certainly will be a rapid growth of the national spirit among the peasants. Called to cooperate not only in the social but also in the political reconstruction of the nation, the large masses will probably develop a moral attitude toward emigration similar to that which has in the past been maintained by the middle and upper classes and by the more progressive and better organized minority of peasants and workmen. Thus gradually the main bulk of the transoceanic emigration will be reduced to the relatively worthless, disorganized or passive, elements of the Polish peasant class, who will fail to profit from the new opportunities offered by the agrarian reform and among whom the desire for the excitement of American city life will prevail over the more serious and socially more valuable interests involved in the social and political development of Polish country communities. But for many years there will be among those millions of newly created small land-owners a great demand for additional income in order to pay their debts, improve their farming, etc. While in some communities with an old American emigration the latter may still for some time be resorted to as a means of obtaining these additional funds, almost exclusively in the form of a temporary excursion for a definite sum of money, the chief method of solving this problem will be season work; and since there will be no large estates in Poland, work will be sought abroad. The fact that the Polish government will be able to protect the workers and regulate season emigration will contribute to make this latter less disorganizing than it was in the past.

DOCUMENTS

These documents are meant to illustrate only such types of "American" emigrants as are not sufficiently exemplified in the preceding volumes. The letters addressed to the Emigrants Protective Association in Warsaw, show examples of what we may call emigrant pioneers, those who do not passively follow the example and invitation of their friends and relatives overseas who have prepared the ground for them, but go on their own initiative and after reflection, not relying on private information alone but trying to obtain information from official sources and ready to take all the risks themselves.

1. I intend to go in a few days to a Jewish agent in Konstantynów to make an arrangement for crossing the frontier without a passport, for I am absolutely determined to go now to New York or Philadelphia to earn some hundreds of roubles there within 2 or 3 years and then to come back to our country and rent a mill or buy a piece of land with the money collected in this way.

Before going to the Jew I went to call on the priest in Butowce, who already knew from my wife's relatives that I had resolved to go to America. Well, at first he advised me not to leave my country; he showed me the dangers, the terrible work there which often costs one's life, and in general the reasons why it is not worth leaving here. But I was not persuaded. Then he advised me to write to you . . . and to wait for your answer. I obeyed and now I beg you to send me the necessary information. . . .

I am 26 years old, a Catholic, Polish and in perfect health. I was married about a year ago. I can read and write Polish and Russian. My specialty is gardening, but I know other handicrafts also—carpenter's, tailor's, shoemaker's and wheelwright's work.[1] I left my place as gardener a week ago. I was

[1] This versatility in occupations is very often found among the more intelligent peasants.

paid there 120 roubles a year, with board, lodging, light and fuel. . . . I have parents but do not live with them. I have neither land nor house of my own.

2. Praised by Jesus Christus. . . . I inform you that I intend to emigrate to America where I have many friends, for the most part relatives, who write that I can come to them and they will find work for me. . . . I know only one handicraft, carpenter's. I practiced with a country carpenter, but at the present time it is very difficult to find material, and therefore difficult to earn.

We have little land, and I have a sister and two brothers. I am 18 years old; so if I can go to America and get work, as I have the intention of doing, before the call to the army I could earn still more money. . . . I know how to read and I read many books and papers, *Głos Ludu, Lud Boży* and others [popular religious papers]. I also know something about writing, as you can see from this letter. I have been to some monthly agricultural courses in Lublin, where I learned a little about the science of agriculture and model farming. . . . I hope if I live to try with all my strength to organize a model farm but now, because of lack of money and because my father has still a debt, it is difficult to make practical improvements in any way or to buy agricultural machines, which are very dear.

3. [The improvement in condition which is here sought in South America is of the type which is generally sought by emigrants going to the United States.]

I have thought about emigration for two years already and would like some information about Paranà. Some of my friends are in Paranà now. Only one is on land [a farmer] and he writes that he is getting along very well. And besides him there are 17; these are lumbermen, carpenters and day laborers. They write that they are earning good wages; for instance [quotes some examples of wages]. And besides this, my cousin went to Paranà in 1910. He was there one year and four months and earned during this time almost 2,000 roubles. He brought home 1,500 roubles, lent it to people and went back to Paranà. Some boys went with him, leaving in September. He told me much about this Paranà and I made up my mind that since I cannot

earn my living here, I will go. [Asks information about journey.]

Three of us have decided to go. We will leave our wives and children at home and perhaps we shall be able to earn some money and come back to our country. Many people among us go to America and to various countries; but they come back and everybody brings some money with him. Here it is very difficult to advance. I want to live, though poorly, yet decently, and to give my children some education at least, for I cannot dream of leaving them a fortune. And here in Ostrowo there is no school but a Russian elementary one. One worries about all this; and therefore I have resolved to go to Paranà, because my cousin, although he works hard, at least gets something out of his work.

4. Respected Gentlemen, Benefactors of Mankind! Having learned that in Warsaw there exists a society to assist those who emigrate abroad, and because I who write intend to emigrate from my country, I address myself to you, respected gentlemen, with the prayer and the confidence of a child [and ask] that you answer this question for me: "Where is now the best place for me, poor self-taught peasant (because everything I know, I learned from Reussner's Method, *i. e.* to write Polish and Russian, a little German, and now I am learning English). Where can I employ best my good strength and health?"

I am now 28 years old, a bachelor. I have done my military service in the Russo-Japanese campaign. . . . I was set free with the grade of regimental clerk. Since I returned from the army, *i. e.*, 1908, I have worked as farm-clerk. But I have had no school instruction, no means, no favorable circumstances and no time for self-education. And moreover, I am of peasant extraction. All this together is the chief impediment in the way of my development and happiness. There is no place for me, poor man, in the government service—and I don't want it. I know no handicraft, for I learned none. Until my 21st year, *i. e.*, till my military service, I was with my parents in the country in the Kingdom [of Poland] where they own a piece of land. I helped them in their work and during the time I could spare I studied, for I had an unconquerable desire to read and write.

And thus, respected gentlemen, in the past as in the present

some interior, insuperable force pushed me *forward* and ordered me to work and live economically—now also I live economically, drink very little and don't smoke at all—and to come back to my country only to set up an independent business for, as I have ascertained, *only self-reliant, independent work brings good fruits.*

I will await impatiently your answer, respected gentlemen, in which I beg you to indicate: 1) The land; 2) the nationality; 3) the language; 4) the kind of work; 5) the most suitable time for the journey; 6) the cost of the journey; 7) the indispensable clothes for the journey; 8) data about the documents for crossing [the frontier].

5. I have a very great wish to go to America. I want to leave my native country because we are 6 children and we have very little land, only about 6 morgs and some small farm-buildings, so that our whole farm is worth 1200 roubles at the highest. And my parents are still young; father is 48 and mother 42 years old. So it is difficult for us to live. Father got me married and gave me a dowry of 200 roubles, and I received 200 roubles with my wife. So father has given me my share and now I am alone with my wife. I have no children yet. Here in our country one must work plenty and wages are very small, just enough to live, so I would like to go in the name of our Lord God; perhaps I would earn more there. I will leave my wife with her father, *i. e.*, my father-in-law. I have 200 roubles for the journey. I am a healthy boy 24 years old. I do not fear any work. [Asks advice.]

6. I have served as farm-steward 4 years in a single place. Formerly I served as farm-clerk in other places. I am a bachelor 32 years old. I am very economical and I have put aside nearly 150 roubles, which ought to suffice for my journey. I shall be obliged to leave my parents, who are already old, without any means to live. My father served for more than 30 years in a single place and during this time was never noticed for bad behavior. Even now he is sometimes employed, if his health allows him to make a levy on a debtor, or as overseer of workmen. Nevertheless, he lives in a poor cabin rented from a peasant and if his children did not sustain him he would probably

die from cold and hunger. . . . The life of a manor-official has become very difficult at the present time.

I am not afraid of any physical work. I understand builder's and carpenter's work perfectly. . . . It is true that agriculture is the most pleasant occupation to one who has grown up in it, but considering the slavery which binds one when serving and the solitude within four walls, as in a prison, which I have here, it is impossible to hold out any longer. And about marriage one does not even dare to think!

7. I am a blacksmith, a specialist in agricultural machine work, and even a good one, in the opinion of my superiors. I should like to sell my strength in a profitable way, which is impossible among us. In England even a farm-laborer earns 500 roubles a year, whereas here a capable factory-worker can barely vegetate. If he earns 350 roubles a year it is considered good.

8. I want to go to America, but I have no means at all because I am poor and have nothing but the ten fingers of my hands, a wife and 9 children. I have no work at all, although I am strong and healthy and only 45 years old. I cannot earn for my family. I have been already in Dombrowa, Sosnowiec, Zawiercie and Łódź, wherever I could go, and nowhere could I earn well. And here they [the children] call for food and clothing and more or less education. I wish to work, not easily only but even hard, but what can I do? I will not go to steal and I have no work.

So I beg the Protective Association to accept me for this journey and not only me, but I should like to take with me two of my children, a boy 16 and a girl 18 years old. And I beg the Association. There are still other people who would readily go to America. They are also poor.

9. I live in the district of Żytomierz. I have no land of my own. I am not a craftsman and it is very difficult for me to live here. I rent some *desiatinas* [a *desiatina* is about 2 acres] of land from an estate-owner. I have to pay 15 roubles rent for each desiatina. . . . And now I cannot pay the rent to the proprietor; therefore I must soon leave this place. But where can I find a piece of bread with a wife and two children? Because of this difficulty, having no work, I address myself to the

respected directors with the request that they advise and protect me in my journey to America. . . . I do not intend to go with my whole family because I have too little money. I am merely looking for work for some time.

10. I am a boy 16 years old, tall and of fair strength. I am the son of poor parents, *i. e.,* of a manorial village smith. My father is a smith but I have no wish to be such a smith. I would rather economize a few hundred roubles, buy a little land, and later after some years get married, and be a farmer. So I beg you for good advice as to whether it is worth going to this Argentine [which was described in the *Kuryer Warszawski*]. Perhaps it is too hot there for a Polish Mazur [inhabitant of ancient Polish province]. And if they pay so much for work there, the work must be very hard and it will be difficult for me to hold out. . . . If I can get a yearly job at the end of harvest it will be very well. If not, I will go from there to North America where I have many friends. So please advise me whether to go first to Argentine or at once to North America. . . . If your advice helps me to carry out my intentions successfully I promise, if the Lord God grants me health . . . to send you from America or Argentina 30 roubles for this service.

11. I have heard that in Paranà it is possible to buy land at a low price. But what of it since I have no money at all? At the same time I heard that in North America there is suitable work. So I intend to go to North America, work there for 2 or 3 years, and only then marry, go to Paranà and buy a piece of land. [Farm-worker 31 years old.]

12. [Example of inhibitory influence of religion upon emigration.]

Respected Catholics and emigrant protectors, I beg you kindly to advise me how I could emigrate to America with my family, *i. e.,* my wife and 4 boys from 14 to 2 years of age. One boy, 16 years old, went to Argentine May 4th. I intend to go also and buy there some land, for here in Wołyń it is very dear—a *desiatina* costs as much as 500 roubles. What can I buy, when I have 5 boys and only 2,000 roubles? I could perhaps buy in Russia, but what is the use of it since there are no [Catholic] churches and my faith would get lost. Meanwhile I have heard that in America there are churches enough and our faith will

not get lost. So please, respected society, advise and explain to me where most of our brothers are, what kind of soil there is, what customs, what climate, the price of one *desiatina* and whether it is worth the trouble, so that I may not lead my wife and my children to destruction and lose my fortune, for which I am responsible and must give an account to our Lord God.

CHAPTER II

THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The tide of Polish immigration grew continually until 1914. The number of returns to Poland was also, indeed, increasing, but these on the average did not exceed 30 per cent. of the arrivals. The population of the old Polish colonies (in Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, etc.) rivalled that of Polish cities in Europe, Chicago with its 360,000 Poles ranking after Warsaw and Łódź as the third largest Polish center in the world. Outside of these, numerous new colonies have developed, for the most part founded by immigrants sufficiently familiar with American conditions to search for work away from the traditional centers, but recruited later chiefly from Europe. Since the beginning of the present century hundreds of new colonies were founded in the East, which originally had only a few old and small Polish settlements. Some of them have developed rapidly. Thus, according to Polish sources, one-third of the population of New Britain, Conn., is Polish and the Polish parish in that city is among the most flourishing and best organized. In the far West the development has been slower, in the South quite insignificant.[1]

[1] There are no reliable official statistics of the Polish population in this country. According to the data privately collected by Mr. Stanisław Osada of Chicago for a work which he is preparing under the title "Polonia Americana," there are about 1,200 Polish parishes with a membership of nearly 2,000,000. The number of Poles not directly connected with parishes may be estimated roughly at about 1,000,000.

The process by which Polish colonies appear and grow can thus be observed in detail during the last 20 or 30 years. It seems to present a uniformity of outline which permits us to construct a general sociological scheme of the development of a Polish-American community applicable with some variations to all such communities except agricultural colonies, which we have not had the opportunity to study, and a few of the oldest and largest groups which originated under different conditions and are now organized around several centers, thus presenting a greater complexity of life than the smaller settlements, each with one main social center.[1]

When a Polish immigrant finds work which pays well and promises to be permanent in a locality where there is no Polish settlement yet, he usually tries at once to attract his friends and relatives from other Polish-American communities. His motives are evident. He has been accustomed to such social response and recognition as only a primary group with old social bonds and uniform attitudes can give, and however well he may be adapted to American economic and political conditions he seldom is at once accepted as a member by an American primary-group (or by a primary-group of some other immigrant people). Even if he were he would miss the directness and warmth of social relations to which he has been accustomed in his own group. Sometimes, indeed, he does not succeed in attracting

[1] The following typical scheme of development of Polish-American colonies was outlined to us in its main features in private conversation by the Rev. Priest Syski of Boston, who has observed Polish American life very closely and intelligently for many years. We are also using materials collected by ourselves. Our explanation of the social process here described is based in a large measure on the results of our preceding volumes.

any one. Then if he does not leave the place driven by loneliness, he becomes gradually absorbed in the American milieu. Usually, however, a small group of Polish workmen is soon formed; and their first attempt, partly for economic, partly for social reasons, is to have a Polish boarding-house. Often some one of them who has some money and a wife in America assumes the initiative, brings his wife as soon as his situation seems settled, rents a large apartment and takes the others as roomers or boarders. It may happen that a bachelor marries some Polish girl he knows, with the understanding that they are going to keep a boarding place. Sometimes under such conditions a wife or a fiancée is even brought from Europe. Frequently, however, the initiative comes not from an individual but from the group; all the workmen put some money into renting and furnishing the apartment and induce one of their number who has a wife or fiancée to bring her. In this case they buy their own food and the woman only cooks it and cleans the house, receiving for these services a small sum from each ($1 to $2 a week) and by tacit understanding feeding herself and her children on her boarders' superfluous food.

If the locality has a permanent industry the small Polish colony continues to grow, partly by invited, partly by independent arrivals. Almost every individual or small family once settled attracts new members from the outside, however large the colony may already be, provided the economic conditions are favorable. The reason why, even when there is a Polish group formed, its members still invite their friends and relatives to come is once more to be found in the desire for response and the desire for recognition. As long as the Polish immigrant is isolated among Americans or immigrants

of different nationalities he welcomes the arrival of any Pole. But even among people of the same nationality and the same class the desires for response and recognition are not satisfied as fully as among relatives or friends. Relatives are on the average more satisfactory than strangers, those who come from the same community in Poland or from the same town in America are next best and tend to keep together more closely than those born or reared in different parts of the country; friends with a long past of common interests are more united than recent acquaintances. Each individual desires the fullest response and the widest recognition possible. He may accept provisionally whatever he finds but very soon begins to desire more. On the one hand he is ready to lavish his social feelings on any one within his reach, if he has only a few possible objects; but, on the other hand, when his social milieu widens and he can select the objects of his social feelings more consciously, he becomes more reserved and discriminating. Thus when a mere acquaintance comes into a colony formed of close friends and relatives, or when a group of immigrants coming from the same community is joined by an individual born in a different part of the country, the newcomer feels like an outsider. He naturally tends to call in his own relatives and his own friends, or people from his neighborhood. It often happens that a Polish colony is divided into several distinct groups which, though more closely connected with one another than with their American milieu, still look at one another with some mistrust and even a slight hostility. As we shall see later this division is soon overcome by cooperation for common purposes and does not exist in the older colonies, except that immigrants who have recently come from the same communities al-

ways associate with each other more willingly than with those who lack the same early neighborhood connections and sometimes a colony—or a parish in a large colony like Chicago—is composed principally of immigrants from some one of the provinces of Poland, Posen, Silesia, Galicia, the Congress Kingdom of Lithuania. The fact that the emigration from these provinces started at different periods has probably something to do with this phenomenon.

Dissensions between immigrants are also indirectly a factor in the growth of new colonies, for when relatives, friends or acquaintances have quarrelled each party wishes to be independent and to bring more relatives, friends or acquaintances to satisfy the social needs formerly satisfied by the other and to furnish additional support against it. As long as the existence of the new colony is not quite assured, the colony is naturally recruited more from the unsettled part of the population of other Polish-American communities than from the new immigrants, since the former can more easily risk moving temporarily to a new place. There are many instances of new settlements springing up in connection with an increased demand for labor in a given locality and suddenly disappearing after a relatively short time, if the labor conditions grow worse, a factory goes bankrupt, or a mine or lumber field is exhausted, etc. But if a colony lasts for several years, after having attracted chiefly the shifting and unsettled Polish-American elements from other colonies it usually begins to depend more on European immigration, since there are always many members who maintain their connections with Poland. The influx of new immigrants thus often becomes for a time the most important factor in its growth. Later when the community is definitely settled mar-

riages and births—at first relatively insignificant—gradually acquire the predominant importance.

In this respect it must be remembered that from the standpoint of the traditional family system the family group should tend to be as numerous as possible and that this old conception perfectly harmonizes with the view of the Catholic Church according to which many children are to be considered a "blessing of God." Of course the family system loses much of its power through emigration, but it remains still strong enough, at least in the first generation, to prevent any rapid decay of this attitude, which is one of the oldest and most deeply rooted family attitudes. We may add that the immigrant seldom knows any means of preventing childbearing except abortion, which is considered shameful —probably because resorted to mostly by unmarried girls—and sexual abstinence, which the peasant considers hardly worth while merely in order to limit his family. Moreover the economic conditions here favor the growth of large families. For although the children cannot be utilized economically as early as they are on a peasant farm in Poland, still there is seldom any real difficulty in bringing them up, for the average wages of an immigrant are certainly sufficient to support a large family on the scale to which he has been accustomed in the old country, if not on a higher one. When the children grow up they are expected to preserve family solidarity at least to the extent of turning over to the family most of their earnings, so that whatever expenses the family incurs to support them until working age are treated as an investment of the family funds from which a return is expected. Furthermore, a large family is considered normal, for the social and economic status of the second generation will probably be above

that of the first here, whereas in the old country a too numerous family often means a division of the property into such small parts that the children are unable to maintain the economic and social level of their parents. And if we realize that the power of the parish is here, as we shall see presently, greater than in Poland and that the parish favors for obvious reasons a rapid growth of the population, it will not be surprising that social opinion maintains the old standard of "propagation" and the prestige of a family group grows with the number of its children. Of course in cases of individual disorganization all these factors may cease to work. Generally, however, they work well enough to make the Polish immigrants at least as prolific as the peasants in the old country. Propagation has been even emphasized recently as a patriotic duty to both Poland and the local colony.[1]

Along with the growth of the new colony goes progress in unity and cohesion. In the beginning the group of Polish immigrants is naturally more or less scattered territorially, particularly when the locality has several factories or mines, since every workman tends to live near his working place. There are no interests to keep it together, except the personal ties of relationship and friendship between particular members of marriage groups and the general feeling of racial solidarity. But individuals always appear in every group—usually those who have had some experience in other Polish-American colonies—with whom the feeling of racial solidarity and perhaps also the desire to play a public rôle become motives for starting a closer organization. A "society"

[1] We know an intelligent Pole, a relatively recent immigrant, who has been very successful in business and who openly says he desires to fulfil his national duty by returning to Poland with twelve children and a million dollars for each of them.

is established invariably whenever the colony reaches 100 to 300 members. We shall investigate in our next chapter the internal organization of these local societies and the part which they play as elements of the super-territorial Polish-American system. Here we are concerned only with their local rôle as factors in the unification of each particular territorial community.

The first purpose for which such a "society" is usually established is mutual help in emergencies (sickness, death, and, more seldom, lack of work). For however vague may be originally the bond of racial solidarity between the members of a new colony, it never fails to manifest itself at the death of a member. Usually a severe sickness or disabling accident also provokes sympathetic feelings and the desire to help. Just as in matters concerning the increase of the family, so in cases calling for communal solidarity there are in the conditions surrounding the new Polish-American colony factors that are able to counterbalance in some measure and for a certain time the disorganizing influences of the new milieu. The workman who has no productive property and is hired by the week is evidently more seriously affected by misfortune than the peasant farmer or even the manor-servant hired by the year. Yet during times of prosperity his increased earning power makes him more able to help others in case of need and more willing to do so, since money has less value for him than in the old country, particularly after he has once resigned himself to considering his earnings as a means to live rather than as a means to acquire property. Further, the group of workmen constituting a Polish-American colony is isolated and cut off from all wider social milieux, instead of constituting, like a group of working men in Poland, an integral part of a larger society

disposing of some wealth. Private charity from wealthy people, which in the country districts of Poland still remains a valuable source of help in emergencies, is thus necessarily very limited in this country. As to public charity, an appeal to a charitable institution is considered even in Poland a mark of social downfall; it is even more of a disgrace in the eyes of Polish immigrants here because of the feeling of group responsibility which is imposed, or thought to be imposed by the American milieu. The immigrant has been accustomed to see the wider social group hold every narrower social group within its limits responsible for the behavior of every member; the village praises or blames the family as a whole for the activities of an individual, the parish does the same with reference to the village group, the wider community with reference to the parish or village. The American population is supposed to do the same—and, of course, in some measure actually does the same—with reference to the foreign colony in its midst. Every Pole who accepts the help of American institutions is thus considered not only disgraced personally as a pauper, but as disgracing the whole Polish colony. If in spite of this social attitude many relatively self-respecting individuals do not hesitate to claim assistance from American institutions, it is because they misinterpret the meaning of this assistance and consider it as being *due* to them, taking the institution as part of the whole American social and political system on which they place the blame for the evil befalling them. And thus they expect all kinds of relief and benefits as a perfectly normal method of redressing their grievances. But such misinterpretations are found mainly in unfamiliar situations, and help given in ordinary sickness or after a natural death pre-

serves the traditional character of charity, from whatever source it comes. No individual who has preserved some self-respect will accept it from an American institution unless his traditional conceptions have been obliterated owing to the new conditions and to insufficient contact with the Polish-American group.

Originally, during the early stages in the evolution of a Polish-American community mutual help is exercised sporadically, from case to case, by means of collections made for the benefit of the individual or family in distress. Naturally, the more settled and well-to-do members of the community on whom most of the burden falls are eager to substitute for this unregulated voluntary assistance a regular system of mutual death and sickness insurance, and thus favor the establishment of an association which will diminish their risks. The very fact that such a regulation of mutual assistance is necessary shows, of course, that the old naïve and unreflective communal solidarity, where each individual had rightful claims on the help of every other individual in a degree dependent on the closeness of their social connection, has been radically modified. As a matter of fact, most of the individuals who under the old system would be the first to be called to assist a member—his nearest relatives and old neighbors—are not here; their function has to be assumed, at least in part, vicariously by relative strangers who in Poland would never be asked to interfere. In the eyes of these, the help which they have to give appears not as a natural duty to be unreflectively performed but as, we might say, an artificial duty, the result of abnormal conditions. And this attitude communicates itself gradually even to those who under the old system would always be obliged to help, as friends and close relatives.

The duty to help cannot be disclaimed entirely, for the member in distress is at least a fellow-countryman; but it is no longer connected with the very foundation of social life. Mutual insurance is a reflective solution of this difficulty. It is the best method of escaping the conflict between the rudiments of the old attitudes of communal solidarity, strengthened by the feeling of group responsibility, and the individualistic unwillingness to endorse claims for assistance which no longer seem rooted in the very nature of things. Since communal solidarity was a universal social institution among Polish peasants and the new individualistic attitude develops in all immigrant colonies, it is clear that the institution of mutual insurance, being the effect of this combined cause—pre-existing institution and new social attitude—must be found everywhere in Polish-American society. The individual's own tendency to have a fund assured for himself or his family in case of sickness or death is in the beginning only a secondary matter. It assumes, however, increasing importance as the institutions of mutual insurance in a given community grow in economic power and social opinion begins to appreciate this growth and to require that every individual be adequately insured, while, on the other hand, as we shall see later on, the individual's feeling of responsibility for other members of the colony decreases with the numerical and social progress of the latter. In the older and larger colonies the individual's desire to be insured plays, therefore, perhaps even a greater part in the development of mutual insurance associations than his desire to insure others.

But the "society" founded in a new colony is much more than a mutual insurance institution. Not only does it bring the scattered members of the colony peri-

odically together, thus actively encouraging social intercourse, but it becomes the social organ of the community, the source of all initiative and the instrument for the realization of all plans initiated. This is probably the most important of its functions. In a peasant village there is no need of such an organ, for the territorial concentration and the close social cohesion of the village make direct individual initiative and immediate spontaneous cooperation of the concrete group possible from case to case. For the old country community, the *okolica* which includes a number of villages, the ready institutions of the commune and, in certain matters, the parish are more than sufficient to effect such changes as the community is legally entitled and practically able to introduce into the traditional system. Thus the cooperative organization which in Poland corresponds to the Polish-American "society," though it may exercise a strong influence over the primary community in which it exists and works, seldom acts as the organ of this community in proposing or realizing plans concerning the community as a whole except, of course, in its own special line of interest—establishment of cooperative shops for public use, public artistic performances, etc. The Polish-American community on the contrary, is too loose socially and territorially to do without an organ and has no old, political or religious centers which could play this rôle, while it needs organized initiative much more than the old Polish community whose activities can run for a long time more or less smoothly in the established channels of the traditional system.

Thus in a new Polish-American colony it is the "society" which assumes the care of the hedonistic interests of the group by organizing balls, picnics, etc., of its intellectual interests by giving theatrical representa-

tions, inviting lecturers, subscribing to periodicals; of its religious interests by arranging religious services to which some priest from an older Polish colony is invited. It is a center of information for newcomers, visitors, travellers; it sends to the press news about any opportunities which the locality may offer to Poles. It acts as a representative of the colony in its relations with the central institutions of Polish-American society, and eventually also with American institutions which try to reach the Polish community for political or social purposes. Thus all the campaigns for funds for Poland and for American Liberty Loans were waged in small communities by these associations. Finally, the great work of the society, through which it assures the permanence of the social cohesion of the colony, gains extraordinary prestige and security, though at the same time resigning its exclusive leadership, is the foundation of a parish.

When studying this most important Polish-American institution we should again be careful not to ascribe too much significance to its external form and official purpose. Just as the "benefit society" is much more than a mutual insurance company, so the Polish-American parish is much more than a religious association for common worship under the leadership of a priest. The unique power of the parish in Polish-American life, much greater than in even the most conservative peasant communities in Poland, cannot be explained by the predominance of religious interests which, like all other traditional social attitudes, are weakened by emigration, though they seem to be the last to disappear completely. The parish is, indeed, simply the old primary community, reorganized and concentrated. In its concrete totality it is a substitute for both the narrower

but more coherent village-group and the wider but more diffuse and vaguely outlined *okolica*. In its institutional organization it performs the functions which in Poland are fulfilled by both the parish and the commune.[1] It does not control the life of its members as efficiently as did the old community for, first of all, it seldom covers a given territory entirely and is unable to compel every one living within this territory to belong to it; secondly, its stock of socially recognized rules and forms of behavior is much poorer; thirdly, the attitudes of its members evolve too rapidly in the new conditions; finally, it has no backing for its coercive measures in the wider society of which it is a part. But its activities are much broader and more complex than those of a parish or of a commune in the old country.

Its religious character is, of course, important in itself since there is a certain minimum of religious ceremonies—christenings, weddings, funerals—which are considered absolutely indispensable even by the least religious among the immigrants and which are sufficient to justify the existence of a church and a priest in the eyes of all of them. The majority consider the Sunday service—at least the mass—and even more the Easter confession as also essential. But all these purely religious needs could be satisfied almost as well and at less expense by joining the local Irish-American church with an occasional visit from a Polish priest for confession and a sermon. It would even seem to be the wiser course, since the Irish-American clergy, coming

[1] Mr. Bronislaw Kuławkowski, of New York, first attracted our attention to the social rather than religious character of the Polish-American parish. He identifies it sociologically with the old Slavic commune. We cannot, however, follow this analogy to the end, since in the preceding volumes we have studied only the modern social organization of the peasants.

from a better social class, better controlled by its bishops and by American society and having to compete with the Protestant churches, are on a much higher intellectual and moral level than the Polish-American clergy, recruited from an uneducated milieu and exercising their power without any competition and practically uncontrolled except by the Polish-American society which not only does not have very high standards but is bound by its own interests to support them even while criticizing them.[1] If the Poles with few exceptions refuse to join Irish-American parishes it is because what the Polish colony really wishes in establishing a parish is not merely religious services but a community center of its own.

Of course a church is for many reasons best fitted for this purpose. The religious activities, even when religious interests are weakened, still constitute a very good foundation for community organization, first because every member, man, woman or child, can share in them, secondly because among the Polish peasants, where the mystical current is very low and heterodoxy therefore very rare, religion is less apt to give birth to struggle and competition than political or economic activities. The church organization is familiar to every member of the community, it has firmly established forms and well-trained professional leaders, and it introduces at once a contact between the activities of the community and a world-wide system of activities—all advantages which in any other field of social cooperation could be gained only after long efforts. The church building with its annexes is a traditional object of the

[1] The American Catholic Church does not dare to interfere too much with the education and morals of Polish priests lest the latter emancipate themselves from the control of Rome altogether and join the Independent Polish Church.

æsthetic interest of the community and can easily become a *locus* for all important common activities, to which its more or less marked sacred character imparts a kind of superior sanction and official meaning.

But it is clear that the Irish-American church, though on the religious side its organization is similar, can never become for the Polish community anything more than a religious institution; its framework cannot be successfully utilized by the Poles for other social purposes, since they do not feel "at home" in a parish whose prevalent language and mores are different and with whose other members they have no social connections. The parish is not "their own" product, they have less control over its management than over that of a Polish parish which they have founded by free cooperation, they get little encouragement for the various common activities which they wish to initiate and obtain little prestige by their achievements; they cannot use the parish system to satisfy their desire for personal recognition, and so on. In short, unless they are already Americanized individually they do not get out of the English-speaking Catholic parish any satisfaction of their "social instinct." Of course if they are not numerous enough to establish a parish of their own, many join the nearest Irish-American church, which then becomes an important factor of their Americanization. But in this case a large proportion—all those whose religious interests are not particularly strong—remain outside of all religious life.

It is a mistake to suppose that a "community center" established by American social agencies can in its present form even approximately fulfil the social function of a Polish parish. It is an institution imposed from the outside instead of being freely developed by

the initiative and cooperation of the people themselves and this, in addition to its racially unfamiliar character, would be enough to prevent it from exercising any deep social influence. Its managers usually know little or nothing of the traditions, attitudes and native language of the people with whom they have to deal, and therefore could not become genuine social leaders under any conditions. The institution is based on the type of a "club," which is entirely unknown to the Polish peasant. Whatever common activities it tries to develop are almost exclusively "leisure time" activities; and while these undoubtedly do correspond to a real social need, they are not sufficient by themselves to keep a community together and should be treated only as a desirable superstructure to be raised upon a strong foundation of *economic* cooperation. Whatever real assistance the American social center gives to the immigrant community is the result of the "case method," which consists in dealing directly and separately with individuals or families. While this method may bring efficient temporary help to the individual it does not contribute to the social progress of the community nor does it possess much preventive influence in struggling against social disorganization. Both these purposes can be attained only by organizing and encouraging social self-help on the cooperative basis. Finally, in their relations with immigrants the American social workers usually assume, consciously or not, the attitude of a kindly and protective superiority, occasionally, though seldom, verging on despotism. This attitude may be accepted by peasants fresh from the old country where they have been accustomed to it in their relations with the higher classes, but it is apt to provoke indignation in those who, after a longer stay in this country, have acquired a high

racial and personal self-consciousness. In either case the result is the same. The immigrant associates his connections with the American institution with humiliation, submitted to willing or unwillingly, whereas in his own Polish institutions not only his self-consciousness is respected, but he expects and easily obtains personal recognition. Of course his priest has also a strong attitude of superiority, but this is fully justified in the peasant's eyes by his sacral character.

We see that the parish as instrument for the unification and organization of the Polish-American community is thus quite unrivalled. The radical elements among Polish immigrants have sometimes tried to oppose its influence by establishing a lay community center, for instance, a theater.[1] But except in large colonies such as Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburg or Buffalo, where community life is too complex to concentrate itself entirely around parishes, these efforts seem to have met but little success, since even the majority of those who are opposed to the control of the clergy—the so-called "national" party—still group their local life around the church and cooperate in parish activities.

However the establishment of a new Polish-American parish meets with many obstacles. The parish has to be recognized and its rector appointed by the bishop. But the bishop, usually an Irish-American, is not inclined to favor the development of foreign-speaking parishes within his diocese. His opposition is further stimulated by the local Irish-American priest who wants the Polish sheep in his sheepstall, and by the Polish priest of the nearest Polish-American parish who expects them to come to his church on important occa-

[1] Kulakowski.

sions or to build a chapel and invite him or his vicar to come once or twice a month to perform the services. The latter solution is usually accepted provisionally as long as the colony is relatively small and poor. But if the Polish parish is not near enough, or if the colony increases rapidly, or if its "society" is strong and ambitious and has active and independent leaders, the matter is soon taken up again. Sometimes the opposition of the bishop is broken by an appeal to Rome, where the Polish-American clergy has influential connections due to the order of Redemptionists (see Chapter IV). Some times a different weapon is resorted to, particularly if the colony has many "free-thinkers." (A very moderate degree of heterodoxy is usually enough to earn this name.) These suggest the establishment of an "independent" parish, *i. e.,* a parish which, while preserving most of the traditional Catholic dogmas and ceremonies, does not belong to the Roman Catholic Church and does not recognize the authority of the Pope nor of the Roman Catholic bishops. The proposition may be accepted by the community. In fact there are at this moment nearly 50 "independent" Polish parishes unified into a "Polish National Church," whose head is Bishop Hodur of Scranton, Pa., besides an unknown number of isolated independent parishes which have not joined this church. The establishment of an independent parish is easy if the community agrees, for any member of the Roman Catholic clergy who is willing to emancipate himself from the Roman Catholic Church is acceptable as priest. The Polish National Church requires also the rejection of a few dogmas, the chief of which is belief in Hell and the use of Polish instead of Latin during the mass; but among the young vicars, who are often badly treated by their rectors, many would gladly accept

an invitation to become the rector of an independent parish. More frequently, however, the American Catholic bishop, in view of this danger of heresy, yields to the demand of the Polish colony and recognizes the new parish and appoints a priest for it.

When the parish has been organized the mutual help association to which this organization is due ceases to be, of course, the central and only representative institution of the community, for the leadership naturally passes into the hands of the priest. But it does not surrender entirely any of its social functions; it simply shares the initiative in communal matters and the representation of the community with the priest on the one hand, and on the other hand with the other associations which now begin to appear in rapid succession. The establishment of the parish opens new fields of social activity, widens the sphere of interests and calls for more and better social cooperation. For *the ideal of the development of the community,* which did not consciously exist while the community had no organ and was only vaguely conceived and intermittently realized during the period when the local mutual help "society" played the leading rôle, becomes now clearly formulated as the common ideal of the whole group and relentlessly pursued. The existence of a framework for the permanent organization of the community in the form of a parish produces both a tendency to utilize this framework to the full extent of its possibilities and a corresponding desire to see the community grow in numbers, wealth, cohesion and complexity of activities. While individualistic motives—economic reasons with those whose living depends on the Polish colony, desire for wider recognition with those who fulfil public functions, etc.—may give a strong additional incentive to in-

dividual activities tending to realize this ideal, the chief foundation of the latter is social. It is the same "community spirit" which makes the individual identify his interests with those of his group in the "we"-feeling, which makes the mass of the population of a state desire its expansion. We shall see the fundamental part which this aspiration to have one's group grow plays in the development of all Polish-American institutions.

The priest, far from limiting the activities of local associations, favors their development and utilizes them consistently as instruments for all purposes connected with the progress of the parish. While in Polish country parishes the chief method of obtaining the cooperation of the community in matters connected with the church is an appeal to the large mass of parishioners directly or through the parish council, in Polish cities the help of religious "fraternities" is largely used for such purposes as special religious celebrations and pilgrimages, æsthetic improvements of the church building, development of church music and song, organization of charities, etc. In America this system of collaboration of organized groups is extended in two ways. First, in addition to religious fraternities, which are for the most part initiated by the priest himself for purely devotional purposes and remain under his complete control, lay associations with economic or cultural purposes, and more or less independent of the priest, are also expected to contribute to the aims of the parish. Secondly, these aims are no longer limited to matters of cult and charity, but embrace all fields of social life.

Immediately after the completion of the church or even before, the parish school is organized. Usually the church is planned as a two-story building, the lower story including class rooms and halls for small meet-

ings. Sometimes a private house is rented or bought for school purposes. Both arrangements prove only provisional usually, for the growth of the parish sooner or later forces it to erect a special school building. There are many parishes—five in Chicago alone—whose school is attended by more than 2,000 children. The teachers are mainly nuns of the various teaching orders, though sometimes priests and lay men-teachers are also found, particularly in the larger colonies. Polish and English are both employed as teaching languages, the proportion varying in different schools.

We cannot study here the much discussed question of the educational inferiority or superiority of parochial schools as compared with public schools. Good or bad, the parochial school is a social product of the immigrant group and satisfies important needs of the latter. The most essential point is neither the religious character of the parochial school, nor even the fact that it serves to preserve in the young generation the language and cultural traditions of the old country; it is the function of the parochial school as a factor of the social unity of the immigrant colony and of its continuity through successive generations. The school is a new, concrete, institutional bond between the immigrants. Its first effect is to bring them territorially together, for it has been noticed that proximity to the school—where the children must go every day—is considered even more desirable than proximity to the church. Further, the education of the children is an interest common to all members, just as the religious interest, and this community is fostered by the participation of the parents in all school celebrations and festivities. But even more important than this unification of the old generation is the bond which the parish school creates between the

old and the young generation. Whereas children who go to public school become completely estranged from their parents, if these are immigrants, the parish school, in spite of the fact that its program of studies is in many respects similar to that of the public school, in a large measure prevents this estrangement, not only because it makes the children acquainted with their parents' religion, language and national history but also because it inculcates respect for these traditional values and for the nation from which they came. Moreover the school is not only a common bond between all the members of the old generation but is also considered by the young generation as their own institution, thus fostering their interest in the affairs of the Polish-American colony. The parochial school is a necessary expression of the tendency of the immigrant community to self-preservation and self-development.

Some large and wealthy parishes have gone further still and established high schools. One—the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka in Chicago—has even founded a college which is, however, only a little more than a high school. In these cases some economic help from other parishes is expected and obtained, so that these institutions though located within the territories of certain parishes are already in a measure part of the super-territorial Polish-American system. Quite above the territorial parochial organization are such educational institutions as seminaries for priest and for teachers, and the College of the Polish National Alliance in Cambridge Springs, Pa.

The social attitudes manifested with reference to questions of public charity and social work in general are interesting. It has been noticed that as compared, for instance with the Jewish charitable institutions, the

Poles in America have little to show in this line. Care for orphans and care for the old and incurable are practically the only problems which are more or less seriously dealt with; in other fields initiative is rare and realization insufficient. The few charitable institutions belong for the most part to the super-territorial system, and seldom to territorial communities. They are due to the personal efforts of a few leading members of Polish-American society acting through the church and influenced by Christian principles rather than to the recognition of altruistic obligations by the society at large. In a word, no social need to take care of the weak seems to be felt by Polish-American communities. This seems strange in view of the old traditions of social solidarity and of the fact that in the beginning of the development of a new colony, as we saw above, assistance is invariably given to the needy. The more coherent and self-conscious the community becomes, the less is it inclined to bother with the misadapted and the disabled. This is simply a manifestation of the tendency of the group to self-preservation, made possible by the facility of excluding the weak members from, or more exactly, of not including them in the community system. As long as the community is small and loose, scattered among Americans, any "fellow-countryman" belongs to it by the same right as any other, and common national origin connected with the feeling of group responsibility before American society is sufficient to maintain the obligation to help in distress. But when the community has grown large and has more or less concentrated itself territorially and created by social cooperation a system of institutions, it becomes more exclusive. It is no longer sufficient to be a Pole and to live in the given locality in order to be considered a member of the com-

munity, the subject of social rights and the object of social responsibility. The individual must voluntarily cooperate in the construction and development of the social system of the community, join the parish and one or more of the local associations, contribute economically to common aims and take part in common activities. Unless he does this he is an outsider with reference to whom the community has no obligations and for whom it does not feel responsible before American social opinion, because it is proud of its positive achievements in social organization and, imagining that American society knows and appreciates its work, does not think that this appreciation can be counterbalanced by any individual cases of despondency or pauperism which may be found among the Poles not actually belonging to the organization.

In a new form we find here the well-known old method of dealing with the undesirable individual—the method of severing all connection between this individual and the group. But in groups whose social unity is chiefly based on ties of kinship or on the exclusive control of a given territory the undesirable individual is primarily the anti-social individual, and the individual who is merely inefficient is seldom explicitly qualified as undesirable and, with rare exceptions, is kept within the group, unless the solidarity of the latter has been weakened as a consequence of social disorganization; whereas in a group whose social unity is the result of conscious efforts the mere inability or unwillingness to participate in these efforts is sufficient to disqualify the individual. Nothing shows more clearly the difference between the old organization which we have found among the peasants in Poland and the Polish-American social system than the fact that the same phe-

nomenon—ignoring or dropping the inefficient and misadapted—which there was a sign of weakness and decay is here a mark of strength and growth. The moral reason by which the Polish-American community justifies its apparent egotism is found in the very basis of its organization. The latter is socially and economically an organization for self-help; its first purpose is to prevent the individual from becoming a burden to the community, and the individual who does not choose to avail himself of the opportunities which this organization offers voluntarily resigns all claims to the help of the group. If the latter still feels obliged to assist in some measure the orphans, the old and the incurables, it is only in so far as it feels that the system of mutual insurance is not yet efficient enough to cover these cases adequately.

Of course since the Polish-American community tends to ignore even the merely inefficient, we cannot expect it to take any care of the demoralized. The contrast is striking between the intense reformatory activities found in Poland (see in particular Part II, Chapter II) and the entire lack of interest in reformatory work in this country. Individual demoralization is either ignored or the demoralized individual is simply dropped at once. No one bothers about the innumerable cases of family decay, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, vagabondage, crime. Few know the full extent of the demoralization going on among American Poles. We expect that the study of demoralization which constitutes the second part of this volume and is based on American sources will be a painful surprise to most of the constructive elements of Polish-American society. Here again the contrast with peasant communities in Poland is instructive. The latter could not get rid of

demoralized individuals unless demoralization had proceeded as far as crime. Thus, they had to make efforts to control their anti-social members. Further, the community was the only social milieu of the individual, and the closeness and complexity of social contacts were such that every action of the individual more or less affected the group, whereas here the Polish-American community can easily cut off a harmful member by excluding him from its organizations or, in radical cases, giving him up to American institutions. The problem is solved as soon as raised. But it seldom has to be raised at all, for the Polish-American community does not claim to absorb the individual completely; it is not necessarily and directly affected by everything he does in his private circle or in his contacts with American society. It needs only a part of his activity for its social purposes, and as long as he remains able to perform this part and does not draw others into conflict with American social opinion and law, it matters little to the parish or the local association what else he does or does not do. In Polish country communities the interest of the group is to know everything about the individual and to control his entire behavior, whereas the interest of the Polish-American community is to leave out of consideration anything in the individual's past and present which has no direct bearing on his positive social obligations so as not to impair the growth of its institutions by scrutinizing too closely the private life of those who can be useful in its public affairs. Of course there is gossip, which represents a degenerate remnant of the social opinion of the primary group. The clergy still, though vaguely and impersonally, preach against sin in private life and continue to exercise some of their old reformatory influence through confession. A few idealists

from the old country, imperfectly adapted to local conditions, and some religious or political *revoltés* disclose through the press the private life histories of certain prominent members of Polish-American communities. In general, however, by a tacit understanding individuals enjoy immunity from social control in all except their social activities in Polish-American institutions.

This does not mean, however, that the Polish-American community does not attempt to extend the field of its control. The method reflectively or unreflectively used for this purpose can perhaps never completely subordinate all individuals in all respects to the influence of the group, but is very efficient as far as it goes. We may characterize it as aiming 1) to attract every individual into the sphere of public activities and to open for him the way to social prominence in some field; 2) to institutionalize as many activities as possible. The first tendency is manifested very clearly. By multiplying indefinitely associations and circles, and by a very active propaganda exercised through all possible mediums, nearly all the members of the parish—men, women and young people—even those who for some reason or other have not yet joined the parish or have dropped out, can become in some way connected with the system and thus acquire a minimum of public character. This public character grows whenever an individual is, even if only momentarily, connected as public functionary with some scheme for common action—religious ceremony, entertainment, meeting, bazaar, collection for a social purpose, etc.—and this increased public importance is every year attained by a large proportion of the community. The highest degree of public dignity is, of course, the share of those who are elected officers in associations or become members of permanent commit-

tees or directors of institutions; and if we realize that every association has from 6 to 20 officials, that every committee numbers on the average 10 members and that some large parishes have more than 70 associations and committees while even a small parish has at least a dozen of them, we see that every active and fairly intelligent individual, of whatever sex and age, is sure of becoming some time a public dignitary; and even if the existing organization does not give him enough opportunities, he can always initiate a new institution and gain recognition as organizer and charter member.

By thus giving the individual favorable attention and inducing him to take voluntarily a place "in the limelight" among the leaders, the community controls him better than by making him a passive object of its "ordering and forbidding" regulations, particularly when the latter cannot be physically enforced. The conscious purpose of the multiplication of public "dignities" is to interest personally as many members as possible in the development of the community and to give everybody a chance to get recognition. But the individual who believes himself elected for his positive qualities, who feels that public opinion is interested in his behavior (and usually exaggerates this interest), and who knows that the community expects him to be and to remain superior to the average, usually tries to adapt his behavior, if not his character, to these expectations. It happens, of course, that an individual placed in a responsible position with opportunities for abuse cannot withstand the temptation, particularly if the position is too far above his intellectual and moral capacities, as is sometimes the case with officials of the great superterritorial institutions which have outgrown the level of their leaders. Such cases are, however, rare in ter-

ritorial communities and small local institutions, and the often ridiculous vanity and importance of the innumerable "public dignitaries" are more than offset by their positive qualities. This moralizing influence of "public dignities" is, of course, noticeable only with members of the communities who owe their positions to election and are raised above the level by social opinion. Positions which are obtained by appointment and superiorities based not upon the recognition of the community but upon other factors, such as the sacral character of the priest, economic supremacy, "jobs" in American institutions, fail to produce the same effect, for the individual considers himself independent of the community and above social opinion.

The other method of extending social control—institutionalization of activities—is evidently involved in the very organization of the community. The church and church associations institutionalize religious activities, the mutual insurance associations certain economic interests, and the parish school education. This method is further extended to other fields. Thus public entertainments under the auspices of local associations or parochial committees play a large part in the life of a Polish-American colony and are gradually taking the place of private entertainments; and if we remember that a ball, a picnic, a theatrical representation or a concert with a mixed program—song, music, recitals, speeches requires much time and energy in its preparation, we see that by this means a large proportion of individual activities are transferred from private to publice life and subjected to social control. A custom which has an old origin but has been developed to an unprecedented extent during the war—the custom of making a collection for some public purpose at all wed-

dings, christenings, etc.—gives even to private entertainments some institutional meaning. Among the local associations we find theatrical and literary circles and even circles for sewing and crocheting in common at periodical meetings. Informally and unreflectively, buying and selling have become more or less a public matter, for every Polish-American shop is a meeting-place for the neighborhood, where private and public matters are discussed. It would seem that the best way to institutionalize all leisure-time activities would be to introduce the Anglo-American principle of clubs. Strangely, however, the club does not seem to thrive in Polish-American communities. A few associations (particularly the *sokol,* a gymnastic organization) have, indeed, become clubs by acquiring houses of their own which are continually open to members, establishing reading rooms, dining-rooms, billiard rooms, gymnasiums, etc., but the use made of these club arrangements is still very limited. Attempts have been made to establish clubs for young people, and some have been successful; but the failures are more striking than the successes, for they show that for the Polish immigrant, just as for the Polish peasant in the old country, the institutionalization of leisure time activities is still indissolubly connected with the excitement of public meetings.

The double tendency to draw as many personalities and activities as possible into the sphere of public attention culminates in the press. The wealth of printed material bearing on the local life of Polish-American colonies is surprising, particularly if compared with the limited use which primary communities in Poland make of the press. Whereas the popular press there is mainly an instrument for the unification and centralization of

many primary communities into a wider community, here its predominant functions are to express, perpetuate, control and unify the social life of each particular primary community. Of course professional publications and those connected with the super-territorial Polish-American system have other purposes similar to those of the popular press in Poland; but even these, the newspapers in particular, have to serve in some measure the interests of the local communities within which they are published.

The desire of the Polish-American community to give its personalities and activities official publicity and to have them recorded for the future manifests itself at first chiefly, as in Poland, in correspondence addressed to the Polish newspapers which are published in neighboring Polish-American centers or are the organs of super-territorial institutions. But very early it begins to show a tendency to have a press of its own in the form at least of commemorative pamphlets and sheets —statutes and yearly accounts of associations, programs of meetings, records of successive steps in the organization of the parish, etc. Publicity has to remain on this stage until some local newspaper is started which, of course, is possible only when the colony is numerous or is a center of several small colonies scattered in the neighborhood. The local newspaper originates in various ways. Sometimes it is started as a political organ connected with an institution which is strong enough to support it and make it an instrument of propagation; in these cases it usually develops into a super-territorial publication serving the interests of a party of cooperative organization and only secondarily those of the local community. Such has been the history of several newspapers which have come to play an important rôle in

Polish-American national life. Sometimes the priest initiates the publication of a paper devoted at first chiefly to religious matters, and then the printing-office may be used also for the publication of religious pamphlets and books. Such a paper, to which the parish or at least its religious associations are usually made to contribute in some form, either becomes slightly secularized and, by paying attention to all local affairs, fulfils the function of a community organ, or continues to serve the more exclusively professional interests of the church in general, and in this case may obtain a country-wide circulation; or it combines both the local and the professional religious functions, as is the case, for instance, with the organ of the Polish National Church, published in Scranton, and with several Roman-Catholic papers. In other cases the newspaper is supported by some business man—banker, real estate agent, owner of a printing-office—and then it is an instrument for advertising his business or helping to raise his standing in American circles. But often, particularly in the larger American cities, where there is the hope of obtaining advertisements from American firms, the foundation of a newspaper is a free personal enterprise, motivated by idealistic reasons or by the desire for recognition, or treated as purely private business. Then the newspaper cannot be anything else than an organ of the community, for its circulation and its very existence depend entirely on the way it expresses the social life of the group.

Through this organ not only the attention of which the public personalities and activities are the object is continually revived (for the paper prints, of course, all the records of public institutions, meetings, etc.) but many individuals and facts which otherwise would remain private and would be at most objects of unregu-

lated gossip are drawn into the circle of official public interest. The newspaper becomes a factor of prime importance in community life, for it partly reorganizes the degenerated and disorganized social opinion which, as we have seen in our first volumes, was the main factor of unity and control of the primary group in the old country. It does this on a new basis which is not perhaps as solid as the old, for social opinion is no longer formed by the community directly in personal contacts but indirectly through the instrumentality of print and through the medium of the editor, whose own personality constitutes an incalculable factor of variation. And yet when the old standards by which the community spontaneously selected and judged phenomena of public importance are no longer strong enough to assure without conscious regulation a unified and consistent social opinion, the concentration of news in a specialized organ which standardizes it before spreading it around is probably the only way of substituting some uniformity, order and public spirit for the chaos of gossip.

An interesting development in the same line is the so-called "album" of the parish, a commemorative publication which in older parishes is issued on important anniversaries by the parish committee presided over by the priest and contains an illustrated history of the parish up to date, with brief records of all the institutions included within its limits, collective photographs of all the associations, portraits and short biographies of the most prominent members and families, etc.—in short, a perfectly standardized synopsis of everything which social opinion considers worth knowing and remembering about the community.[1]

[1] Most of the materials published at the end of this chapter come from such albums, particularly from those of the parishes of St. Stanislaus and of the Holy Trinity in Chicago.

Simultaneously with this process of social organizaton of the Polish-American group its territorial concentration goes on. There is, of course, a certain minimum of concentration preceding the establishment of the parish and resulting from the tendency of the immigrants to be sufficiently near one another for frequent social intercourse. But this tendency alone cannot completely counterbalance the desire to live near the place of work and results only in drawing together the Poles who work in the same or neighboring factories and shops. In large cities the obstacle of distance is only partially overcome and if the colony grows fast each separate neighborhood tends to become the nucleus of a separate parish. This is, for instance, the case in Chicago, where we find three large Polish neighborhoods, each including several primary parish-communities—located on the north side, around the stockyards, and in South Chicago—and a number of smaller ones, each constituting an independent primary-community. If the colony remains small, relatively to the size of the city, it may not form any territorially concentrated communities even after parishes have been established. This is the case in New York, where no exclusively Polish neighborhoods exist. This situation, however, is rare; usually the majority of the members of a parish gather around their church and school. This process is consciously fostered by the parish committee and the priest who endeavor to select the location for the church as close as possible to the centers where most of the Poles work and also take care to choose a neighborhood where rent is low and real estate cheap. If the choice has been successful the process of territorial concentration begins at once. The original population of the district is slowly but ceaselessly driven away, for an

Irish, German or Italian tenant or houseowner who sees Polish families take the place of his former neighbors and knows that they have come to stay near their parish-center soon moves to a more congenial neighborhood. At the same time a Polish real estate agency or, on a higher stage of social organization, a building association or a cooperative savings and loan bank pursues a campaign among the Poles which leads to a progressive transfer of houses and vacant lots into Polish hands. The campaign favored by the parish leaders from social considerations is evidently also good business, for the same reasons which make the neighborhood of the Polish church less valuable for other national groups raise its value for the Poles. The very growth of concentration produces new factors of further concentration. Polish shops, originally selling everything indispensable for the household and later specializing as various businesses—groceries, liquor, shoes, clothes, photographs, books, banking, undertaking, contracting—attract Polish customers and consciously contribute to the Polonization of the neighborhood. In the older colonies the entire practical business of the immigrants living near their social center is transacted exclusively with Polish firms. Later still, Polish professional men, chiefly lawyers and physicians, settle in the colony or at least have offices there. Curiously, the Jews who in Poland almost monopolize small trade in provincial localities, here relatively seldom settle within a Polish neighborhood; though they try to reach Polish customers also, they evidently, with rare exceptions, do not wish to limit the sphere of their business to one immigrant group.

The evolution of the Polish community in this country is thus in a sense the reverse of the evolution of primary peasant communities in Poland. Whereas ter-

ritorial vicinity is there the original foundation of community life, and all social organization is built upon this basis, here reflective social organization becomes the main factor of territorial concentration. When, however, the latter has been in a considerable measure achieved the process is reversed again and social organization, just as in Poland, begins to depend on territorial neighborhood.

This is well exemplified by the history of secessionist groups. The latter exist in every community, for the subordination of all social life to the parish system always meets some opposition, particularly because it leads to a supremacy of the clergy. The reason for opposition is more or less a matter of principle, but no doubt personal antagonisms often contribute to its development. The secessionists form an organization independent of the parish system and often attempt to create a territorial center away from the church in the form of a "national home" as locus for common activities. But since religious activities are not included, and the group lacks the means and the framework for establishing a regular school, and the parish is a well-known old country institution, whereas the national home is an entirely new thing, the latter does not exercise the same attraction as the church in the way of territorial grouping, though it may become an important center of social organization. Therefore in older communities the concentration of the Polish-American colony around the church is usually accepted and utilized by the secessionists who by establishing their social centers near the parish center and developing their activities within the territorial community introduce new complications into Polish-American life.

There are two important types of secessionist groups

—the "nationalists" and the socialists. We shall study these groups in the next chapter as components of the super-territorial Polish-American organization where they play a very important part, more important, indeed, than those groups which are integral parts of the parish system. But there is no doubt that as elements of the territorial organization of the community they are relatively weak. The only way in which they can obtain predominance in community life is not by opposing another local organization to the parish organization but by becoming a part of the parish organization and controlling it. This is naturally often the case with "independent" parishes; but there are also Roman-Catholic parishes in which "nationalistic" organizations have the upper hand even in the parish activities. These parishes—as, for instance, the Holy Trinity in Chicago—are usually characterized by a more democratic spirit, a greater independence with reference to the theocratic policy of the clergy, and the higher intellectual and moral level of their priests; and of course the parish as a form of community organization is strengthened by the cooperation of its more liberal elements. But the parishes are more numerous in which the "nationalist" associations resign themselves to the rôle of forming a minority opposition *within* the parish, while acknowledging some common interests with the majority, and there remain a large number of communities where nationalist associations stay *outside* of and in permanent opposition to the whole parish system. The institutions initiated or controlled by socialists are still more consistent and active in struggling for a lay community organization. Thus the parish can seldom if ever permanently monopolize all the social life of the community, particularly as its opponents have usually most of the intelligent

members of the colony on their side. And even if it succeeds in overcoming active opposition, it cannot prevent the increasingly rapid growth of associations which, while not aiming to supplant it as community center, wish to remain free and separate from the parochial system, and do not care to cooperate in its development. To this class belong, besides some mutual help organizations, many of the gymnastic, educational and professional societies. In every large community there are thus a number of small social circles whose functions are independent of those of the parish. Nevertheless, the latter continues to keep its hold through religion and primary education upon individual members of those circles, with the exception of the socialists and a few free-thinkers.

[Documents 13-23 describe associations and institutions connected with the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka, the largest and most conservative Polish parish in America.]

13. Not much information has been preserved about the first beginnings [of the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka] in Chicago. . . . In 1864 . . . about 30 families belonged to the Polish settlement in Chicago and these organized the first Polish association in this city with the name, Society of Fraternal Help, and under the patronage of St. Stanisław Kostka. Its organizers were Antoni Smarzewski-Schermann (the first permanent Polish settler in Chicago), Pitor Kiolbassa, the well-known leader of the Polonia[1] of Chicago, respected and esteemed by the whole city (he came from Silesia), Jan Niemczewski, Jan Arkuszewski and Pawel Kurr. . . . Alas, . . . after a short existence the society fell. . . .

In 1864 after the strenuous efforts of Pitor Kiołbassa and after many requests from the Polish settlers in Chicago, Priest Leopold Moczygemba arrived. He had been traveling as a missionary in Texas and other southern States, and came only to

[1] "Polonia" is a name frequently applied to the totality of Poles in America, or to any local community of Poles in this country.

hear the Easter confessions of the Poles. But his stay became memorable and important, because he was the first Polish priest who had come to his fellow-citizens in Chicago with religious services.

The Polish colony received Priest Moczygemba with vivid joy and in a really elevated spirit. The stay of this pastor in the Chicago settlement revived wonderfully the desire for a stable and permanent organization. For it is a well-known and certain thing that . . . wherever there is a priest, a church, wherever a parish is being created, there Polish life grows vigorously, there our number multiplies, for from all sides people come willingly, feeling better among their own and with their own, feeling safer under the protective wings of the parish and with their own shepherd, who here in a foreign land is not only a representative of his brothers before the altar of the Lord but leads and represents them in all worldly affairs . . . is in the whole sense of this word, a social and national worker.

Thus in our settlement, which was continually growing because of the influx of immigrants, in the beginning of 1866 the idea was taken up of calling to life again the Society of St. Stanisław. . . . Indeed, it was revived so thoroughly that it grew soon to be quite important and has remained up to now the first permanent union of the Poles in our city. . . . The constitution of the society was accepted June 1st, 1866. It was printed in Paris. The first officers of the association were [7 names].

After the existence of the Society of St. Stanisław and its further development were assured, the spirit of organization, once aroused in our settlement, did not rest. And they began to think about founding a Polish parish in Chicago. In the beginning . . . there was no Polish priest and the divine service was performed for the Poles in turn by the rector of the Czech parish, Priest Molitor, and by the Jesuit, Priest Szulak. . . . The time about which we are speaking was the year 1867. The settlement counted about 150 families [mostly from Silesia] when they finally began to think about buying land for a church of their own. . . . Four lots were bought at the corner of Noble and Bradley Streets . . . for $1,700. The place chosen was then quite isolated . . . but since some decision had to be taken in order to establish at last the much desired parish . . . the con-

struction of the church was started in September, 1869. . . . The church was under the patronage of St. Stanisław Kostka, built of wood. The first floor was designed for school rooms and had a hall for meetings. On the second floor was the church. The entire cost of the building was $6,885. . . .

Priest Józef Juszkiewicz was appointed the first rector of the parish. . . . In 1870 Priest Adolf Bakanowski from the Order of the Resurrection of Our Lord came to Chicago. . . . The growth of the parish promised to be quite good. Unhappily, for various reasons dissatisfaction and misunderstandings arose until finally the parish stood in open opposition to its rector, Priest Juszkiewicz. . . . The parishioners reproached the priest with insufficient care for the parish, which was undeveloped and poor, and finally went to Priest Bakanowski eagerly petitioning him to become their rector instead of Priest Juszkiewicz. Priest Bakanowski refused, explaining that he did not belong to the diocese, that he was dependent upon his Order and was on the way to Rome. In order to show that he had no personal interest in the whole affair and not to be suspected of intriguing between the quarrelling parties he moved to the other end of the city. . . .

Meanwhile among the Polonia disorders continued and finally the excitement reached a point where it nearly ended fatally. One night 6 masked men rang the door-bell of Priest Juszkiewicz and when he opened the door beat him severely, threatening him with death if he did not leave the parish. An inquiry began, but nothing certain could be discovered. Finally Priest Juszkiewicz left the parish, and Bishop Foley appealed to Priest Bakanowski and appointed him rector of the parish, at the same time informing the Superior of the Order of Resurrectionists, Priest Kajsiewicz in Rome. . . .

The work in the parish of St. Stanisław was very tiring for Priest Bakanowski; it was much harder here than the missionary work in Texas, where the difficulties of geographical conditions and climate were the only ones, whereas in Chicago it was necessary to struggle with a complex of hostile social elements, parties absorbed in politics, headed mostly by men who were not worth much and who belonged to various American secret societies—they say even to Masonic lodges. To those

pseudo-progressives the calm and noiseless domination of the Catholic Church and religious practices were undesirable. Therefore they made continual trouble and placed obstacles in the way of every positive initiative. . . . Meanwhile news came from the Order of Resurrectionists that this Order took the Chicago mission under its protection and appointed Priest Bakanowski its head. Priest J. Wołłowski was designated as his assistant because the Polish colony was growing very rapidly both with regard to the number of the population and with regard to the territory inhabited by the Poles. . . .

June 18, 1871, the church was very solemnly consecrated. The act of consecration was performed by Bishop Foley of the Chicago diocese, and several fraternities and associations from neighboring parishes of other nationalities took part in this Polish celebration. The property of the new church was deeded to the Bishop in trust for the Order of Resurrectionists. The celebration was concluded by a splendid and, for that time, large parade through the streets of the city in which 2,200 persons took part in orderly lines with standards under the leadership of 11 marshals on horseback. Eight non-Polish associations participated in this parade and some of these had to come 5 miles, a proof how at that time people were interested in every new religious center. . . .

After the great fire of 1871 the conditions in Chicago were greatly changed in every respect. These changes were for the better. The city began to be feverishly rebuilt. In all economical fields intense activity manifested itself; there was much work, a great demand for workers, and a large influx of immigrants. Many Poles came during this period to our city, the greatest number to settle in the north-western part of the town in the neighborhood of the parish of St. Stanisław. Consequently, the parish grew very much in a short time and new difficulties appeared, for the church became too small to hold the parishioners. This trouble was discussed for a long time at meetings of the parish council. There were many understandings and misunderstandings. Some wanted to rebuild or extend the church, others favored the establishment of a new parish in the neighborhood. Finally, the matter was left in the hands of the two main associations, the older Society of St. Stanisław and

the younger Society of St. Józef. After a long discussion, which did not always progress peaceably, the foundation of a new parish and the construction of another church was decided. In this way the parish under the patronage of the Holy Trinity came to be founded. . . .[1] In the same year 21 acres of land were bought for a Polish and Czechish cemetery in Niles, Ill. . . .

In 1873 Priest Bakanowski went to Rome . . . and in 1874 Priest Wincenty Michal Barzyński, of the Resurrectionists, the greatest and most prominent leader of the American Polonia, an incomparable organizer, was appointed rector of the parish of St. Stanisław. . . . Among the first acts of Priest Barzyński in our parish was the building of a rectory at the cost of $1,500. The same year he entrusted the parochial school to the sisters of the Order of Notre Dame of Milwaukee, Wis. Since that time this Order has conducted our school for many years and the sisters by their thorough and highly competent pedagogical work have made this school one of the best, largest, and most important Polish schools in America. We must further mention as a happening of particular importance, not only for the parish itself but for the whole American Polonia, the organization of a general Polish meeting or diet in October, 1874, in our Stanisławowo [community surrounding the church of St. Stanisław—usual way of naming Polish-American communities]. To this diet came 12 Polish priests and a number of delegates sent by various Polish parishes. The chief initiator of this diet and of the plans which it formed was Priest Barzyński. He propagated the idea of a general Polish organization [which later developed under the name of] . . . The Polish Roman Catholic Union.

About this time a new Polish parish was organized in the southern part of the city under the patronage of St. Wojciech —the present Wojciechowo. Priest Barzyński rendered meritorious services in connection with this work, for he did not by any means limit his activity to his own parish, but extended it soon over the whole local Polonia and even more distant Polish parishes within a wide radius, organizing settlements, colonies,

[1] The author does not present this matter very fully because the clergy of the parish of St. Stanisław and the Order of Resurrectionists were violently opposed to the foundation of the new parish and the latter was an act of secession performed by the Society of St. Józef and successful only because of an appeal directly to the Pope.

parishes in settlements and colonies, caring for the spiritual needs of his fellow-citizens, like a real good elder-brother of his brethren. . . .

In 1875 land was bought for a new church, for the old one had long ago proved insufficient. Lots were bought between Bradley and Ingraham Streets for $11,500 and on this place arose, thanks to the intense personal efforts of Priest Barzyński, the present splendid church of St. Stanisław, one of the most beautiful and largest churches in Chicago. . . . In 1878 a new rectory was built near the church, . . . in 1879 a house for the sisters working in the parochial school. . . . The value of the parochial real estate had already reached the sum of $100,000—very high for those times. . . . We must mention the foundation in 1882, on the initiative of Priest Jan Radziejewski and with the help of Priest Barzyński, of a new Polish parish in South Chicago under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception of the Holiest Virgin Mary, for the Poles in this district of the city were too far distant from the other Polish parishes and were thus deprived of the possibility of frequenting a Polish church. . . . In 1883 the old church building was repaired and turned into a school-building, because the old school was already over-crowded. . . . In 1884 we find a new proof of the industry and wide interests of Priest Barzyński. It is a well-known and well remembered fact that under the influence of Priest Barzyński a whole series of new parishes was organized in the city and its environs. In the year mentioned the parish of St. Józafat was founded, more than a mile to the north of the parish of St. Stanisław. . . . In the same year the church was beautifully painted inside under the supervision and according to the plans of the prominent Polish painter Tadeusz Żukotyński. Finally, on the initiative of Stanislawowo, land was bought for the church of a new parish organized under the patronage of St. Jadwiga. . . .

In 1889 a new school was built, an enormous four-story building raised at the cost of $95,000. . . . The new building contained 16 school-rooms, 4 halls for meetings, and an enormous hall with a stage containing 4,000 seats, the second largest in the city, designed for theatrical performances, national celebrations and other public meetings. . . . In 1890 the parish was

visited by the General Superior of the Order of Resurrectionists, Priest Waleryan Przewłocki, who remained among us for a few months. . . . This year is also memorable because during it higher courses for the students of our parochial schools were commenced which became the nucleus of the College of St. Stanisław, a well-known institution which for 25 years has worked honorably in the field of Polish education in America. This institution has become a real *alma mater* of a large number of our local workers, is the hotbed of our own Polish-American intellectual class. The initiative of these courses was due again to the father and guardian of the Polonia of Chicago, Priest Barzyński, in cooperation with Priest General Przewłocki. . . . In 1896 a two weeks' revival under the leadership of the Jesuits took place in our parish. This revival brought good fruit and contributed in a considerable measure to the progress of religious spirit and the improvement of mores. . . . The year 1889 covered the parish of St. Stanisław with deep mourning which spread like a pall over the whole Polonia of Chicago and even over all the Polish emigrants in America. Priest Wincenty Barzyński died. . . . His funeral took place on May 5, with an enormous attendance of clergy, of many prominent personalities and of a numberless crowd of people. The funeral procession was a great manifestation, an homage of grateful fellow-countrymen to the great merits of the prominent priest-patriot. . . . In 1903 in connection with the parochial school free lectures were established for young people who had finished their studies, based on the model of the People's Universities. Every Sunday after the divine service several hundred young people came to these lectures. The subjects were Polish literature, Polish history, natural sciences, rights and duties of citizens, etc. The lecturers were priests and laymen. . . .

In 1906 the large parochial school, the pride of the parish, burned down. . . . On the initiative of the rector, Priest Gordon, a new building was immediately begun. Our parish during this very difficult year received help from all sides. . . . Among others, the action of the association under the name The Polish Theater is worth remembering. This association organized for the benefit of the school a splendid Polish performance in the Auditorium, the largest theatrical hall in Chicago. . . . The

building of the new parochial school is one of the largest of its kind and constructed in accordance with the latest demands of architectural technique. It cost $250,000. . . . In 1908 a new building containing the parish hall was solemnly dedicated. . . . This hall, beautifully decorated and containing 1,000 seats, has become rapidly the center of the Polish theatrical activities in Chicago. . . . On May 10th of the same year occurred the splendid celebration in connection with the dedication of the school, made memorable by the visit of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Charles Fairbanks. There had probably never yet been in our district or even in all Polish Chicago an equally imposing manifestation. . . . A special reception committee appointed by Priest Gordon received the Vice-President at the station. . . . The celebration began with an enormous parade of Polish associations. At least 8,000 persons participated in the parade and more than 20,000 followed it. . . . Later Archbishop Quigley, assisted by numerous clergy, performed the act of consecrating the new buildings while the associations paraded before the tribune of the Vice-President with shouts and waving standards. . . . Everything manifested to the Vice-President the sincere loyalty of our people to the United States which has given them welfare and protection of their liberty. At the same time the celebration showed to the representative of the United States government and to the whole American society the power of the Polish element in this city and in the whole country. It was an imposing presentation of the results of our laborious progress. . . . Afterwards the rector showed to his guest all the school-rooms, where Mr. Fairbanks saw our children, the future citizens of this country, and in case of need sincere defenders of the starry flag. They visited 50 school-rooms in which nearly 4,000 children were being educated. . . . Mr. Fairbanks talked with the children. In a few classes the children sang Polish and American hymns. . . . Finally, a banquet for more than 400 persons was given by the Citizens' Club of Thaddeus Kościuszko. . . .

In summer of the same year the American Poles obtained finally, after many years of strenuous efforts, the first realization of their *supplices preces* to the Vatican. Our fellow-countryman, Priest Paweł Rhode, was appointed Assistant-Bishop of

the diocese of Chicago. . . . Everybody remembers those enormous demonstrations in the city of Chicago—the attendance of the Polish clergy from the whole of the United States more numerous than ever, that glorious parade through the city with chariots, standards, musical bands and torches. It was the largest parade the Poles of Chicago had ever arranged and one of the largest the city had ever seen. As the oldest and largest parish, St. Stanisław took a very prominent part in these manifestations. . . . We must mention that Priest Bishop Rhode was a pupil of our parish school. . . .

In 1909 there came to Chicago Archbishop Józef Weber, who was appointed Superior of the Resurrectionists in America. . . . In 1912 the first summer-course was opened for the teaching nuns, on the initiative of Bishop Rhode. . . . In 1914 in connection with our parish school a two year commercial course was founded on the model of the American business college, in order to facilitate for our youth the commercial education which is so necessary in this country.

Album Pamiątkowe z Okazyi Złotego Jubileuszu Parafii Św. Stanisława K. [Memorial Album of the Golden Jubilee of the Parish of St. Stanislaw Kostka], Chicago, 1907, pp. 8-32.

[The following documents are descriptions of parochial associations for religious purposes.]

14. *Zuaves of St. Stanisław Kostka.* The Zuaves were organized into an association May 1, 1915, by Rev. Franciszek Dembinski, the present rector of the parish. They wear uniforms, helmets and swords on the model of the Papal Guard in the Vatican. These little knights participate in large celebrations like New Year's, the Forty Hours Divine Service, Pentecost, Christmas, the first communion of school children; they stand on guard at the grave of Lord Jesus [before Easter], take part in the processions on Easter and Corpus Christi. The Zuaves drill in the school courtyard. The drill is taught by the well-known Captain of the Cavalry of Stanisław, Mr. Franciszek Gorzyński. The Zuaves are composed of 30 members chosen from the Society of Altar-boys. . . . They are sons of parents who have belonged to the parish for many years and have been educated in the parochial school. They are obliged to shine as models of devotion, to partake regularly of the Holy

Sacraments and thereby to be good sons of their dear parents, to know the history of their ancestors, the great men of Poland, to talk Polish among themselves and at home. In a word, the Zuaves are expected to be the guardians of everything that is divine and Polish in order to grow to be real Polish patriots and defenders of the Christian faith. [Picture of the group and names of members given.]

Ibid., p. 95.

15. *Society of the Virgins of the Holy Rosary.* This society was organized after many efforts by Rev. Feliks Zwiardowski of sainted memory, Dec. 8, 1874. At the time of the foundation only 15 members, constituting one Rose, joined it. The first Superior was Miss Franciszka Kowalska, the present Mrs. F. Kłosowska. In 1875 came Róża Wisińska (the late Mother Anna of the Order of St. Francis) who filled this office until 1898. Soon after she became Superior the society began to grow in number almost astonishingly. When she left the society counted several hundred virgins, divided into 3 Trees. . . . [Her successors enumerated.]

The first Tree counts now 22 Roses and 330 members. In view of such a rapid growth of this Tree, a second Tree was organized in 1883 by order of Rev. Priest Barzyński. [A similar history of this Tree follows.] . . . When the number of members of the second Tree reached 330 it became necessary to found a third Tree in 1886. Rev. Barzyński appointed as Superior Miss Paulina Welter, who held this office for 27 years, until she married Mr. Relewicz. In her place Augustyna Leszczyńska was elected. . . . [Note that at first the Superiors were appointed by the priest but later were elected.] In 1897 Rev. F. Gordon organized a fourth Tree of girls who had received the Holy Communion. . . . This Tree has reached the number of 375 members divided into 25 Roses. . . .

In 1899 the society celebrated its silver jubilee with great pomp. . . . New church vestments, a standard, and flowers for the altar were bought. In the morning the members went together to the Holy Communion, and at 10 o'clock a solemn divine service was celebrated for the benefit of the virgins, to which were invited societies of virgins of the Holy Rosary from neighboring parishes. In the afternoon at 4 o'clock after sol-

emn vespers. all the members came together in the parish hall where the jubilee celebration was held. The society is proud that many from their number have become nuns, among others Rev. Mother Anna and Sister Teresa . . . whom the society helped not only by its prayers but with money to found the present Home of St. Joseph for old people. The Virgins of the Rosary recognize the work of their rectors and chaplains for the good of their society and never fail when the occasion presents itself to show them their respect and gratitude. The members of this society always willingly participate in activities concerning the parish, helping in bazaars, excursions, waiting on the table at banquets organized for the benefit of the parish, etc.

During all these years the Society of the Virgins of the Rosary has been buying fresh flowers to adorn the altars in the upper church. Not only in the parish but outside of the parish, at every request either of the reverend priests who have institutions under their management or of sisters of holy orders, the society has always given from the funds of its treasury and offered its help. When the sisters of the Order of the Holiest Family came to America on the initiative of Rev. Priest Barzyński the society offered more than $600—all that it then had in its treasury—for their household needs. They offered $350 to the sisters of St. Francis for an organ in their chapel. Every year they organized an excursion on Labor Day to the Garden of Kościuszko in Cragin . . . formerly for the benefit of the Orphanage and now for the benefit of St. Joseph's Home for Old People. Whenever a new Society of Virgins of the Rosary was formed in a new neighboring parish, this society helped either by advice or with money, buying standards for them or contributing toward their treasury in the beginning. . . . In 1916 a club for needlework was established.

The present chaplain of the society is Rev. Priest Rector F. Dembiński. [Photographs of chaplain with each of the four Trees given.]

Ibid., p. 100.

16. *The Brotherhood of Young Men of St. Joseph.* February 4, 1883, Priest Wincenty Barzyński of sainted memory having called together the male youth of the parish of St. Stanisław suggested the idea of organizing them into some fraternity or

association. The rather large number of young men who had come together decided to organize among themselves two associations, a fraternity and a society, both under the patronage of St. Joseph. These two associations, whose aims were somewhat different, began to work together. They held common meetings, elected officers together, and put their dues and other contributions into one treasury. This condition lasted for about three years. In 1886 a division occurred among the young men. The society took the funds, the insignia, the standards, and all other property held in common with the fraternity, and separated from the latter. The fraternity, counting then about 110 members, was left without a penny. To add to their misfortunes, in the following month 70 members left the fraternity, passing to the parish of St. John Kanty which was just being established. This would have been the last blow for the fraternity if it had not been for the strong will of its president, Stanisław Samborski of sainted memory, who spared neither work nor energy in supporting the wavering ones, and carried on the fraternity. Meetings were continued and groups composed of 15 members each came together once a month to exchange their mysteries. During this time Priest Barzyński contributed words of encouragement toward the maintenance of the society. He often told the small group of young men that he was continually praying for a chaplain for them.

In 1896 there came to Chicago Priest Józef Ziemba, who was entrusted at once with the leadership of the youth still remaining more or less true to the fraternity. The new chaplain found the fraternity in a deplorable condition. First of all, the spirit was quite weak, and in the treasury instead of cash were bills to the amount of $30, which could not be paid. Moreover, a member died; a part of his funeral expenses should have been paid, and this could not be done. But all this did not discourage Priest Ziemba. . . . In a short time by his efforts $100 flowed into the treasury from voluntary contributions. A few lotteries were arranged, and more young men were recruited from those who had just received their first communion. Thus progressing, the fraternity in a few years reached 600 members and the cash in the treasury exceeded $1,000. About that time the fraternity founded a club in the house of the Sokols in co-

operation with the Society of St. Aloysius. In 1900 it received the library of the archfraternity of young men under the patronage of the Most Holy Visage, which had dissolved at that time. Besides the home club, the fraternity organized, on the initiative of a member, Józef Mucha, a sport-club.

In 1908 the fraternity of St. Joseph celebrated very solemnly the silver jubilee of its existence. Since then it has been developing successfully without any important obstacles. The number of members has again reached 600 and the treasury contains more than $2,000. Besides this the fraternity owns a library of about 5,000 volumes, billiard tables, a player-piano, standards, a canopy and other religious objects, representing together a value of over $7,000. During the 34 years of its existence the chaplains of the fraternity were [9 names given]. During the same period the presidents were [9 names given]. The list of the members who have deserved recognition from the fraternity is a long one. Many of these are still occupied with its affairs, others have been separated from it by the duties of their positions or by their departure to other places, and some are only connected with the fraternity by sainted memories of the past. All of of them deserve the sincerest gratitude, and if the old books of the fraternity had not been burned during the fire in the school their names would shine today on the pages of this history. But the very fact that this living work . . . will celebrate next year its 35th anniversary is a reward for its old workers. The present administration of the fraternity is composed as follows [27 names given].

Ibid., p. 109.

17. *The Citizens' Club of Thaddeus Kościusko.* [The title of club is misleading, as we shall see from the description of its activities]. On the initiative of the Very Reverend Priest Franciszek Gordon who was then rector of the parish, on April 7th, 1907, the Citizens' Club was founded by well-thinking parishioners. At that meeting Priest Gordon presided, Wincenty Jóźwiakowski was secretary, and 72 members joined the club. The first administration was composed as follows [15 names given].

The aim of the club is very elevated, *i. e.*, fraternal unity for the welfare of the members and common work for the de-

velopment of the parish by financial help through the organization of yearly banquets, bazaars, etc. Since its foundation a banquet, a picnic and a bazaar have been organized almost every year, and besides once a year the club arranges, exclusively for its members and their friends, a so-called smoker at which, in addition to a good repast, a program is presented.

Up to this moment our club has had 4 presidents [names quoted], 5 vice-presidents [names given], 2 protocol secretaries [names], 3 financial secretaries [names], 2 treasurers [names].

Through the efforts of its members the club organized the following picnics, banquets and bazaars from which the income was as follows: In 1907, a picnic in Brandt Park and in Cragin, $3,471.00; in 1908, New Year's banquet, $930.00; a banquet in May (dedication of the school), $553.00; and a picnic, $919.50; in 1909, banquet, $512.20, picnic, $1,118.76; in 1910, banquet, $410.75, picnic, $1,154.20; in 1911, banquet, $415.30; picnic, $1,202.90, bazaar, $7,047.02; in 1912, banquet, $267.00, picnic, $1,200.30, bazaar, $5,216.00; in 1913, banquet, $180.65, picnic, $484.30; in 1914, banquet, $378.50; in 1915, banquet, around $400; in 1916, banquet, $242.50; total net income from entertainments organized by the club alone, $26,103.98.

Besides, with the collaboration of the Ladies' Club of Queen Dąbrówka the following entertainments were organized: in 1914, picnic, $355.75, bazaar, $4,110.48; in 1915, picnic, $651.00, bazaar, $2,795.64; in 1916, picnic, $1,053.75, bazaar, $3,103.15; in 1917, banquet, $291.15, picnic, $1,350.00; total net income $13,710.87. . . .

Now the club counts 250 members. Its present administration is composed as follows [14 names].

Ibid., p. 131.

18. *Theater and Dramatic Circle.* The founder of the Dramatic Circle in the parish of St. Stanislaw was Priest Wincenty Barzyński of sainted memory. This happened in the following way. The patriotic organization then existing which had the aim of unifying all the associations in the parish for more efficient patriotic work arranged in 1891 a splendid 3 days' celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 in connection with the great national meeting in the former enormous hall of St. Stanisław. During this manifesta-

-ion a performance of the Defence of Częstochowa, an episode from "The Deluge" of Sienkiewicz arranged for the theater by Szczęsny Zahajkiewicz, was given. Volunteers from choirs and parochial associations were called to perform the particular rôles and the result was a great success. . . . This solemn opportunity gave birth to the Dramatic Circle, with the participation of the following amateurs [34 persons mentioned]. . . . The first administration was composed as follows [13 names given]. The purpose of the Circle was to spread the spirit of Polonism among the youth and the means was weekly evenings and theatrical representations in the maternal language.

The first great performance of the Circle after its formal establishment was on October 18, 1891, when for the first time the play of Zahajkiewicz, *The Children of Israel,* was given. The following year an unusual honor befell the Dramatic Circle. The most famous Polish dramatic artist and one of the foremost stars of the world's theater, Helena Modrzejewska [Modjeska] appeared twice on our stage together with the amateurs of the Dramatic Circle. The first time she played the rôle of Kogucina in the *Peasant Aristocrats* of Anczyc, in which participated [8 names given]. The second time she played the rôle of Queen Jadwiga in a dramatic presentation under the same title written especially for Modrzejewska by Zahajkiewicz and dedicated to her. Together with her appeared [14 persons mentioned]. The income from the first performance was offered by the artist to the Polish orphanage, that from the second to the parochial library. . . . Nearly 6,000 persons attended the performance. The enormous hall proved too small and many people had to resign the pleasure of admiring her. . . . [A number of other representations are described.]

Outside of the Dramatic Circle the Theater of Stanisławowo soon became the field of other activities and efforts to develop among our public better taste and higher theatrical judgment. In this respect the above mentioned S. Zahajkiewicz merited great recognition. He was the first theatrical manager in our Polonia. He trained the actors, wrote popular and Biblical plays especially appreciable by the local public, and thus aroused interest in the stage. After him Karol Wachtel introduced on the stage the serious Polish repertoire and made several attempts to or-

ganize a permanent Polish theater in Chicago—a stage-manager and actor who received his artistic education in the fatherland. He is above the amateur level and has managed the artistic side of the theatrical performances of various societies of Stanisławowo. Under his leadership a number of classical Polish dramas have been given on the stage of Stanisławowo. . . .

The theater of Stanisławowo is now the best Polish theater in Chicago and probably even in all American Polonia. It has therefore a good chance of becoming a permanent Polish theater, the great school of national virtues and the higher emotions.

Ibid., p. 136.

19. In addition to those quoted above the following associations and institutions are described and portrayed in the *Album:* The Parochial School, The Parish Committee, The Association of Altar-Boys, The Marshals of the Upper Church, The Marshals of the Lower Church, The Archsorority of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (2 groups), The Women of the Holy Rosary (4 groups), The Archbrotherhood of the Saints, The Third Order of St. Francis, The Choirs of the Upper Church, The Choirs of the Lower Church, The Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka, The Society of the Alumni of the Parish School, The Musical and Literary Society of Leo XIII, The Needlework Club of St. Rose of Lima, The Polish Roman Catholic Union (central office), The Society of St. Cecilia (No. 14 of the Roman Catholic Union), The Society of King John III Sobieski under the patronage of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, Queen of the Polish Crown (No. 16 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Most Holy Name of Mary (No. 2 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Stanisław the Bishop (No. 31 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Walenty (No. 847 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Heart of Jesus (No. 32 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Stefan (No. 318 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Nicholas (No. 42 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of God's Mother of Częstochowa (No. 53 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Priest Wincenty Barzyński (No. 91 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Cecilia (No. 219 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Bernard the Abbot (No. 329 of

the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Andrew the Apostle (No. 233 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Agnes (No. 256 of the R. C. Union), The Society of the Polish Crown (No. 296 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Lucia (No. 378 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Anna (No. 480 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of St. Apolonia (No. 482 of the R. C. Union), The Society of St. Helena (No. 924 of the R. C. Union), The Society of Polish Women of Queen Wanda (No. 525 of the R. C. Union), The Polish Alma Mater (central office), The Branch of St. Kazimierz the King's Son (No. 1 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Kinga (No. 12 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Monica (No. 23 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Clara (No. 26 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Cecilia (No. 92 of the Alma Mater), The Branch of St. Joseph (No. 49 of the Alma Mater), The Court of Pułaski (No. 482 of the Union of Catholic Foresters), The Court of God's Mother of Good Advice (No. 91 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Vincent of Ferrara (No. 174 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Stanisław Kostka (No. 255 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of Priest Barzyński (No. 995 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Walenty (No. 1,001 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Irene (No. 445 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of Frederic Chopin (No. 1,391 of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. John (No. 864 of Catholic Foresters). The Court of Leo XIII (No. [?] of Catholic Foresters), The Court of St. Martin the Pope (No. 1,143 of the Catholic Foresters), The Society of the Guardianship of St. Joseph (Group 115 of the Polish Association in America), The Society of St. George the Martyr (No. 96 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. Roch (Group 71 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. John of Nepomuk (Group 26 of the Polish Association), The Society of the Heart of Jesus (Group 124 of the Polish Association), The Society of Pearl of Mary (Group 152 of the Polish Association), The Society of St. Wojciech (Group 104 of the Polish Association), The Society of Young Men of St. Kazimierz (independent mutual help association), The Society of Ladies of Queen Jadwiga (mutual help association), The Loan and Savings Association of St.

Joseph No. 3, The Building Loan and Savings Association of Pułaski, The Building Loan and Savings Association of St. Francis, The Press Committee, The College of St. Stanisław Kostka, The Novices Convent of the Resurrectionists, The Convent of the Sisters of St. Francis, The Chicago *Daily News* (Polish)—74 in all.

Five parishes which were established on the territory originally included in the parish of St. Stanisław are also briefly described.

Not a single association belonging to the Polish National Alliance is mentioned although in less conservative parishes these associations are treated in a more or less friendly way by the parish leaders.

Biographies of Prominent Families Belonging to the Parish (with pictures)

20. Jan and Konstancya Czekała. Jan Czekała was born in Rosko, Duchy of Posen, in 1861. He came with his parents to America in 1868, to Chicago in 1872. He attended the school at St. Stanisław. He was nominated member of The Parish Committee by Priest Barzyński in 1896 and belongs to this Committee up to the present day. He was alderman of the 16th ward of the city of Chicago in 1911-1912. He is president of the Society of St. Cecilia, president of the Pułaski Building Association and belongs to the Parish Choir and to the Dramatic Circle. At the last diet of the Polish Roman Catholic Union he was elected director for 4 years. Now he occupies the office of Custodian of the County Hall. Konstancya Czekała, born to the Soliński family in 1875 in the town of Gąsawa, Duchy of Posen, came to America in 1893 and married in 1899. Her family consists of 2 daughters and 4 sons. She belongs to the Society of Polish Women of Queen Jadwiga, of which she is the president, to that of St. Apolonia (No. 482 of the R. C. Union), of which she is charter member and president. She is also the president of the Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka and of The Society of St. Cecilia (No. 92 of the Polish Alma Mater).

Ibid., p. 84.

21. Jan and Agnieszka Nering. Jan Nering was born in 1871 in Szonowo, West Prussia. His parents emigrated to the

United States a year later and settled in the parish of St. Stanisław, to which they belong even now. He is a pupil of the school of St. Stanisław and up to this moment has always actively participated in the affairs of various societies and of the parish. Conditions forced him early to help his parents and already in his 13th year he was employed by the telegraph company to carry telegrams. He has been connected with this business up to the present time and is now the head manager of the Chicago office of the Postal Telegraph and Cable Co., and employs many Poles. He is a member of the following associations: The Parish Committee of St. Stanisław (since 1899), The Parish Choir of the Upper Church, The Dramatic Circle, The Kościuszko Club, The St. Kazimierz Branch of the Polish Alma Mater, The St. Cecilia Society of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, The Sherman Court of the Order of Catholic Foresters, The General James Shields Council of the Knights of Columbus, The Society of Young Men of St. Kazimierz. Mr. and Mrs. Nering were married in the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1898 but belong to the parish of St. Stanisław.

Mrs. Agnieszka Nering (neé Wojtalewicz) was born in Chicago, educated in the parish of The Holy Trinity, and a pupil of the Academy of the Most Holy Family. From her early youth she loved religious and national song, and in 1909 finished with honors the Chicago College of Music and received the diploma of singing-teacher and the highest reward of a diamond medal. She continued her studies in music and singing in Europe, in Berlin, where for two years and a half she studied under the guidance of Mme. Schoen-Rene, Mme. Bellincioni and Mme. Lola Beeth. She was offered good positions by the opera companies of Warsaw and Posen. But not wanting to be any longer away from her family, she preferred to return to Chicago and occupied herself with helping our young Polish girls in studying singing. She has now a successful school for singing in her residence, 2201 Cortez Street [the school is described in detail elsewhere in the *Album*]. Mrs. Nering is well-known by her public appearance not only in Chicago but in all the larger cities of this country where Poles live. She took and takes an active part in all national affairs, particularly in charitable in-

stitutions. She is a member of the following associations: The Parish Choir of St. Stanisław's Upper Church, The Dramatic Circle, The Club of Ladies of Queen Dąbrówka, The Branch of St. Kinga of the Polish Alma Mater, The Society of St. Apolonia of the Roman Catholic Union, The Sorority of the Holy Rosary, The Ladies' Society for Educational Help in connection with the Academy of the Most Holy Family, The Society of Protectresses of the Hospital, The Society of Protectors of the Orphanage of the Resurrection of Our Lord, The Royal Neighbors (Jefferson Park Camp), and The Chicago Musical Arts Society.

Ibid., p. 85.

22. The family of Wojciech and Michalina Grabarski. Citizen Wojciech Grabarski was born in 1862 in Kcynia, Duchy of Posen. He attended the public school in Kcynia and came to America when 13 years old. From New York he went to Buffalo where he spent about 2 years. Thence he came to Chicago and studied in evening school here whenever time permitted him. In 1884 he married Miss Michalina Ratkowska, sister of the well-known contractor Paweł Ratkowski.

In 1886 Citizen Grabarski established a grocery in connection with a butcher-shop at 1354 Noble Street, where for 20 years he had a splendid business. Somewhat later he closed the butcher-shop and opened instead a liquor-shop. At the same time he bought the funeral establishment of the late August Jeszcze situated on Noble Street. After some time he sold first the grocery and later still he got rid of the saloon and gave himself entirely to the work in the funeral establishment which is now situated at 1322 Cleaver Street, in a specially constructed house, equipped with all the modern devices connected with the funeral business. Coffins can be bought at every price from the lowest to the highest. Coaches and automobiles can be hired for all occasions. The service is polite and quick. Calls are attended to at all times, day and night. Telephone Monroe 1048.

God has blessed their marriage with 11 children, 6 of whom are alive, 3 sons and 3 daughters, namely, Wanda, Apolonia, Józef, Marya, Edward and Artur. Wanda married Edward Trandel, and Apolonia Nikodem Budzban.

Ibid., p. 241.

[In addition to these biographies and in a similar style, 78 families and 86 individuals are described. The titles to prominence seem to be intense social activity, successful business, participation in American political life, intellectual distinction, particularly faithful attendance to parochial duties, very long residence in the parish, numerous and prosperous children. There are, however, many cases in which the biography seems to be little more than a paid advertisement. There are, of course, also numerous business advertisements of the usual kind included in the *Album*. We must realize that the expense of the *Album* had to be borne by the parishioners themselves and that probably every one whose life history and portrait appears in it was expected to contribute, so that the difference between a plain advertisement and a biography is only one of degree. This probably does not apply to the biographies of priests, of which there are 29 in the *Album*. In addition to the separate biographies there are, of course, many personal data included in the histories of institutions.]

23. *Statistics of the parish of St. Stanisław.* A record of the changes in the population of the parish has been kept consistently since 1869, when the parish included 235 families. In order to appreciate the statistics quoted below we must remember that every few years since 1872 the parish of St. Stanisław has lost a part of its population by the formation of other parishes on what was formerly its territory. These statistics have been compiled from the parish record printed in the *Album*.

Year	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1869	6	17	——
1870	30	164	——
1871	39	174	3
1872	49	328	1
1873	74	466	——
1874	57	468	11
1875	83	533	19
1876	85	538	294
1877	57	513	142
1878	64	498	171
1879	121	517	227

Year	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1880	76	626	371
1881	169	978	1068
1882	256	1208	682
1883	274	1258	492
1884	250	1378	714
1885	248	1404	589
1886	289	1565	833
1887	373	1760	736
1888	330	1878	808

We need not continue these statistics which during the last 20 years have kept approximately the same as the average of the years 1882-1888. We see how rapidly marriage, birth and death begin to play an important, perhaps even a predominant part in the growth of a Polish-American colony. The low death rate in the beginning and its sudden increase after a few years are explicable on the supposition, which we find verified in every particular case, that most of the first immigrants in a new colony are relatively young people, without small children or old parents and that only after some years they decided to bring their families or to marry. But even later the average death-rate is much lower than the birth-rate, so that even when immigration is stopped the colony is sure to grow very rapidly. The total number of births registered in the parish of St. Stanisław during 47 years (1869-1916) was 59,551, the total number of deaths during the same period 24,401. Thus the parish of St. Stanisław, whose population during this time averaged about 25,000, contributed a net increase of over 35,000 to the Polish colony of Chicago.

24. [Extracts from a history of the parish of New Britain, Conn., published in 1902, are here quoted to illustrate the organization of a small and relatively new community. The history was written by the priest Rev. Lucyan Bójnowski and therefore the appreciation of the dissenting elements of the community is probably not quite impartial.]

The first Pole who came to New Britain was Mr. Tomasz Ostrowski. After him others began to arrive and in September, 1889, a mutual help society under the patronage of St. Michael the Archangel was established. [All the officers enu-

merated.] . . . In 1894 Priest Dr. Misicki, rector of the parish in Meriden, Conn., came every Sunday to celebrate the holy mass in New Britain in the old Irish church on Myrtle St., at a yearly salary of $500. Then the society, together with other noble-minded Poles, began to think about establishing a Polish parish, which was organized under the patronage of St. Kazimierz. [The Parish Council enumerated.] . . . During this organization great misunderstandings arose. The cause was that the parishioners were scattered over the whole town and some of them had houses and lots on the opposite limits of the town. Each of the latter wished to organize a party so as to control the votes and make the majority agree to buy the lot for the church in his part of the city. At parochial meetings, in saloons, on the streets and in private houses they clamored that they cared only for the prosperity of the parish, whereas only their own business was involved. Two parties arose and struggled to the last. Rev. Dr. Misicki could not reconcile them and when he bought a lot on Grove Street the other side resorted to radical methods, bought another lot on Chestnut Street, and when the other party would not agree to their demands brought a pseudo-priest in the person of the organist Stefan Kamiński, who celebrated the divine service for them in a hall on Church Street. Thus arose an independent church which did not recognize the authority of the bishop and of the Pope.

In September, 1895, Rev. Lucyan Bójnowski from the province of Grodno (Poland under Russian domination) was appointed rector of the parish. . . . After his arrival God so happily managed the affairs of the parish that Stefan Kamiński soon stopped making a disturbance and left New Britain. The place on Grove Street, as unfit for a church, was sold by lottery. The lot on Chestnut Street was kept by the adherents of an independent church, thirty members of which were still left. The good parishioners came together at a meeting October 13, 1895, and decided to buy a new lot on Orange Street and there to build a wooden church under the patronage of the Sweetest Heart of Jesus. Then the independents fell and with them fell the Society of St. Michael the Archangel, which was abandoned by all the good ones and preserved only a dozen members.

Since 1894 there had existed in the parish a Society of St. Kazimierz or "Legion of Free Krakuses" which carried on an obstinate struggle with the Society of St. Michael. [Officers enumerated.] When the latter fell they thought they were the masters of the situation and began to show what they were. Their leaders openly opposed the rector saying that they did not care for the Pope, the bishop or the rector. . . . Since then the members who had the real faith in Our Lord God immediately left this society or decided in their hearts to do so at the first opportunity. . . .

[Consecration of the church described at length.] When the church was built and consecrated Priest Rector Lucyan Bójnowski occupied himself with introducing order into the parish. First of all he made efforts to turn the people from drink, from getting married in court, from indecent dress, from holding balls on Saturdays and nightly revelries, from playing cards, loafing in saloons, fighting in their homes, immoral life, conjugal infidelity, theft, bad education of children, indecent behavior on the street, and disorderly conduct at weddings and christenings. Instead, he encouraged them to go to confession and communion, to participate in various divine services, to belong to fraternities, etc. [Detailed weekly and yearly schedule of religious services given.]

[There follows a biographical list of all the vicars who worked in the parish and a long story of the trouble with one of these vicars whom the opponents of Priest Bójnowski wished to make rector in his place.] Although the trouble did not entirely cease (probably it will never stop because, such is the will of God, the tares must grow with the wheat until the time of harvesting), the real Catholic Poles are preparing to dedicate a new stone church which is almost ready. . . .

[A brief history of 9 parochial societies is given in addition to the 2 following ones which are not a part of the parochial system.] October 8, 1900, a Polish political club was formed . . . to defend with the common strength the civil and political rights of the Poles. [Officers named.] Later this club changed its name to Polish Citizens' Club. October 5, 1900, "The Polish Political Club No. 1 and Society of Mutual Help" was organized. This club breaks the laws of God, for it holds drunken balls,

has revelries even on Sunday, not only in houses but even in gardens, and some of its members show a hostile attitude toward the Catholic Church and the clergy.

[Activities of the priest in New Britain and the neighboring localities described.] *Conversions.* From 1896 to 1902 Priest Bójnowski converted to the Roman Catholic faith 1 Jew, 1 Jewish woman, 4 Protestants, 2 members of the Old Russian Church and 22 Greek Orthodox Russians, but in spite of all his teachings and efforts he has not yet succeeded in converting even one perverted Catholic Pole. . . .

From all the troubles related above the reader might believe that the people in New Britain are very bad. This is not so. The people in New Britain, who come for the most part from Russian Poland, some from Galicia, the smallest number from under German domination, have been up to the moment when this history is being written very virtuous, religious, moral, generous, hard-working, saving, polite—in a word, it is difficult to find another parish in all America where there is so much fear of God. But there are a few sons of perversity who cannot bear this and use all kinds of intrigues in order to draw the others away from the true road.

[Among other details concerning the development of the parish there is an enumeration of all the persons and associations who, in addition to their regular contributions, have offered $20 or more for the parish. The largest contributions, some exceeding $1,000 a year, are given anonymously. In all probability they were offered by the priest himself from his salary and fees.]

25. [The condition of the parish of New Britain in 1919, according to a private letter from Priest Bójnowski.]

1) The old church now contains school-rooms and the rectorate. It is worth $25,000.

2) The new church (the largest in New Britain) cost $150,000 when built and is worth now $300,000.

3) The new school was built in 1904 at the cost of $150,000. It is now worth twice as much.

4) A house for the teaching nuns is worth $15,000.

5) The parish has a cemetery worth $25,000.

There are no debts on all of these buildings and lots.

6) In 1889 a cooperative bakery was established with an original capital of $6,000 contributed by 5 associations. At present its property is worth $60,000.

7) In 1904 a Polish orphanage was founded. It owns now 4 houses, 146 acres within the limits of the town, 107 acres outside the limits, 30 head of cattle, 7 horses, 70 hogs, 500 hens; total value over $200,000. No debts.

8) There is a parochial printing office. The lot, the building and the machinery are worth $35,000. There is a debt of $5,000.

9) The Polish Loan and Industrial Corporation, founded in 1915, has a capitalization of $50,000 and owns $45,000 worth of houses.

10) The Polish Investment and Loan Corporation, founded in 1915, has a capitalization of $75,000 and real estate worth $10,000.

11) The People's Savings Bank, founded in December, 1916, has $496,000 deposited.

12) The New Britain Clothing Corporation, founded in 1919, capitalized at $50,000, has merchandise worth $100,000 and real estate worth $140,000.

13) The White Eagle Factory, established in 1919, capitalized at $25,000, produces cutlery.

[All of the above are cooperative organizations.]

14) We gave 750 soldiers to the American army and 301 to the Polish army.

15) We have contributed to the Polish Relief Fund and to the Polish Army Fund up to this moment $110,672.36.

16) The parish counts now nearly 9,000 souls, including children. In 1894 there were only 700, counting Lithuanians, Slovaks and Poles.

17) The parochial school has 35 teachers and an attendance of 1736 children.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPER-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF POLISH-AMERICAN SOCIETY

Attempts to unify all the Polish colonies in America into one social body began nearly 50 years ago. Thus in 1873 Priest Gieryk of Detroit planned some kind of super-territorial institution in which the representatives of various colonies would meet and manage the common affairs of the American Poles. But this plan, though later supported by one of the best Polish-American organizers, Priest W. Barzynski, failed completely. The failure was inevitable, for the organization began as a vague association of priests, who as such represented their respective parishes. It meant thus implicitly the use of the parish system as a basis of the super-territorial system. But the parish is, as we have seen, essentially a territorial institution with all its activities concentrated upon the local Polish-American group. There are hardly any practical interests common to all the Polish parishes in this country, and a super-territorial organization with the parish as the unit would have nothing to do. Priest Barzynski in spite of all his ability and influence could not even induce all of the parishes in Chicago to form one social body; their solidarity has never gone beyond cooperation in a few public manifestations of a national character.

It even proved impossible to create a formal super-territorial organization of all the official leaders of parishes, *i. e.*, the Polish-American clergy, for the latter be-

longed to many different dioceses and did not constitute any one unit of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The aim of the Order of the Resurrectionists, which from the beginning played a very important part in Polish-American life, seems to have been precisely to create a unified body of Polish clergy outside of the administrative Catholic hierarchy of America by placing members of the Order at the head of all Polish-American parishes, which would thus remain under the control of one Polish religious institution. But the number of Polish-American parishes grew so rapidly that the Order could furnish only a small minority of the priests who were needed. And probably, in spite of the relatively high intellectual and moral level of the Resurrectionists, the American Catholic clergy opposed the growth of the Order as a foreign organization primarily dependent on its superiors in Rome and only secondarily on the local bishops. The manifest theocratic tendencies of the Order further developed a strong reaction against it among the American Poles themselves, and the lay Polish priests who came to this country also resented the control of the half-monastic institution. Though the Order still preserves a strong moral and intellectual influence due to the definiteness of its purpose, to the high education of its leading members, and to the "pull" it has at the Vatican, it has failed to achieve a unification of the Polish-American clergy. A free organization recently founded (in 1910) on the initiative of Bishop P. Rhode, under the name Alliance of Polish Priests, can hardly fulfil this task.

There is, of course, some unity among the Polish-American parish leaders but it is only informal, manifested by occasional meetings and by the existence of a few institutions—seminaries, schools for teaching nuns,

publications—which are in a sense common to all the parishes simply because they produce religious or educational values which every parish needs. But this informal unity does not actually produce any conscious social cohesion in the Poles. It gives perhaps a certain general uniformity to the policy of the Polish-American priests and of those lay leaders who serve the interests of the clergy, but this is not enough to make one social body of the various separate colonies which the individual members of the clergy respectively try to control.

The real super-territorial organization of the American Poles is based not upon the parish but upon the local *association*. For although the association is included within the territorial community and serves its interests, it may be able to cooperate for certain purposes with analogous associations existing in other communities. While the only real aim of the parish, like that of every primary-group, is its own existence as a coherent social body, the association has definite objective aims—economic, hedonistic, political, religious, æsthetic, intellectual—which often may be little more than the pretext for associating but are a necessary pretext and open the way for participation of the association in wider organizations of the secondary-group type.

The first consistent and fairly successful attempt to construct a super-territorial Polish-American system with the local association as a unit was made by the founders of the Polish National Alliance in 1880.[1] Following this example several other organizations were established, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Alliance of Polish Socialists, the Women's Alliance, the Sokols, the Alliance of Polish Troops, the Polish Alma

[1] The Alliance at first intended to include parishes but since no parish joined, it developed exclusively as a system of associations.

Mater, the Association of Poles in America, the Polish Union, etc. These organizations had originally and in some measure still have divergent or even conflicting purposes. We shall study this question presently. But it is a striking fact that whatever differences there are between, for instance, the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union as super-territorial institutions, they affect but little the character of their social units, the local associations of which they are respectively composed. Almost any association might be bodily transferred from one super-territorial institution to another without undergoing really essential changes of its social organization, by merely modifying its political attitude and its slogans and, in a few cases, by adding some new activity to its other activities—for instance, by starting a military drill if it wishes to join the Polish Troops. Further, if we follow the history of various local associations belonging to these super-territorial institutions we notice that, however widely different might have been originally the special aims—religious, educational, economic, artistic, political, hedonistic—for which many of these associations were founded, all of them have gradually converged into one essential type and almost every new association which is started now becomes moulded at once into the same general form. The latter fact may be due to lack of inventiveness resulting from the scarcity of prominent leaders; but it is clear that since of all the models of organizations which were tried during the last fifty years this one model alone survived and developed, whereas all others have either disappeared or exist in some large colonies only because of the continuous efforts of a few intellectuals, it must have been best adapted to the conditions under which the Polish-American social body was created. We shall

therefore study these typical social units before we pass to investigate the wider organizations constructed on their basis.

No absolute line of division can be drawn between associations belonging to the parish system and those which are part of the super-territorial system. In general we can distinguish four classes of associations, *i. e.*, those called by the Poles "parochial" in the strict sense of the term, whose main formal purpose is either religious worship or cooperation with the priest and the parochial committee in fostering the development of the parish, those which belong neither to the parish system nor to the super-territorial system, those which belong in varying proportions to both the parish system and the super-territorial system and are interested in the growth of the parish as well as in nation-wide activities, finally those which stand in a more or less distinct opposition to the control of the community by the parish leaders and to which a connection with some wider organization gives a stronger position and prestige.

We have quoted in the preceding chapter examples taken from the first class. Into the second class many associations can be put during the first period of their existence but very few remain permanently in this class, for usually sooner or later they either begin to cooperate with a parish or join a super-territorial organization, or both. The free and isolated local association was, of course, originally the matrix of both the parish system—even now, as we have seen, every new parish is established on the initiative of a free local association—and of the super-territorial system, for all the wider organizations arose through an expansion or federation of pre-existing isolated local associations. But the independent association only imperfectly realizes the now

prevailing type and loses its importance with the progress of Polish-American social life. The type which we have to study now is much better manifested in associations of the third class and attains its full development in those of the fourth class which, since they cannot rely on the help of the parish leaders and on the assistance of the parish framework, must develop their own possibilities to the utmost.

Whatever may be the variety of their political, social and religious tendencies, all local associations which belong to the super-territorial system—we shall call them "local groups" (following the terminology of the Polish National Alliance) whenever we shall have to distinguish them from "parochial associations"—have one official purpose in common, the preservation of Polish nationality among their members.

This does not involve primarily any definite attitude toward the question of political allegiance, of "patriotism" in the proper sense of the term. In this respect there is a very marked difference between Polish local associations (of whatever type) in this country and the associations formed since 1831 by Polish emigrants in European countries. The latter, whose members, or at least whose organizers and leaders, were political emigrants always had a political purpose, even if they did not belong to wider organizations; and this purpose usually was in some way connected with Poland's struggle for independence, and in any case the association was meant to help its members preserve intact their political allegiance to Poland. Even if it did not actively try to prevent them from developing a patriotic feeling toward the country in which they lived (and most of the associations formed by Polish emigrants in Russia and Germany naturally did this) it ignored entirely the po-

litical interests of the "land of exile," unless these interests seemed to favor the reestablishment of Poland's independence; thence the faithful services which Polish emigrants always rendered to France.

Many Polish local groups at first try to keep in America this tradition of exclusive political allegiance to Poland. But the character of Polish immigration in this country, entirely different from the Polish immigrant colonies in Europe, sooner or later frustrates these attempts. The great majority of the immigrants here are not "exiles" living in worse conditions than they were accustomed to in their home country. Though they have been indirectly forced to emigrate by the disastrous effects of foreign domination in Poland, each of them individually came here to improve his economic situation, and at least 90 per cent. could have returned if they had wished without taking any risks of life or liberty. Thus those emotional attitudes of home-sickness which kept the interests of the political immigrant continually centered upon Poland have much less motive power with the economic emigrant. Besides, the level of education of the great majority of the members of local groups, even though on the average better than that of unorganized immigrants or even of the members of parochial associations, is still relatively low, so that abstract ideas, without which political patriotism cannot be developed, do not appeal to their emotions strongly enough. Moreover, most of them had never consciously participated in Polish national life in the old country and therefore the concept of Poland as organized nation lacks for them that practical definiteness and vitality which it possesses for those who had been dealing with problems of national organization at home. For all these reasons it is hardly surprising that

in spite of the continual use of patriotic Polish slogans by all local groups Poland is for them mainly the object of an almost purely æsthetic interest whose motive power is very small as compared with the many and complex practical interests connected with the immediate social environment. The war brought the Polish national problem for the first time with real vividness to the consciousness of the Polish-American masses by affecting directly all their relatives and friends in the old country and thus making clear the connection between the general national situation and private life, and also—as we shall see later—by giving an unprecedented vitality to the problem of Poland's independence. But the emotional outburst thus produced is already subsiding.

An interesting proof of the superficial character which Polish patriotism, however emphatically proclaimed, had until lately among the large mass of the immigrants is the example of those military associations which were formed here under the name of Polish Troops. The original idea was to have a miltary force ready to join a national revolution. Meanwhile the associations soon drifted to the common, very peaceful type and their military character showed itself exclusively in parading in uniforms with sabres at all kinds of religious solemnities and national celebrations. When in 1912 the Polish army under General Haller was being formed these associations did not, of course, remain untouched by the popular enthusiasm and many of their individual members joined the army; but though somewhat diminished, the associations were not disbanded and none of them went as a body to Haller. They continue to parade at meetings and festivals and to pursue their habitual, peaceful activities.

This weakness in the Polish patriotic tendencies of the average local association is by no means the result of a conflict between Polish and American patriotism, but simply due to the insufficient development of all wider political aspirations. The bearer of such aspirations is the super-territorial organization as a whole, not the particular social units of which it is composed. Of course, if these units were entirely devoid of all interests beyond those connected with their immediate milieu the super-territorial organization could not have any political significance either. The fact is that in each particular local group the wider political aspirations are not strong enough as compared with the immediate local interests to produce spontaneously any important actions, but they are not lacking entirely, and the super-territorial organization concentrating those scattered tendencies and giving them a common aim may achieve results which the local groups acting separately would never reach. This is simply one of the many illustrations of the well-known truth that an organized social group is something different than a mere sum of its parts. We shall see, however, that gradually even the most "idealistic" super-territorial organizations tend to reconcile their wider aims with the more popular and stronger, though narrower, purposes of their social units. The Polish-American national consciousness as distinct from the purely Polish is the result of this reconciliation.

The nationalistic Polish tendencies of the local associations have thus not a political, but a racial significance. Their aim is to preserve the cultural stock brought by the immigrants to this country—language, mores, customs, historical traditions—so as to maintain the racial solidarity of the Poles as of the same ethnic

group, independent of their political allegiance and of any economic, social, political bonds which may connect each of them individually with their American milieu. The local group does not pretend to cut its members off from their wider social environment, to concentrate all their interests within any territorially limited Polish colony. On the contrary, it seems to endorse in the form of social recognition any activities by which its members participate in American economic, political or intellectual life, and seems proud of whatever recognition they may obtain in American circles. But it presupposes that each member personally appreciates most and is most dependent upon the recognition he gets from his Polish milieu, and particularly that he desires social *response* exclusively from Poles. He is never permitted to put into his relations with Americans the same warmth and immediacy of social feelings as in his relations with Poles; the former are expected to be entirely *impersonal,* institutional (if we may use this term), whereas all purely personal contacts must be limited to his own *gens.* This distinction can be best expressed by saying that the only primary-group connections a Pole is supposed to maintain are those which his racial group offers, whereas his relations with racially different social elements must belong exclusively to the secondary-group type. The psychology is similar to that of a family or an old village community in contact with modern and more complex forms of social organization; a member of such a primary group may be active outside of it as much as he wishes, may be a link of numerous economic, political, cultural relations of which the primary-group knows little and in which it does not participate, but all the while he is supposed to remain essentially, as a concrete

person, a member of this primary-group and no other, and whatever he does outside of it he is meant to do *as* member of this family or this community, not as isolated personality. In the same way the American Pole is permitted to take whatever part he desires in American life provided he does it *as a Pole,* and the only forms of participation which are socially condemned are those which tend to incorporate him into American primary-groups and to draw him away from his Polish *gens*—that is, marriage, personal friendship and all kinds of intercourse implying direct personal solidarity.

The local group is the institution whose function with reference to its members consists precisely in strengthening this type of racial solidarity against possible disorganization in a racially different milieu. The association gives the individual in ready form opportunities to satisfy both his desire for recognition and his desire for response. It is small enough to permit every individual to know every other individual, to be interested in the affairs of others and to provoke their interest in his own affairs. It is large enough to make the individual feel its recognition or lack of recognition as an important matter. It is sufficiently solidary for its opinion to have unity and weight, and at the same time sufficiently loose not to be oppressive, not to provoke any violent revolt.

In accordance with its function its main internal activities are those which from the standpoint of purely objective results would seem either subordinate to other aims or simply incidental—formal meetings and social entertainments. The significance of the formal meeting is not in any way exhausted by the affairs which the group discusses and settles. With regard to its psychological effects its most important part is the actual,

direct social connection which is established between the members by the very fact of their being together and discussing. The parliamentary formalism which is scrupulously observed at all regular meetings of Polish societies plays also a much more important social rôle than that of a mere practical method of efficient deliberation and speedy conclusion. It is for the consciousness of the average member almost equivalent to a ritual; it gives the meeting something of the solemnity of a religious performance, and it is interesting to note, for instance, how impressed the uneducated or half-educated participants are by the very terminology of parliamentarism. Moreover, most local groups have an explicit, though simple, esoteric ritual—probably imitated from the Masonic lodges—signs and words of recognition, etc. The influence of these "mysteries" on social solidarity is well known from the history of secret societies. Further, the elections of officers and of special committees give ample food to the desire for recognition. Finally, every meeting gives an opportunity for the informal exchange of personal facts and impressions, and widens the common "universe of discourse" of the members. As social entertainments, their rôle is very clear; by bringing individuals together on the ground of common pleasure and in a mood of heightened susceptibility to positive impressions, they act as powerful stimulants of social response, particularly among less educated individuals, most of whom are still strongly imbued with the primary-group spirit of the old peasant community. The emphasis both at formal meetings and at social entertainments put upon national matters helps maintain the spirit of racial solidarity. Thus meetings are always conducted and speeches made in Polish. Most of the local associations and all super-

territorial organizations have clauses in their constitutions by which this point is settled once and for ever. At social entertainments, of course, no formal restrictions as to language are made and English is often spoken along with Polish, particularly by those members of the young generation who have been educated in American schools. But most of those entertainments which local associations organize have in view some official purpose—which, of course, is often no more than a pretext—and are meant to bring money in for the benefit of a Polish institution or for a national Polish aim, and thus the national idea is always present.

Great importance from the standpoint of national, or rather racial preservation, must be also given to the rôle which Polish music and literature play in the social life of these associations. We notice how many of them naïvely report that all their entertainments are accompanied by "a program," meaning music, songs, recitals, speeches—less often lectures—and these are almost exclusively Polish and often contain a powerful appeal to national emotions, since the national idea has played a predominant rôle in all Polish art of the last 120 years. And since, if we except moving pictures and some religious art (the latter also connected with old country associations) nearly all the æsthetic experiences of the immigrant are given to him by the associations to which he belongs, in so far as his attitudes are fashioned by æsthetic factors they are also determined in accordance with the traditions of his race. The Poles not only know this and consciously tend to increase the intensity of æsthetic life in their colonies but are inclined to exaggerate its importance for racial preservation, so that the formation of a musical band or the organization of

a theatrical representation are counted as acts of high merit.

However the purpose of racial preservation, so emphatically put forward by all local groups in their public expressions, is in fact not a sufficient basis of organization. The political, educational, æsthetic, hedonistic aims which it implies, however necessary they may be to make an existing association fully satisfactory to its members, have in most cases proved insufficient to maintain a "society" regularly active for any longer period of time. On the level of culture which characterizes the great majority of Polish immigrants only religious and economic interests are strong and general enough to give a stable framework for voluntary association. The former have become the foundation of the parish system; the super-territorial system had to base itself on the latter. But there is no better proof of the need of the Polish immigrants to associate and of their ability to organize than the very superficiality and narrowness of this economic basis upon which their whole super-territorial organization rests, for up to the present the economic cooperation inside the local groups and inside the great associations of which these groups are the units has been almost exclusively limited to the old field of mutual life and health insurance.

The latter has, indeed, made considerable progress during the last fifty years. Its origin can be traced to church fraternities, which since the Middle Ages have collected funds for the funerals of their members and occasionally also for help in sickness. In this country under the combined influence of the remnants of the old primary-group solidarity and of the new social and economic conditions, the funeral fund has become a life insurance fund intended to help the remaining family not

only in carrying the expenses of the funeral but also in dealing with any economic difficulties which may arise during the first few months or years following the death of the provider. At first mutual life insurance and health insurance were carried on simultaneously in a rather primitive way. There were no regular contributions except those for administrative expenses; in the case of death or sickness of a member every other member had to contribute a definite sum. Later a mixed system developed; there was a certain regular contribution toward a permanent treasury out of which the sickness money (varying according to the actual need) and a part of the death insurance were paid, but the main amount of the latter was still composed of special contributions raised when the death occurred. The last stage is reached when the amount of insurance is always fixed in advance; each member contributes a regular quota to the fund and the entire insurance money is paid out of this fund. The association reserves only the right to impose special contributions in case its treasury should be exhausted.

We find all these systems existing side by side in various Polish-American associations; many parochial societies carry no insurance proper but limit their assistance to the funeral expenses of their members, and in almost all of the isolated associations special contributions from case to case remain the prevalent, if not the only way of raising the insurance fund. The super-territorial organizations have all reached the last stage, take regular contributions and insure their members for definite amounts up to $1,000. They are, of course, better able to carry the risk of regular life insurance than small local associations, and therefore when the members of the latter rise to a higher economic level and de-

velop greater demands of economic security they are almost always led to join one of the super-territorial institutions, even independently of the social advantages which the latter offer. However, the local association is never entirely absorbed economically in the super-territorial organization but preserves some independent functions of its own; it handles the matter of assistance in sickness to which the highly centralized large organization cannot efficiently attend, and in case of death it gives immediate help for funeral expenses, which is often much appreciated, since there must be some delay before the life insurance is paid.

At first sight it is a rather baffling question how such a limited economic interest—limited both qualitatively and quantitatively—can serve as material foundation for such an important social structure as the super-territorial Polish-American system, and even intelligent Poles, particularly the socialists and the Sokols (who permit mutual insurance but do not consider it essential for their organizations), are inclined to regard with scorn the "benefit" principle. However, it should be realized that the function of this business side of Polish-American institutions is not to create a bond between the members—the real bond is the satisfaction of the "social instinct"—but only to stabilize and extend a social cohesion which otherwise would manifest itself only irregularly and within narrower limits. In a word, mutual insurance is not a basis of *association* but of *organization*. It gives a minimum of rational order to those social relations which are the essential factor of the racial cohesion of American Poles. It introduces a regularity and continuity into the successive meetings, gives a definite purpose for each meeting, calls for a certain division of work, prevents up to certain limits

personal disagreements from breaking up the association, and counteracts very efficiently individual indifference and anarchy, since a member cannot cease to participate even temporarily in the association without losing all his rights and thereby also all the contributions which he has already paid. The desire to increase the amount or the security of insurance by inducing the members to recruit new adherents is one of the factors of the growth of existing and the foundation of new associations. In unifying different local groups into one system the insurance business is a permanent connecting link which bridges over periods when the super-territorial institution does not do anything definite that would call for the collaboration of its local units. Finally, the common insurance fund gives the organization a certain minimum of financial power—permits it, for instance, to pay its officials and own the building where its offices are, whereas a purely political, cultural or philanthropic institution has to rely for these necessaries upon uncertain, extraordinary contributions derived from collections, public appeals, parties, balls, entertainments, etc. The habit of paying appreciable regular dues once acquired by the members also allows the organization to impose small additional taxes for special aims without these taxes being felt as a burden.

The fact that mutual insurance has come to perform among the American Poles a social function out of all proportion to its economic significance is probably due to its very simplicity and to the small risks which it involves on the part of the individual. The immigrants were not sufficiently prepared to start at once economic cooperation on a wider scale or to grasp the more complex problems of economic solidarity, particularly as the intensity of American business life sets

a very fast pace for cooperative institutions, which must struggle hard in order to maintain themselves against the competition of individual enterprise. The scarcity of intelligent leaders, the economic dependence of Polish colonies on their American milieu and the lack of accumulated wealth contributed for many years to keep economic cooperation within the narrow limits of the mutual insurance system. All this explains why the Polish-American society has remained in this respect far behind the peasant class in Poland. Now, however, the situation seems to be changing. The Polish-American colonies are rapidly accumulating wealth. The mutual insurance organizations have given them the minimum training in cooperation which they needed and developed a new generation of leaders, not very cultivated but practically efficient. Thus we see during the last ten years a number of new cooperative institutions—banks, stores, factories—growing up throughout the country, and many Poles already begin to foresee a not very distant future when these institutions will combine into a new super-territorial system incomparably more powerful economically and probably more coherent socially than the one now in existence.

The motives which originally led to the formation of super-territorial institutions were of a political nature, and since there are several distinct political currents among the American Poles there is, of course, no possibility of creating a single organization embracing all the local groups. The political distinctions which led to the division of the Poles in this country into various camps had no connection with American politics; they were at first imported from Europe, later modified and redefined under the influence of internal social problems of Polish-American life. Before the war three or-

ganizations expressed the main political currents—the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Alliance of Polish Socialists. During the time of the war two new, exclusively political and antagonistic formations, the National Department and the Committee of National Defense, were superimposed upon these; but with the solution of the political question which gave birth to them—Poland's independence—they tend to disappear.

The National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union both claim priority of origin. This claim is not a merely academic matter; it is connected with questions of their social value. Each of them, indeed, has always aimed in vain to unify all American Poles; and Polish-American social opinion—even more social opinion in Poland—considers such a unification the highest ideal and deplores, without being able to remove them, the obstacles which prevent the realization of this idea. The National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union put the blame on each other for standing in the way of complete unification and each claims that, if it had not been for the interference of the other it would have achieved this aim. Both seem to be right here, though from different standpoints. For in so far as their respective influence upon territorial communities is concerned, the Roman Catholic Union, by enjoining subordination to the clergy and cooperation in parish life, is a factor of social unity, whereas the National Alliance is the refuge of most of the dissenters who do not want to subordinate themselves to the local parochial authorities. But with regard to the formation of a super-territorial system it is the Roman Catholic Union which has played the rôle of a dissenting group, and, as we shall see presently, its claims of priority can hardly be recognized.

The National Alliance started in Philadelphia during the first half of the year 1880. Its center was later moved to Chicago. The initiative came directly from Europe from Polish political *émigrés* of 1863 who had gathered around certain political and cultural institutions (the Polish National League and the Polish National Treasury, in Paris, the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland) endeavoring to concentrate and organize the social forces of Poland for the continuation of her national struggle. The formation of the Polish National Alliance was meant to be one of these actions of social concentration by which the scattered and consequently useless energies of the Polish immigrants in this country could be utilized for Polish national aims. The initiators understood very well that the immigrant settlements in America, unlike the small groups of political *émigrés* in Europe, had a character of permanence and that the majority of American Poles would never return, but would adapt themselves to American conditions and become American citizens. But they thought that the Polish-American society, when adequately organized, could remain an integral part of the Polish nation even while participating actively in American social life and being politically loyal to this country. In order to understand this idea we must remember that already half a century before (after the revolution of 1830) Polish social philosophers had developed the principle—which has been popularized by literature—that the unity of the Polish nation could be preserved in the conditions in which Poland had to live only by becoming essentially spiritual, independent not only of the "material" political situation but also of space and time in general. Poles were supposed to remain Poles for all time, not only ethnically but nation-

ally by their consciousness of national solidarity and their willingness to work for Poland, however far they might be removed from the Polish territory and under whatever state system they had to live.

The task of the Polish National Alliance as conceived by its initiators was thus to turn the Polish immigrants in this country into a strong and coherent part of the Polish nation. This implied two aims: 1) the maintenance and development of the intellectual, moral, æsthetic and religious bonds unifying the immigrants with Poland, and of actual social contacts between the colonies and the mother country, the former sending back individuals, particularly of the second generation, trained in commerce and industry, the latter sending out intellectual leaders and organizers; 2) the economic, social, and political progress of the Polish-American colonies themselves, for precisely because they were treated as an integral part of Poland they were an object of interest in themselves. In the beginning, however, there is no doubt that the second aim was subordinate to the first; the progress of Polish-American society was considered important much less for its own sake than in view of the services which it might render to Poland by raising the prestige of the nation abroad, by influencing —as in the case of the *émigrés* in France—American politics in favor of Poland and by preparing economic means and man-power for a forthcoming national revolution. The best proof of this attitude is found in the fact that not only the initiators in Europe but the organizers of the Polish National Alliance in America strongly emphasized the desirability of checking further emigration from Poland.

But such a complete subordination of the Polish-American colonies to Poland could not last. Immigra-

tion continued to pour in and the very progress of organization increased the self-consciousness of the immigrants. Even while thinking of itself as an indissoluble part of Poland, Polish-American society began to feel its own importance more. It was still, at least theoretically and in the words of its leaders, willing to work for the benefit of the whole; but it would no longer be treated as a mere annex of the nation, a tool with no other value than that drawn from its fitness to serve for the promotion of the interests of the mother country. It wished its own particular interests to be recognized as a part of the general Polish national interests, just as, for instance, the particular interests of Posen or of Galicia were recognized as a matter of general national concern. This attitude found its expression in the popular term "the fourth province of Poland" applied to Polish-American society—the first three being the Russian, Austrian and German parts.

The Polish National Alliance was for nearly a quarter of a century the bearer of this ideology. And in America it rallied nearly all those intellectual or half-intellectual elements which preserved contact with the old country and were influenced by the traditions of militant Polish nationalism. In Poland it was almost recognized as the official representative of the "fourth province," and was in contact with the "National Democracy," *i. e.*, that political party which combined as far as it could a radical nationalism in the political field with an equally radical conservatism in the economic domain. However, before the Great War the Polish national side of the idea of the "fourth province" had lost most of its real background, since, except for the importation of Polish cultural values—which the National Alliance certainly favored,—the contacts between

Polish-American colonies and Poland were weak and sporadic. Poland, absorbed in her own local struggles, was not very much interested in Polish-American life, and *vice versa,* Polish patriotism was not a vital matter with the great mass of American Poles, as we have shown above. The principle of the "fourth province" would probably have slowly died out with those leaders who had developed it and tried to keep it alive, for the National Alliance in spite of all its official proclamations was imperceptibly but continuously drifting toward the political standpoint which, as we shall see presently, the Roman Catholic Union had half openly taken from the beginning—that of a Polish-American, not Polish national institution. This is well illustrated by the fact that it protested energetically against all plans of the American government to restrict immigration—a curious change from its original attitude thirty years before. But the war, owing to a unique combination of influences, gave a brilliant though temporary realization to the dream of the nationalistic group in this country. Poland was overrun by fighting armies and the communication between it and the western world was cut almost entirely. At the same time Poland's independence became an international problem which was formulated most clearly here, by the head of the American nation. The interest in Poland, already aroused by the personal connections of many immigrants with the war sufferers in the old country, was further developed in the masses by the prominence which the political situation of Poland assumed in American public opinion. For once to claim allegiance to Poland gave some kind of prestige. Men from the old country came—men of a higher intellectual level than the local leaders—called for help and work until the Polish-American society sud-

denly realized that it was able to become a really important factor in Polish life. It could not only help with money and men, it could also for the moment assume the function of a representative part of Poland in its relations to the western nations and thereby influence appreciably the internal political situation of Poland by helping the Polish National Democratic Party to obtain the aid of the American government. Thus for the first, and probably for the last time, Polish-American society played for a while in Polish life a rôle similar to that which any one of the provinces of Poland might have played if it had remained free from foreign occupation during the war. And although the leadership in these activities was in the hands of a new institution, the National Department, created for this purpose, and the National Alliance was only the most important among several organizations which cooperated in establishing this institution and helping it to run, all this was in fact the triumph of the Alliance by being a realization of the official political program for which it had theoretically stood for many years.

However, even during the time of the war the chief political interests of the Alliance remained connected with the development of the "fourth province" in particular rather than with that of Poland in general. In studying attentively the reports issued by the organization during these years we come to the conviction that although a sincere desire to help Poland was not lacking, there was also another, even stronger desire to profit of the opportunities offered by the unique political situation to raise the prestige and to increase the cohesion of Polish-American society. It makes, of course, much difference with regard to the standing of the Poles in America whether they are wanderers without a coun-

try of their own or have the background of a strong and independent state; in particular, the official recognition of the Polish nation abroad seems to give a more objective significance to the Polish national organizations in this country. In the past the National Alliance had been working more strenuously than any other institution to make American society appreciate the American Poles better by trying to attract the attention of American circles to Poland's past and present and to spread among them the recognition of the unity, culture and historical services of the Polish nation. Much of what this institution did on behalf of Poland during the war had the same conscious or subconscious motive.

In another respect still the help offered to Poland during the war was an efficient way of fostering the special aims which the National Alliance had always pursued with reference to the Polish-American society. Since its intention was to unify the American Poles outside of the church and independently of religious interests it needed some general ideal to oppose to the theocratic ideal of the clergy, and Polish patriotism fulfilled this function. But of course, it could counterbalance the power of religion only if it found response in the masses, whereas, as we have seen, originally this response was rather weak. The National Alliance did all it could to change the mere racial solidarity of American Poles into political idealism. It initiated national celebrations on all important anniversaries. Its organs —the most influential and, except for two or three more radical papers, probably the best Polish periodicals in America—always tried to impose the national ideal upon social opinion. A large library in Chicago and a number of small circulating libraries popularized Polish literature among the masses. In its struggles against the

clerical party the Alliance continually put forward its own patriotic standpoint as a particular asset and thus not only strengthened in its adherents the belief that it was a real asset but even forced, as we shall see, its opponents to adopt similar patriotic attitudes. It always protested with indignation against the charge of the radical groups that it was a mere mutual insurance association, and emphatically proclaimed its "idealistic" character. But for fifteen or twenty years before the war it was really difficult to say whether the influence of the Alliance among American Poles was due chiefly to the appeal which it made to patriotic emotions or was simply the result of the fact that as the only important institution which openly opposed the domination of the clergy it rallied most of the independent and of the dissatisfied elements of Polish-American communities. The outburst of patriotic emotions during the war gave it at once a much broader positive "idealistic" foundation among the masses than it had ever had. In two years its membership increased by more than 20,000 in spite of the fact that there was no immigration, that the men of military age had been drafted, that many had gone over to the camp of the Committee of National Defense (see below), and that many others who would have joined it did not think it worth while because they planned to return to Poland immediately after the war. Thus Polish patriotism has proved useful not only for the prestige but also for the unity of Polish-American society.

That not Poland but the Polish-American group is the ultimate object of interest of the National Alliance is indirectly shown by the growing place which American loyalty has assumed in the activities of this organization. We speak here of loyalty rather than of pa-

triotism, for the attitude expressed toward America is rather one of duty than of enthusiasm—probably because there has been no feeling that America needed anything more than a normal loyalty, whereas Poland called for sacrifices. Between this loyalty and Polish patriotism there was never any conflict or discrepancy, however radically conflicting may be the tendency of the National Alliance—and of all Polish-American institutions—to preserve intact Polish culture and the tendency of American society to "assimilate" the immigrant culturally. The reason given officially for this easy reconciliation of the allegiance to America with the allegiance to Poland was that since America always stood for freedom it might be expected to help Poland regain and preserve independence; and thus by fostering American interests Polish interests would be indirectly fostered. This argument was certainly corroborated during the war. Moreover, the duties toward America were willingly assumed because of the fact that America gave Polish institutions the right to develop freely here. It is evident, however, from the study of the activities of the National Alliance that the manifestations of loyalty to America, just as the manifestations of patriotic enthusiasm for Poland, had their ultimate reason in the interests of Polish-American society, to whose institutions they brought recognition and security. Thus during the war the Polish National Alliance did as much as any purely American institution in fostering the recruiting of volunteers and the sale of liberty bonds and war stamps; but its efforts did not remain unrewarded, for it earned special recognition from the United States government, had its existence guaranteed (while the German National Alliance lost its charter), obtained freedom from censorship for its organs, helped

to gain for Poles who were former Austrian or German subjects exemption from the laws concerning alien enemies, etc.

In short the rôle which the National Alliance has played up to this moment can be summed up as follows. Theoretically this institution accepted the principle that the Polish colonies in this country should be made an integral but autonomous part of the Polish nation by means of a super-territorial organization in the form of a federation of local groups. In practice it has formed a large number of American Poles into a self-conscious body whose main official political bond, added to social bonds, is a commonly acknowledged allegiance to Poland but, whose ultimate aims are the prestige, security and solidarity of Polish-American society.

Very different was the standpoint originally taken by the next largest organization, the Polish Roman Catholic Alliance. Its initiators and organizers were priests, already settled in this country with an intention of staying. The parish system was perfectly satisfactory to them as long as they were left in complete control of their parishes. They saw a need of communicating with one another, and even of forming, if possible, a regular theocratic government of the Polish colonies in order better to control all unruly elements within and to defend the autonomy of the incipient Polish-American church against interference from without, particularly from the American clergy. But at first they did not see any need of a *direct* unification of the Polish colonies into one social body. The patriotic motives which actuated the initiators of the National Alliance did not appeal to the majority of the Polish clergy. The Roman Catholic Church was not willing to let its members take any active interest in Poland's national struggle. And

even those priests who, like Barzyński, had participated in the revolution of 1863 were discouraged by the results of this revolution and deliberately joined a party formed in Poland at that time whose political doctrine was the resignation of all claims to national unity and independence and the reduction of national activities to the one aim of preserving Polish culture within the limits imposed by complete political loyalty to the partitioning states. Transferred to American soil this doctrine was interpreted to mean the preservation of the cultural integrity of Polish-American colonies—language, religion, mores—but no participation at all in the political life of Poland or even, more generally, no political aims whatever.

Nevertheless the clergy was pushed into politics and forced to organize Polish-American society into a federation of local groups. Two factors were active here —the formation of the National Alliance and the possibility of Americanization. The National Alliance by its very existence as a lay organization constituted a threat against the exclusive supremacy which the clergy desired to keep in its hands; as we have seen, it actually has become the refuge of rebellious and dissenting local groups. Seeing this danger, not only the Order of the Resurrectionists but the majority of other priests and lay leaders whose interests were connected with those of the clergy took a definite stand from the beginning against the National Alliance. A pretext for the opposition was easily found, for the initiators and organizers of the Alliance, though not in any way anti-religious, showed liberal and democratic tendencies and the Alliance was intended to include Poles without distinction of religious denomination. Even before the Alliance was actually formed it was denounced as masonic, heret-

ical, socialistic, etc., and the clerical group went so far as to induce an American bishop to excommunicate the organization and its adherents. But this was not considered enough; a rival institution had to be established. Thus a few months after the official foundation of the National Alliance, on the initiative of Barzynski and several other priests, some associations of the parish of St. Stanisław in Chicago federated themselves into a nucleus of the Roman Catholic Union which, in order to secure priority, claimed to be the continuation of the informal organization of parish leaders founded seven years before but no longer active.

Mere opposition to the National Alliance was, of course, not a sufficient bond to keep the Roman Catholic Union together. Since the rival institution had positive social and political functions some functions of the same kind had to be found for the Union. The existing situation, indeed, easily suggested a purpose which the Union could try to fulfil. Although the Polish colonies in this country were continually gaining in number, cohesion and self-consciousness, their very development made them more attentive to phenomena of Americanization in the cultural rather than in the political sense. Now, the Polish-American Catholic Church, however little it was interested in preserving the American Poles for Poland, was certainly much concerned about preserving them for itself. The whole reason of existence of the Polish clergy in this country was and is the ethnical separateness of Polish communities. We find therefore the seemingly paradoxical situation of the clerical party, which tends to ignore, without daring to oppose, Polish political patriotism and yet is much more intent on having the Polish immigrants remain limited to their own culture and isolated from

the American milieu than even the most exclusive Polish nationalists, who are rather inclined to encourage the participation of immigrants in American institutions and acquaintance with American culture, provided this does not impair their activities in Polish institutions.[1]

Of course the main instrument of ethnical preservation is the parish system; but in many communities the parish itself needed to be strengthened against both the attempts of the anti-clerical elements to create lay social centers and the influence of the American milieu which attracted many among the more intelligent and active immigrants. The failure of the projected theocratic government forced the clergy to realize the necessity of supplementing the parish system by a half democratic super-territorial institution whose special function would be to uphold and propagate in all communities the principle of ethnical preservation as supreme standard of social activity and to idealize the parish system as the only instrument of preservation.

To this function was gradually added another. The Polish-American clergy saw very well that in order to have a strong position in its relations with the American Catholic Church of which it formally was a part, it had to show a social power based upon the will of the immigrant masses, to demonstrate that it had the backing of Polish-American society. The Roman Catholic Union—nominally a lay institution, only unofficially controlled by priests—has been continually used for promoting the interests of the Polish clergy not only with the American bishops but even in Rome. This was, of course, in perfect accordance with its general standpoint

[1] An interesting illustration of this difference is the fact that many radical nationalists have openly advocated the public school instead of the parochial school.

as to the importance of the parish system and the clergy for Polish-American life.

It is rather surprising that the Roman-Catholic Union, whose principle of ethnical preservation is more in accordance with the predominant tendencies of Polish-American society than is the political, patriotic policy of the National Alliance, and which has enjoyed all the time the protection of the most prominent representatives of the Church, has nevertheless remained in all respects behind the National Alliance. This can be explained only by the relatively lower average cultural level of its members and by the fact that its functions are shared more or less by other similar though smaller institutions, formed later, and also under the influence of the clerical group. It seems that the church is rather disinclined to let any one lay organization, however completely it may be under clerical control, assume too much power lest it should some time become difficult to manage; the policy is to encourage several organizations at once in every field and to control all of them. Besides, by this method the clergy finds it possible to utilize even the dissensions between its adherents by giving the dissenters an outlet in separate institutions. This policy has certainly proved prudent with reference to the Roman Catholic Union, whose prestige and even existence have been more than once endangered by dishonest or unwise management. For the Catholic Church, which has always tended to utilize lay political and social institutions to foster its aims, experiences, as its intellectual and moral influence upon society decreases, a growing difficulty in finding among the laity intelligent and honest tools.

For the reasons mentioned above the Roman Catholic Union has been merely a weaker copy of the Na-

tional Alliance in its internal organization, in its economic and cultural functions. When the Alliance started any new line of activity which improved its system or raised its prestige the Union usually followed the lead of its rival. Such was, for instance, the case with the publication of its organ, with the introduction of mutual life insurance, with the organization of special philanthropic and cultural departments (information for new immigrants, assistance in old age, library, stipends for poor students) with the admission of women to the management, etc. But even more significant is the fact that the Roman Catholic Union has been forced, partly by its rivalry with the National Alliance, partly by certain implications of its own policy, partly perhaps by the impulses of some of its own members which the clergy could not completely control, to engage in Polish patriotic activities.

Though the principle of preservation of the ethnical characters of American Poles for which the Roman Catholic Union has been standing is distinct from the principle of political allegiance to Poland which was the original creed of the National Alliance, in their practical applications they overlap to a considerable degree. And if the National Alliance has been led to subordinate its interest in Poland to its interests in the *Polonia Americana,* the Roman Catholic Union has been often forced to show some interest in Poland for the benefit of the aims which it pursues with reference to the *Polonia Americana.* The clergy may be very much disinclined to keep alive in the immigrant the patriotic Polish feeling which prevents him from concentrating all his energy on the development of his community and parish and contributes toward making him for a long time consider his stay in this country as merely tempo-

rary. But the danger of being attracted by Poland seemed more distant and practically less important than that of being absorbed by the American milieu, particularly for the second generation. Polish patriotism within certain limits could be safely utilized as a means of preventing Americanization and the Roman Catholic Union did utilize it, though it did not need it for the unification of its members as much as did the National Alliance, since it had an even stronger instrument in the religious idea which it emphatically proclaimed to be inseparable from the national idea in the cultural sense of the term. Religion was a pretext which permitted it to halt whenever its participation in patriotic activities threatened to subordinate it to the leadership of the National Alliance. Thus its actual contributions to Polish national aims have been much more limited than even those of the National Alliance. During the war it was, indeed, carried by the social current much beyond its original plans; like the National Alliance, though on a somewhat smaller scale, it contributed economically and politically to the Polish cause and exercised indirectly some influence on Polish politics. But these activities were only a temporary deviation from its line of conduct—a deviation which, as we have seen, has proved to be in the interest of Polish-American society and has raised the power and prestige of the Union.

While thus both the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union, in spite of their differences, have been essentially Polish-American rather than Polish institutions—the latter more so than the former—and the real object of their interest is Polish-American society, the third important political institution, the Alliance of Polish Socialists, differs in this respect radically from

both of them and, indeed, from all other Polish organizations in this country. It is the only political organization for which Polish-American society is not an entity, a self-sufficient object of activity.[1] In so far as its standpoint is manifested in its conscious reflective tendencies it recognizes the immigrant only as either completely a Pole or a Polish speaking American. It ignores entirely the "American Pole" as member of an ethnically uniform and socially coherent body which is neither Polish nor American. It never seems to make any appeals to the purely ethnical solidarity of the Poles as against other ethnical groups in this country. This attitude has found its expression in the existence of two different socialist organizations, the Polish Section of the American Socialist Party, which is interested almost exclusively in American political and social problems and forms a distinct group rather for practical than for national reasons, and the Alliance of Polish Socialists with which we are concerned now and which was for years—and, as it seems, is even now—a branch of the most powerful socialist organization in Poland, which differs from the socialist organizations in other countries by its intensely national character and has always considered the political independence of Poland its first and most important aim. All the interests of the American branch have thus been up to now almost exclusively connected with Poland. In accordance with the principle of international solidarity it has indeed taken part in American social struggles in cooperation with the labor unions; but it broke all connections with the International Workers of the World when the lat-

[1] The Sokols often seem to take the same attitude in theory but the Sokols are not a political organization and in practice, as a social institution, they are "Polish-American."

ter tried to counteract the war activities which the Polish socialists in this country developed during the war in order to help the Polish cause. The main purpose of the Alliance of Polish Socialists has been, indeed, the enlistment and preparation of workers to participate in the political and social life of Poland. It has been essentially concerned with temporary immigrants and presupposed that most of them would return to Poland and cooperate there, first in Poland's struggle for independence, secondly in the reorganization of the Polish state and society.

In this respect the Socialist Alliance is exactly similar to the old associations of political Polish *émigrés* in Europe. The analogy goes further still. Most of the socialist leaders and many members actually are political *émigrés*—almost the only political *émigrés* who have come to this country during the last thirty years. Intellectually and morally their level is thus on the average higher than that of the corresponding elements of other Polish groups in this country; they have brought with them more Polish cultural values and preserved closer contact with the culturally productive spheres of Polish society. For the same reason they have been able to understand American culture better; a part of their preparation for Polish life has been, indeed, the assimilation of such American cultural values as seem to them most useful for Poland with the intention of importing them to the latter country on their return.

The main activities by which the Alliance of Polish socialists tried to realize its purpose were propaganda and the training of members. The former, however, has not been very successful as far as recruiting of new members is concerned; the socialist organization numbers between one and two thousand members as against

one hundred and thirty thousand belonging to the National Alliance and about one hundred thousand in the Roman Catholic Union. There are several reasons for this unsuccess. First, the necessity of subordinating all individual and local interests to the Polish national ideal, which the Alliance of Socialists took much more seriously than other organizations, limited the circle of possible recruits to the most intelligent and idealistic among the immigrants, and the Alliance made a very careful choice of new members so as not to admit undesirable Bohemian elements. Secondly, many among those who would have joined the organization if it had been purely patriotic refused to commit themselves to the socialistic doctrines. Further, the parishes and the older and more powerful super-territorial institutions, whatever might have been their differences and dissensions, were equally hostile to socialism, particularly since the latter had become an appreciable quantity. Finally, economic dissatisfaction, which in Europe is the most powerful spring of socialistic movements, is relatively weak among Polish immigrants, who are on the average quite satisfied with their situation, in the beginning because their wages seem high as compared with those in the old country, later because they begin to own property and see prospects of advance for the second generation.

Realizing all this the Polish socialists have resigned all claims to the rôle of a political party here and practically consider their organization a training school and a center of future influence. "Let us form men every one of whom will be able in any locality without help to create spontaneously and . . . to lead an organization." Thus one of the oldest leaders formulated the purpose of the Alliance. Accordingly, the main attention was

paid to the theoretic and practical education of the members. Nevertheless, they wish to exercise some influence on the outside Polish-American life through the press and public meetings. This influence is out of proportion to their numerical weakness, owing to the intellectual qualities and intense activity of their leaders. It has manifested itself not so much in an acceptance by other groups of the positive suggestions of the Socialist Alliance as in the fact that the sharp criticism to which these groups were subjected forced them to take into consideration problems which otherwise they might have ignored, and the initiative which the socialists took in certain matters compelled their opponents to start activities which otherwise they might have never started. Particularly important in these respects was the rôle which the socialist group played during the war, as adherents of the Committee of National Defense of which we shall speak presently.

It is, however, a particularly instructive fact that in spite of its conscious efforts to remain a purely Polish, not a Polish-American organization, even the Socialist Alliance has been slowly drifting in the direction which the evolution of all Polish institutions in this country has taken and is becoming increasingly absorbed in local problems. The very struggle which it wages against other groups of Polish-American society brings a growing concentration of its interests upon this society. The local groups of which it is composed are, of course, in contact with Polish-American communities; through competition with other local associations and adaptation to local conditions they are unavoidably drawn to the common type which we have studied above. An increasing proportion of members acquire the feeling of permanence with regard to their stay in this country,

and it is already clear that, though relatively more of them than of other groups will return, enough will remain to keep the organization running, and lately, since the war has ended, the future purposes of the Alliance have been implicitly or even explicitly formulated as connected rather with the social and political life of America than with that of Poland.

The war in general marks a crisis in the evolution of the super territorial system of Polish-American society by bringing to a full expression the Polish national tendencies, and by realizing the goal of all these tendencies—the independence and unity of Poland—has left no definite object for Polish patriotism in this country. The special organizations formed during the war to promote Polish interests have a sociological significance for our present study as showing the function and the relative importance of Polish patriotism in Polish-American society in general, not only in particular institutions existing in this society. They represent the only really consistent effort to unify all American Poles exclusively by the power of a political ideal, without the help of those social and economic factors which, as we have seen above, are at work in such permanent super-territorial institutions as the National Alliance and the Roman Catholic Union.

In the beginning of 1913 the Polish parties which under the leadership of Pilsudski were preparing a Polish national uprising in connection with the coming war sent a delegation to America with the purpose of obtaining the aid of American Poles. A "Committee for National Defense" was formed in which at first all Polish-American organizations participated. The "Committee" was intended to be a subordinate agency of a provisional revolutionary government established in

Poland. Its aims, of course, bore exclusively on the Polish situation. Soon, however, its unity was destroyed. Personal dissensions precipitated the break; but the latter was unavoidable in view of the prevalent tendencies of Polish-American society. After six months the representatives of the clerical party, led by the Roman Catholic Union left the Committee. Various reasons were given for this step, some personal, others political—unwillingness to accept the leadership of socialists, who did indeed play an important part in the Polish revolutionary government and in the American Committee as the initiators of the whole plan. The deepest reason expressed itself in the protest which this group raised against the Committee for neglecting entirely all local, Polish-American problems, and in the formation of a rival organization, the Polish National Council, whose aims were almost exclusively local and which maintained only a vague connection with Poland. The clerical party simply remained true to its policy of ignoring Polish affairs for the sake of Polish-American affairs. In the following year the "national" group under the leadership of the National Alliance also seceded from the Committee. It seems, judging from the past tendencies of the National Alliance and the later developments, that the fundamental factor of this breach was the unwillingness of this group of American Poles to subordinate themselves to orders from the old country instead of playing a political game of their own. However, in this case the secessionists found a better formal reason for not remaining in the Committee than the clericals did a year before. The plan of the Polish revolutionary government was to cooperate with Austria against Russia so as to liberate first of all Russian Poland, counting that Germany would be too much occu-

pied on the western front to influence the eastern situation unfavorably for Poland. But the revolutionary government was not endorsed by the "National Democratic Party" in Poland, which considered Germany a more dangerous enemy than Russia and was therefore inclined to favor cooperation with Russia or at least a policy of non-interference and bargaining. As soon as the war actually broke out the latent opposition between the Polish-American group led by the National Alliance and the rest of the Committee crystallized as an opposition of the anti-Russian and the anti-German "political orientation," the latter being in the eyes of the National Alliance sanctioned by the authority of the "National Democratic Party" in Poland. The second secessionist group organized a "Central Relief Committee" which, though not concerned with local social problems like the National Council formed a year before, was not yet a political institution. Only in 1916 under the influence of Paderewski, Dmowski and other European leaders, and wishing to counteract the Committee of National Defense, all the groups which opposed the latter brought into existence a political organization under the name of Polish National Department, whose chief aim was to promote the cause of Poland's independence by financial, diplomatic and later also military activities, but relying entirely on the Allies.

We need not relate the history of Poland during the war. If Poland has actually recovered by the force of arms most of her territories from Russia and Germany this was due chiefly, if not exclusively to those groups which started the national revolution under Piłsudski, whereas the work of the National Democratic politicians has had great importance in the recognition of Poland by the allied powers. What interests us here

is the bearing of the evolving political situation in Europe on Polish-American society.

The opposition between the group represented by the Committee of National Defense and the groups centered around the National Department was incomparably more violent than any party struggle in Poland because the difference between their attitudes with reference to the Polish question was aggravated by the fact that these camps represented radically different standpoints with reference to the political aims of Polish-American society.

The Committee of National Defense represented the idea of complete subordination of Polish-American politics to the orders of those organizations in Poland which at the given moment were the bearers of the idea of national independence. It subordinated itself to the provisional revolutionary government because during the first two years it was this government only which unconditionally proclaimed the independence of Poland as its aim, whereas the opposing party declared itself satisfied with autonomy under Russia. Later when the Central Powers proclaimed Poland independent, though confined within the limits of the Congress Kingdom, the Committee recognized the new government which was formed under German occupation. Its opponents had by that time agreed to demand the complete independence of Poland, but the Committee still protested against their taking any steps in the name of that country on their own initiative and asserted that their duty as Poles was merely to obey the Polish government *de facto*. When finally Poland freed herself from German occupation and was recognized by the Allies the Committee decided that, except in so far as it could assist Poland in the work of political and economic reconstruction, the

political rôle of Polish-American society was at an end, leaving the internal politics of Poland in the hands of the Polish Diet and external politics to the accredited representatives of the government.

It is significant that the Committee of National Defense rallied only a very small minority of Poles in this country. This fact becomes even more instructive when we study its composition. It included besides the socialists most of those intellectuals who were educated in the old country and who in this country did not participate much in the life of Polish-American communities, a few old men with the traditions of 1863, and a limited number of recent immigrants of the younger generation. In general it recruited its adherents chiefly from among those not completely assimilated by Polish-American society. Recently the socialists seem to be dropping out and the majority of the others will probably return to Poland. Unless there comes a fresh tide of immigration, including more intellectual elements than previously, the political attitudes represented by the Committee will soon entirely disappear.

The National Department, around which the immense majority of American Poles were concentrated, represented, on the contrary, the idea that Polish-American society had the right to have its own political standpoint with reference to the Polish problem. There is no doubt that in determining this standpoint the interests of Polish-American society itself played an important part, however exaggerated may be the statement of the opponents of the Department that the leaders of the latter used the Polish situation as an instrument for their local politics. The activity of the Department certainly has been beneficial to Poland, though the financial contribution which Polish-American society through its

medium sent to Poland fell far short of the expectations of this institution. In fact, the results of its activity have been more important for Polish-American society than for Poland. It has greatly increased the self-consciousness of this society and thus prepared the way for its more complete unification. It has been the first fairly successful experiment in subordinating most of existing territorial and super-territorial organizations to one superior organization and imposing a common purpose on all Polish-American communities. And such an experiment is likely to be repeated. Moreover, the framework created for war purposes still partly exists. The National Department worked through a system of local organizations, so-called Citizens' Committees, which in addition to their war activities performed certain functions connected with the interests of the local communities such as, for instance, assisting immigrants in securing American citizenship.

This brief survey of the most important super-territorial organizations leads us to two general conclusions. First, these organizations have been successful in the measure in which their activities had ultimately in view the benefit of Polish-American society as a separate group, its unity, its prestige, its economic and cultural interests. Secondly, they had nevertheless to make a show of Polish patriotism and even to work more or less for the Polish cause, because Polish patriotic aims were traditionally considered the *raison d'être* of all organizations of Polish immigrants, because among the more intelligent and active Poles in this country some Polish patriotic tendencies have always existed and, finally, because the distinction between Poles in the ethnical sense of the term and Poles as members of the Polish nation was difficult to estab-

lish in practice and the ethnical solidarity of American Poles could not be easily separated from the idea of their common allegiance to Poland, since the Polish national ideal was considered a part of the common stock of Polish culture.

But the crisis brought by the war has greatly diminished the importance of this second principle of Polish-American super-territorial organization. Since the independence of Poland became a fact the main explicit patriotic purpose of Polish associations outside of Poland has disappeared. There are, indeed, many other things which such associations could do for Poland. They might, for instance, serve as mediums of social contact between Poland and other nations or as agencies for the importation of foreign values to Poland and of Polish values to other countries. But none of the particular aims which might be developed in these lines could play the same rôle as the ideal of national independence, which seemed sufficiently general and important to rally all the Poles, had the quality of moral elevation equal to religious ideals, and appeared to the American Poles during the thirty years preceding the war as sufficiently vague and distant not to require too immediate and uncomfortable personal sacrifices. Further, those in whom Polish patriotism is really strong can now return to Poland, if they wish; whereas those who do not return will have no longer any justification in proclaiming themselves Polish patriots nor any right to affirm that they are prevented from returning by political reasons. There will be no longer the old feeling of duty connected with the preservation of Polish patriotism. Moreover, the establishment of a Polish state and the consequent official distinction between Polish citizenship and American citizenship will make the prin-

ciple of dual patriotism difficult to maintain. A Pole who forswore his allegiance to Russia, Germany or Austria in order to become an American citizen did not impair thereby his moral allegiance to Poland, but he can not forswear his allegiance to the Polish state and maintain without contradiction that he is a loyal member of the Polish nation.

Thus Polish-American society in the future will have to be a part of America, not a part of Poland. But since even while proclaiming its unity with Poland it tended to assert itself as an autonomous part of the nation with purposes and interests of its own, it is even more bent on remaining an autonomous and self-centered part of America. It wishes to preserve in full its own ethnical character and to increase its social coherence, no longer for the sake of Poland, but for its own sake. It is willing to serve America, but its ultimate purpose is its own preservation and development. It desires to participate in American social, economic and political life, not as a mass of isolated individuals but as an organized and unified social body. It means to use such elements of American culture as will foster its own progress and it has the ambition of bringing into American culture some original contributions of its own. The relation which it intends to establish between America and itself may be perhaps best understood by likening it to the relation between a federal state like Switzerland composed of ethnically heterogeneous elements and any French, German or Italian Swiss canton.

In view of this changed political and social outlook Polish-American society must develop a new conscious and planful policy. It must define more clearly the various problems implied in its relation to America, invent new methods of developing

and concentrating its social and economic powers, find new ways of raising its prestige and of increasing its influence on American life. Can the existing social organization adequately fulfil this task? We doubt it. It is not easy for institutions which for years have pursued the same type of activities, used the same slogans and the same formalism to suddenly redefine their aims and methods. But there is a still deeper difficulty. Along with those activities which we have investigated above and which had certain objective outside purposes in view there have been, of course, activities all the time going on whose only object was to maintain the institutions themselves, to improve their organization, to strengthen their economic foundations, and particularly to increase their membership. Now, these activities have been continually growing in proportion to those which were directed toward the realization of the outside aims for which the institutions officially existed. Gradually and imperceptibly in the case of the super-territorial organization, just as in the case of the parish system, its own existence and growth has become the main object of interest.

In order to understand the origin of this attitude we must remember that all the super-territorial institutions except the purely political ones had an economic foundation in mutual life insurance and the strength of this foundation depended primarily on the formal perfection of the organization and on the number of persons belonging to it. The financial department of every organization was naturally interested more in the stability and numerical growth of this organization than in anything the latter could do in the social or political field, and the influence of the financial department on the affairs of the organization grew with the importance of

the financial operations. Further, the primary purpose of the whole Polish-American system was to unify all the Poles in this country by bonds of social organization and thus overcome the territorial and social isolation that would normally follow emigration. It is therefore no wonder if during this first period of Polish-American society the mere fact of association became a supreme value, independent of any further values to be obtained by association.

But these two factors have only contributed to strengthen a latent tendency which can be detected in every social group. There is no group which does not consider its own growth an important matter and when the purposes for which it has been formed have either been attained or lost their vitality the social power of the group, which was only a means for other ends, becomes an end in itself. This change is hastened by the rivalry between groups which fulfil similar functions. In this respect it is a notable peculiarity of Polish-American institutions that they avoid specialization and division of functions. This is probably due to the fact that the human material with which the Polish-American system is constructed is still in a large measure primary-group material. An immigrant who came from a peasant or small town community unconsciously expects the association to which he belongs to satisfy most of his social and cultural interests. Each Polish-American institution tends to fulfil this expectation as far as possible and tries to do a little of everything. The local association tends to become almost a parish in miniature. The super-territorial organization is little more than a local association enlarged. Every institution wishes to be self-sufficient and since it can be

self-sufficient only if it is powerful, it wants all the members it can get.

A good example of an organization whose own growth has become its only purpose to the exclusion of the purposes for which it was originally created is the Polish Alma Mater. At the time of its foundation in 1897 its aim was the social education of boys. In the course of its evolution it has become a mutual help association, including men, women and children; and the main task of every member (for which he is given encouragement in the shape of honorary and pecuniary rewards) is the recruiting of new members. The growth of the organization is the only purpose ever mentioned in its proclamations and meetings except for the usual vague generalities about unification of the Poles and preservation of their language, mores and religion. There are a number of other organizations, some country-wide, some provincial, which are in this respect exactly like the Alma Mater. The Roman Catholic Union and, in a somewhat smaller degree, the Polish National Alliance seem to be drifting irremediably to the same limits.

Polish-American society needs, therefore, a new super-territorial system more adapted to the new phase of its evolution. The only institutions now existing which may become the basis of such a system are cooperative economic associations—banks, stores, factories, building and loan companies, etc.—but it is too early yet to predict whether they will be able to play such a rôle, for attempts to combine local cooperative associations into wider systems are of a very recent date.

DOCUMENTS

[Documents 26-31 are typical descriptions of local groups belonging to various super-territorial organizations.] [1]

26. The Society of the Holiest Name of Mary (No. 2 of the Polish Roman Catholic Union), in the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka in Chicago is one of the oldest, largest and most vital associations connected with the Church of St. Stanisław. It was organized on September 15, 1887, by the Rev. Priest Wincenty Barzyński who was then curate of this parish. . . .

During the first few months the affluence of members was so great that the administration was forced to divide the association into three sections. From its very foundation the association began to work with energy for the weal and the development of the parish; less than a year after a permanent administration was organized the association conceived the idea of substituting a stone school building for the old wooden one and of constructing a hall for theatrical representations. They elected a committee which was to inform the good curate about this plan and to start action along this line.

The association during the whole time of its existence has always taken an active part in national work—arranged concerts, national celebrations, theatrical representations in order to inculcate the national spirit in the growing youth and to imbue them with Polish life and Polish mores. The association willingly granted and is granting financial assistance, particularly for the construction of Polish schools and churches; it gives financial assistance to Polish institutions for orphans and old people and helps materially all other philanthropic works which our emigrants undertake. . . .

The Society of the Holiest Name of Mary has always faithfully stood by the Church, because it believes firmly that it is possible to unite work for the Faith and the Church with work for the Nation and the Fatherland to the greater benefit of both the Church and the Fatherland. The highest recognition is due to the Society for its warm and willing encouragement of Polish schools and its generosity in this line. . . . Even in the

[1] These were written by the secretaries or by other members of the administrations of the respective societies.

year 1893, a year of general poverty and misery, in spite of the lack of work and earnings, it imposed a special tax upon its members, paid its usual yearly contributions for the [parish] school, and gave $250 for the College of St. Stanisław.

Now the association numbers four hundred and two members. It has over two thousand dollars in its treasury for assistance in sickness. The present administration is composed as follows [14 names given; in addition to those officers which the preceding association had, it has a special usher and a standard-bearer but no guardian of the sick].

Album of the Parish of St. Stanislaw.

27. The Association of Polish Women [under the patronage] of God's Mother of Częstochowa (No. 53 of the Polish Roman Catholic Union) was organized on January 29th, 1900, in the parish of St. Stanisław Kostka by Priest Jan Kasprzycki who was then curate of this parish. The first administration of the Association was composed of the following members [11 names]. . . .

Its aim is to have the Polish women hold to the principles of the Roman Catholic faith and national traditions, for mutual moral and material assistance. By moral assistance we understand developing and promoting friendship, unity and real sisterly love, and spreading education in the Christian and national spirit. By material assistance we understand paying to the remaining family after the death of a member the sum for which she was insured. The Association holds meetings the second Sunday of every month. The Association of Polish Women . . . admits only members of Polish nationality from 14 to 45 years of age, who must have the proper qualifications required by the constitutions of the Union and of the Association. The Association remains under the supervision of the Most Reverend Archbishop and under the control of the local curate or of his vicar in religious and moral matters.

[Besides the insurance in the Union.] . . . In case of the death of a member who had belonged to the Association for 6 months, the latter pays to the heir or heirs $75.00 for funeral expenses. At the funeral of a member who had not fallen behind in her payments the Association orders a Holy Mass for her soul, appears *in corpore* at the divine service, hires two coaches

or one automobile and buys flowers worth $10.00. The members are obliged to go to confession and to Holy Communion twice a year, on the solemn feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Holiest Virgin Mary and during Easter time, as appointed by the Priest curate. The election of officers is performed in accordance with the constitution of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. The guardians of the treasury audit it every three months. The treasurer, the financial secretary and the guardians of the treasury must deposit bonds.

There is no doubt that the Association of Polish Women of God's Mother of Częstochowa has noble and elevated aims, dries the tears of orphans, obliges itself to nurse and to assist the sick, and to spread the Catholic principles, the commands of love of God and our neighbor. All the activities at meetings are carried on in Polish. To the praise of our sisters it must be also said that at their meetings reign perfect order, concord and sisterly love. No one can reproach the Association of Polish Women . . . for any injustice nor for the violation of the constitution of the Association itself or of the Union.

The Association during the relatively short period of its existence has given some theatrical representations for philanthropic aims, organized excursions for the benefit of the new parish school, made a contribution to the College of St. Stanisław Kostka, and every year contributes to the bazaar in the latter parish. In a word, one can boldly say that the members of the Association will never refuse a contribution for the benefit of the parish or of a philanthropic purpose, and always actively participate in all parish affairs. The association arranges for its members every quarter a so-called Variety Evening, adorned not only with a supper but also with a program. The Association has been developing successfully from the day of its foundation up to the present and now numbers 388 active members. The financial statement shows $2,256.51. . . .

Ibid.

28. The Society of St. Joseph (Group 62 of the Polish National Alliance) takes the first place among the oldest associations grouped around the Church of the Holy Trinity. It was organized in 1871. Its founders were [8 names]. In 1872 it began to build the church, which brought upon it much animos-

ity.[1] When the church was closed the Society bought it, took care of it, and defended it aganst a sale to strangers up to the time of ultimate victory. On its initiative continual appeals were made to the local bishop and other dignitaries of the Church, and a delegation was even sent to the Holy Father in Rome. These efforts, as we know, were finally crowned with a successful outcome, for which praise be to God.

After the reopening of the church our association began to work with increased energy, first for the development of the parish, later to increase its own number. Now its financial situation is not bad, for it has a capital of more than a thousand dollars. Of its organizers and pioneers the following ones are still alive [names]. In 1921 this association will celebrate its golden jubilee. The present members wait for this moment with great impatience. [Administration enumerated.]

Album of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Chicago.

29. The Society "The Key of Liberty" under the patronage of the Holiest Virgin Mary (Group 420 of the Polish National Alliance) is among the oldest associations of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, . . . founded in 1898. [The usual information.] . . .

The association numbers now 171 members of both sexes. During the 20 years of its existence it has paid for good purposes as follows:

For the hungry in Poland [during the war]	$ 180.00
Assistance in sickness [to members insured]	$ 2,973.50
Assistance after death [to members insured]	$ 1,689.50
Philanthropic expenses [not to members]	$ 797.85
Various expenses of the Society [administrative, etc.]	$ 1,768.49
Assessments of the Pol. Nat. Alliance	$15,782.21

Ibid.

30. The Society of God's Mother of Unceasing Help (Group 1333 of the Polish National Alliance) was founded in 1909. . . .

[1] The clergy of the oldest Polish parish, that of St. Stanisław Kostka, was much opposed to the formation of the parish of the Holy Trinity in its neighborhood. The latter parish has always been one of the relatively progressive communities, as against the ultra-clerical *Stanisławowo*. Most of its associations belong to the Polish National Alliance, not to the Roman Catholic Union.

[The usual information.] The Society . . . after short but hard work [as an independent organization] on the initiative of its president and secretary joined the Polish National Alliance. Since then it has doubled its activities, for not only it did not cease to work for the good of its brother-members of the parish but undertook new tasks for the benefit of the Polish National Alliance, of the entire Polonia in the United States of N. A., and also of our oppressed fatherland, Poland, working strenuously for its liberation.

The association . . . has collected altogether the sum of $8,500 . . . out of which $4,000 has been paid for assessments, $2,500 for national aims, $300 for assistance after death.

Ibid.

31. Division of St. Kinga (No. 12 of the Polish Alma Mater) [exclusively for women] was founded in 1903 . . . by the permission [and probably on the initiative] of Rev. Priest Jan Kasprzycki, Curate of the Parish of St. Stanisław. . . . It was the first feminine division in this parish. [Usual personal information.] . . .

Our division accepted the aim suggested by the Head Administration—to come together and work in common in order to increase the ranks of our organization. And now we count among the most numerous divisions.[1] Our purpose also was and is to become useful to ourselves and to Polish society by harmonious work and good intentions. We have tried to arrange parties and public entertainments connected with programs, for we do not lack fellow-workers in this field [those who can perform in public]. We have never refused any requests to give money contributions for the various Catholic institutions, often in a generous measure. We did not shun even public propaganda to increase our ranks, when it was necessary. We have also been sending delegates to diets. [Personal recognition of particularly active members and list of administrative officers.]

Ibid.

[1] The most naïve expression of the tendency which in fact constitutes the essence of the activities of many organizations and is often much more important socially than the great aims officially promulgated by them.

[Documents 32-37 are materials concerning the Polish National Alliance. No. 32 is an extract from a letter of Agaton Giller, former member of the Polish revolutionary government of 1863, written in 1879 from Rapperswil, Switzerland, to the *Gazeta Polska* of Chicago. This letter, which gave the impulse to the foundation of the Polish National Alliance, formulates very well the views and expectations of Polish patriots with regard to Polish-American institutions.]

32. Since emigration exists and constitutes a great power —a fact which cannot be denied—it should be the task of a well understood patriotism to make it as useful as possible for the national cause. This can be done only through organization, which will unify the scattered members and control them in such a way that they will not be wasted but will be preserved for the fatherland. . . .

Every Polish peasant, from whatever Polish province he comes, even from one of those which like Upper Silesia or East Prussia have been for a long time separated from the national body, when transferred to a strange soil among foreigners develops a Polish sentiment and a consciousness of his national character. This phenomenon is incomprehensible for those who saw the peasant at home without a consciousness of national duties. And yet it is quite natural. National consciousness originates in him spontaneously in a foreign country in consequence of the feeling of the striking difference between his speech, his customs, his conceptions from those of the people who surround him. . . .

If after the formation of a conception and sentiment of nationality in him there is some one capable of explaining to him the meaning of this national character and of making him understand the duties resulting from this character then this plain man, formerly ignorant and passive for the national cause, will become an individual consciously and actively serving the idea which rests upon nationality. . . . There is, therefore, no doubt that if a national intellectual class is formed in America the numerous masses can and must be changed into an active human group useful for the national cause, and in order to give them the possibility of becoming useful and at the same time surround

them with conditions which will prevent them from losing their nationality it is indispensable to unite the isolated individuals into more or less numerous associations and communities and bind these together in such a way that the resulting organization while serving the purposes of the Polish cause will be not only useful but indispensable for the private interests of every one of its members. . . .

When the mass of Poles in America is morally and nationally raised by the fact of being unified and is economically prosperous—which should be also one of the tasks of the organization—it will render great services to Poland, even by the mere fact of representing the Polish name well in America. These services can gradually become very considerable when the Poles begin to exercise an influence upon the public life of the United States, when they spread among Americans adequate conceptions about the Polish cause and information about the history, literature and art of our nation, when finally they become intermediaries between Poland and the powerful republic so as to foster sympathy with our efforts for liberation and develop it into an enthusiasm which will express itself in action.

Then only can happen that which is most desirable, *i. e.*, the emigrants who have acquired training in practical lines and wealth in America will begin to return to their fatherland to be useful citizens. . . . We do not need to put forward those benefits which a large organization of Poles in America could bring at the decisive moment when the future of our fatherland will be at stake, for this is easy to see.

Stanisław Osada, *History of the Polish National Alliance* (Historya Związku Narodowego Polskiego), Chicago, 1905, pp. 102-104.

33. [Article published in the first issue of *Zgoda,* the organ of the Polish National Alliance, November 23, 1881.]

What awaits the Poles in America? In putting this question we have in mind the hundreds of thousands of Polish people scattered over the whole territory of the New World without any connection between them. One fact is striking. From among so many Polish emigrants not only not a single powerful personality has risen, but the average level has not even reached that of the most downtrodden European people, the Irish. The problem is thus with how much dignity will the Poles wear on

their heads the crown of American citizenship. Will they remain behind the Irish and be only voting cattle, will they eternally continue to break stones, dig in mines, chop wood, drive mules, etc., or will they stand on the same level as Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen in the higher professions, in literature, commerce, politics and the arts? . . . The solution of these problems will depend on the influence which the many various associations of Poles in this country exercise upon the mass of emigrants, for until the emigrants learn the English language these will be the only school in which the Poles coming to this country can educate themselves. We can be sure of one thing, that if our emigrants continue to submit, as they have done until now, to the influence of obscurantism [clericalism], to the influence of those who for centuries have kept the people in blindness, they will never rise above the level of the Irish and the Polish name will never shine with any light in this country.

It is therefore necessary, first, that all existing Polish associations form one great national entity. Secondly, the Polish National Alliance should use the power of its organization to maintain an organ, a progressive periodical, which will enlighten and instruct the emigrant. It is necessary, further, that every commune organize a Polish library where the more educated will give lectures to their fellow-countrymen. At all celebrations of national anniversaries past and present Polish affairs should be discussed. With such means our emigrants will not only elevate their own spirits and rise above the level of the uneducated masses, but also will be better able to fulfil their mission with regard to Poland.

34. [Extracts from the constitution of the Polish National Alliance as revised in 1909.] . . . 2. The Polish National Alliance is composed of particular groups based on a federative system which does not interfere with the autonomy of the groups or with the management of their funds. . . . The aims for which this organization is founded are as follows: . . . 4. To spread friendship, unity and true Christian love among the members. 5. To try to help the members and their families in cases of physical disablement, sickness, accident or sorrow. 6. To pay benefits after the death of members provided these have

obeyed the constitution, rules and laws. 7. To assist members morally, socially and intellectually. 8. To develop patriotism among the members and to raise and strengthen intellectually, socially and materially all that part of the population of the United States which was born on the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia, and their descendants. 9. To commemorate with proper celebrations the chief anniversaries of the most important historical events in the past of Poland and to maintain and develop by all honorable means the national spirit of the Polish people. 10. Because we consider that the Polish National Alliance has been formed by the will of the Polish people in America, therefore, in the name of this people the Alliance will act legally in behalf of the independence of the Polish lands in Europe by all permissible means. In order to reach this aim the Polish National Alliance will tend strenuously and by all methods to the unification of all Poles, Ruthenians and Lithuanians in America under the national standard of this organization.

35. [Extracts from the Constitution of the Polish National Alliance as revised in 1913.]

Introduction. When in spite of heroic sacrifices and bloody struggles the Polish nation lost its independence, was condemned by the will of Providence to a triple slavery and forcibly deprived by its invaders of the right to live and develop, that part of it which was most deeply wronged preferred voluntary exile to the heavy slavery at home, wandered—following the example of Kościuszko and Pułaski—to the free land of Washington, and having settled here found hospitality and political and civil rights. This brave handful of pilgrims without losing sight of their duties with regard to their adopted country and nation founded the Polish National Alliance . . . with the following aims: A more perfect unification of the Polish emigrants, assistance in their economic, moral, intellectual and social development, preservation of the native language, the national culture and mores from decay, and more efficient action by all permissible means in behalf of the independence of the Polish lands in Europe. Today, therefore, desiring to stabilize further the foundations of this Alliance we, the people of the Alliance and the delegates of the 20th diet, gathered in Detroit, Mich-

igan, September 18, A. D. 1913, as faithful guardians of the ideals which those founders transmitted to us as a sacred heritage, after an experience of thirty-three years confirm and promulgate these fundamental statutes as the highest law equally binding all members belonging to the Polish National Alliance.

Chapter I

1. The highest legislative power of the Polish National Alliance resides in the general diet. . . .

9. The diet cannot vote any law limiting the freedom of worship or of political convictions of the members of the Polish National Alliance. . . .

Chapter II

9. It is treason to the Polish National Alliance for a member to incite or try to persuade other members, groups or departments to break away from the National Alliance or violate its laws and rules; it is treason to slander the Alliance or to harm it by representing in speech or writing the aims, tendencies or interests of the Alliance in a false light. . . . The penalty for treason to the National Alliance is expulsion from the organization and loss of all the rights, privileges and benefits of membership. . . .

10. No member, officer, group, committee, commission, department or part of the Alliance has the right to appeal to the courts of this country in affairs concerning the Alliance or any part of it until all the stages of jurisdiction and appeal within the Alliance, the diet included, have been exhausted.

Chapter VIII

1. The official language of the Polish National Alliance is the Polish language. . . .

Chapter XXIV

1. The Polish National Alliance will publish an official [weekly] organ named *Zgoda,* in which besides informatory and literary parts there will be special sections for particular depart-

ments and for the official announcements of the Alliance. In addition to the official organ a half-official [daily] organ named *Dziennik Związkowy* will be published, which will give all information about the life of the Polish people at home and in foreign countries, watch over the interests of the Alliance and defend the weal of the Polish people.

5. The publications shall be edited in the Polish spirit in accordance with the postulates mentioned in the introduction to this constitution.

CHAPTER LVII

2. The Alliance has the following permanent commissions: The Commission of Enlightenment, the Commission of the Library and Museum, the Commission of Assistance, the Commissions of Emigration, the School Commission, the Commission of Industry and Labor and the Commission of Colonization.

3. . . . The duties of the Commission of Enlightenment are a) to grant loans without interest to sons or daughters of members studying in higher educational institutions; b) to hold literary contests; c) to furnish the libraries of the groups with selected works; d) to organize educational circles in localities where there are groups of the Alliance; e) in a word, to help by all possible means in every work aiming to spread education in Polish society in America. . . .

5. The duties of the Commission of Assistance are a) to give assistance to sick members who prove their need of assistance . . . b) to grant assistance to members who present certificates of complete destitution . . . c) to try to increase the assistance fund by all permissible means. . . .

6. The Commissions of Emigration . . . in ports. Their duties are a) to give assistance to the emigrants; b) to take care of the homes for emigrants. . . .

7. The School Commission is composed of as many persons as the charter of the College of the Polish National Alliance requires. . . . The Commission is to take care that the college be essentially national and the system of instruction is based on the education of the youth in a spirit of nationalism and citizenship.

36. [Report of the president of the Polish National Alliance at the 22nd diet, Pittsburg, Pa., 1918.]

. . . . I begin my report with the political standpoint of the

National Alliance during the last three years, for on this standpoint depended not only the financial and numerical development of the organization but its very future existence. I shall never forget the end of the year 1916 and the beginning of 1917 when my office was flooded with letters from members of the Alliance demanding a revision of our standpoint and subordination to our country [Poland], for only our country could decide the political standpoint of Poles at home and abroad. . . . Great was the Prussian bait in the form of the Austrian-German manifesto published on November 5, 1916 [proclaiming the independence of Poland]. . . . At the same time the Central Powers were at the summit of their military power. . . . It seemed that all the hopes based on the Allies were falling to the ground . . . but we stood firm. . . . And today with joy and pride I can say that the Polish National Alliance has been victorious on the whole front, that it has not betrayed or thrown away the aims of its founders but has remained true to them to the end, and has lived to see the already victorious Allies accept as the main point of peace the demand for a free, unified and independent Poland with an access to the sea. I am persuaded that all the members of the Alliance share my pride and joy . . . for although the Polish National Alliance has become only the leading part of the enormous Polish machine organized by the emigrants in order to give our fatherland financial and military help, nevertheless our organization has had an almost decisive voice in the most important affairs bearing on the position and the future of the Polish nation. . . .

The benefits which the Polish National Alliance in particular and the Polish people in general have received from this victory are so numerous that I can not enumerate them all. I shall only mention the most important ones. . . . First of all, in the mass of the people of the Alliance self-confidence and trust in the leading elements of the organization have been firmly established. While in the politically uncertain period between the 20th and 21st diets the numerical growth of the Alliance was relatively small in spite of the fact that the emigration from Poland, though diminished, still continued, during the period preceding this diet the increase in membership was more than 20,000 notwithstanding the entire lack of emigration, the en-

rollment of hundreds of thousands of Polish youths under the American standards, the voluntary enlistment of thousands of them under Polish standards and the deplorable arguments of those intending to return to Poland who claim that it is not worth their while to become insured. An even greater difference is noticeable in the financial status of our organization, for during these three years the property of the Alliance was almost doubled, which means that all the groups willingly paid their obligations, feeling sure that their leaders would not disappoint them. . . .

From the very first moment of the organization of the Polish army the central administration of the Alliance devoted much attention to it and hastened to help whenever this was possible. . . . For this Polish army is the realization of one of the fundamental aims of the Polish National Alliance which even before the war prepared the Polish youth for this military action by surrounding the Sokols with its protection. . . .

Our organization has also with its whole heart promoted the war of the United States against our hereditary foe, Germany. Not only did numerous volunteers from the ranks of the Alliance enlist under the Star Spangled Banner, not only did I visit personally these volunteers in Jefferson Barracks, instilling spirit into them and placing Polish ideals before their eyes, but when the government appealed to the people for financial help . . . the Polish National Alliance bought $150,000 worth of liberty bonds, $5,000 of war savings stamps and through its organs developed such a propaganda that the people of the Alliance led all Polish organizations in the purchase of these bonds. The government of the United States recognized this effort and sent to the central administration special thanks for the activity of the Alliance, full not only of loyalty but of real patriotism.

K. Zychliński, President of the Central Administration.

37. [Extracts from the reports of the general secretary, the treasurer and the various departments and commissions of the Polish National Alliance at the 22nd diet in Pittsburg, Pa., 1918.]

June 30, 1918, the property of the Polish National Alliance with all obligations subtracted was $3,647,425.55. The Alliance had 126,056 insured members and 3,126 uninsured members.

The total amount of insurance was $72,275,200. There were 1,683 federated local groups, divided into 26 sections as follows:[1]

1. Eastern Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire	38	groups	2,876	members
2. Connecticut	48	"	3,506	"
3. Rhode Island	11	"	757	"
4. Eastern New York	96	"	7,672	"
5. Western New York	121	"	8,038	"
6. New Jersey	73	"	7,431	"
7. Maryland and District of Columbia	21	"	1,747	"
8. Delaware	3	"	265	"
9. Southeastern Pennsylvania ..	32	"	2,588	"
10. Northeastern Pennsylvania ..	153	"	13,901	"
11. Western Pennsylvania	203	"	14,993	"
12. West Virginia	18	"	675	"
13. Ohio	109	"	8,270	"
14. Indiana	36	"	3,398	"
15. Northern Illinois	339	"	28,339	"
16. Lower Michigan	101	"	8,302	"
17. Upper Michigan and Wisconsin	77	"	6,261	"
18. Minnesota	31	"	2,095	"
19. Missouri and Alabama	17	"	1,785	"
20. Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado	15	"	1,045	"
21. Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma	10	"	357	"
22. California and Arizona	7	"	271	"
23. Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana	18	"	761	"
24. Canada	2	"	54	"
25. Western Massachusetts and Vermont	22	"	1,848	"
26. Southern Illinois	30	"	1,192	"

For the period from August 1, 1915, to June 30, 1918, the total income of the Alliance was $4,701,600.75. The total ex-

[1] This calculation was made May 1, 1918.

penditure $4,581,659.21. In addition the following special funds were collected from voluntary contributions: A special gift for Poland [besides the regular contribution], $43,828.34; for the Polish army, $11,353.28; for Christmas for Polish children, $6,-094.38; for the museum in Rapperswil, $5,046.01.

The special departments and commissions had during this period the following funds at their disposal: The Department of Polish Independence, $187,515.87 [the report mentions 118 groups which contributed most toward this fund, the highest contribution proportionately to the number of members coming from a group in California]; the Commission of Assistance, $44,-866.59; the Commission of Emigration in New York, $24,178.58; the library, $1,911.10, besides free rent and the salary of the librarian [the library has 7,830 works and was used by 20,413 persons]; the Commission of Enlightenment, $9,703.98, out of which $4,605.00 was spent for scholarships, $1,056.65 on group libraries, 255 on books for Polish soldiers, $655.00 on schools; the Publishing Department, $639,894.73, with an expenditure of $593,093.98; finally, the College of the Polish National Alliance, in Cambridge Springs, Pa., cost during this period $170,387.32. In addition to this the National Alliance spent $2,415.00 on various philanthropies outside of its own activities.

[Documents 38-41 are materials concerning the Polish Roman Catholic Union.]

38. The Polish Roman Catholic Union in America . . . bears with justified pride the glorious slogans of Faith and Polonism, which have been for centuries harmonized in our nation. . . .

Let us look at the fruits of our labor in this country, gathered in the name of religion and nationality. We can, indeed, be proud of them, and we are better in this respect than other peoples here, for probably none of them has in so short a time gained so much for its cause or raised this cause to such a flourishing condition as we have. Hundreds of Polish parishes, hundreds of Polish schools and churches, hundreds of Polish priests, a series of religious and national organizations and associations, among them and at their head our splendid Roman Catholic Union grown under the aegis of Faith—all these work to maintain our standard and this work does not consist in empty words,

it is a work from dawn till night, in church, in school, in association, in society in general, truly godly and truly patriotic work. Who began it among us? Who is leading and spreading it? The Church. The Church through her servants, the priest patriots, gives us the impulse and the opportunity for action. She teaches us here that we are Poles, indicates how to behave to be worthy of this name, gathers us around the hearth of nationality and faith and faithfully defends her children from evil thought and subversive advice. The Church does this; without it we should be nothing, as we were nothing thirty years ago. Without it we should be lost for our fatherland, for the national cause, for ourselves and our children. . . . To our forgotten and unknown settlements in America came the priest from the fatherland. He came like a missionary. He taught how to pray to God, how to read Polish. He told them what Poland was, what the Polish people, their national tasks and duties were. The priests raised churches, built schools and hospitals, founded associations, inculcated the idea of concord and unity, organized fraternal help. The priests created from chaotic and dark masses a society which stands today, serious and strong, on the foundation of its national existence, and goes forward with the same leading thought which lives in the heart of every Pole. That we are Poles, that we shall remain Poles to our death, that our children here will be Poles—this is the work of our religion. This is the merit of the Roman Catholic Church.

Karol Wachtel, *History of the Polish Roman Catholic Union in America* (Historya Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego w Ameryce), Chicago, 1913, Chapter I, "Faith as the Basis of Polonism," pp. 11, 29, 30.

39. Our opponents say about us that we are merely a mutual insurance society. If it is so, then all our alliances and unions here are mutual insurance societies. Moreover, all the non-Polish institutions of this type are the same, for in view of the nature of American society and of its specific inability to do anything without material interests they all have accepted material propaganda and organization as a kind of foundation for their activities. Besides, even this material side has with us deeper and more generous motives, motives of a purely humanitarian

kind. Every insurance of ours is literally a benefit. . . . Taking into account the unusually low assessments in the Union in proportion to the amount of insurance and considering, further, that besides this insurance the member receives for the same money a whole series of other services which only the power of association of a large number of people can give . . . it will be seen that this "insurance association" often becomes here the guardian angel of the lonely emigrant and nearly takes the place of the mother-country which he left. . . .

Let us look from still another side at this insurance. . . . We receive here raw, simple, often very dark people. . . . You will not attract such poor fellows who come here for bread by lofty ideas and high aspirations. One of these has to be shown something practical, accessible to his understanding. . . . Only after being somewhat enlightened, raised and trained by association with his fellow-countrymen he begins to feel a real Pole, begins to talk about the need of education and is ready to give, if others do, some money for this education or for Poland, the old country beyond the ocean. This is how things are done here. This is how our society has developed. . . .

In the oldest constitution of the Union we read that the aim of the organization is fraternal help of fellow-countrymen, the spreading and development of the spirit of brotherhood and of mutual confidence, the maintenance of Polonism, the fostering of civilization and Christian morality. How did the Union fulfil these aims? . . .

One of the most beloved causes, the object of the sincerest devotion of the Union is education in parochial and higher schools. . . . The Union has always been deeply interested in young people. Every year many young members and societies of youth join the organization. The age has been lowered to 14 years. Former diets used to establish special commissions for propaganda among the youth—all this because of the justifiable fear that the second generation unless attracted to Polonism in early youth will be lost for the national cause. . . .

Another branch of the work of our organization in the American Polonia was and is the maintenance of the patriotic spirit in people with the help of national celebrations and of the cult of our historical holidays and solemnities. . . .

Energetically and steadily the Union has counteracted all attempts of Americanization from whatever source they came. As an example we shall mention the characteristic affairs of 1901 when Bishop Eis of Marquette, Michigan, issued an order to teach religion in English in the parish schools, and a few other American bishops imitated his order. These orders, however, provoked a series of protests from the clergy and the people. The Poles protested particularly strongly and among them the Union was one of the first to raise its voice. In a special memorial sent to the Apostolic delegate in Washington the reasons for the protest were set forth and the standpoint of the Poles was explained. The latter respect the authority of the Church but they have fled across the ocean for the sake of their national liberties which they could not obtain in their own country. Will they be deprived of their native language here in a free country? . . .

Among other affairs of the American Polonia in which the Union took a very prominent part was the effort to obtain equal rights for the Polish-American clergy in the hierarchy of the Church. The Poles have for a long time constituted a numerical and economic power among the Catholics of America, but even now they do not have proportionate representation among the higher Catholic clergy. . . . This affair was taken up by the Polish Catholic congresses, of which we had three, whose executive departments publicly and privately worked actively at Rome in order to break the prejudices and the opposition of Irish and German bishops. The Union fostered whole-heartedly the Polish action, helped, for instance, to pay the cost of the delegation sent to Rome in this affair and later solemnly received the special Papal delegate sent here to investigate the conditions. . . .

Everybody knows . . . that in the ruling spheres of the United States there is a strong tendency to limit immigration. . . . We defend ourselves as we can against these limitations of freedom of entrance into the country of Washington, which was guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and the Union has been energetically and efficiently participating in this defense. [It sent memorials and delegations to Washington.]

Ibid., Ch. X, "The Union and Polish Affairs," pp. 242-248, 260-263, 259.

40. In order to complete the picture we must add a few details about the rôle of the Union in general Polish affairs and its relation to the fatherland. Though we should sincerely like to write as much and as well as possible about our activities in this field, which should be considered the most important and essential since they concern the Polish cause itself, although we should be glad to relate at length the merits of our institution, impartiality compels us to confess that we must limit ourselves to a series of passing manifestations, not very important in reality because not systematically aiming at a stable policy for the future.

In saying this we hasten to mention that we have in mind not only the Union. We speak in this case about the whole "fourth province," the whole American Polonia, which until now has not been very productive for the Polish cause though there are already beginnings, promising a better state of affairs in the near future. Up to the present everything which the American Polonia has done for Poland has certainly been very well meant, very sympathetic but without permanent value. They were only sporadic and isolated manifestations, a few relief offerings, some expressions of indignation and sympathy for the lot of our fellow-countrymen in the fatherland, a few attempts to help arranged without sufficient preparation—that is all which can in general be said about the service of American Poles to their mother-country.

Ibid., Ch. XI, "The Union and the Affairs of the Fatherland," pp. 283, 284.

41. [The following article was written from the standpoint of the clerical party of which the Roman Catholic Union is the leading institution, but seems to express more clearly than other writers dare yet to do the now prevalent tendency of Polish-American society in general.]

On the eve of the second general diet of the Polish emigrants in America, which will meet next week in Buffalo, N. Y., we wish to express briefly and clearly our opinion about the most important question that this diet is going to decide, the question whether our National Department here should continue to exist or should be closed. . . . We do not see any need of dragging in this organization, which is wholly artificial and not based

on the real relation of the forces active in Polish-American society. In view of this we express here the opinion of our paper that . . . the National Department should honorably close its existence and disband. In expressing this opinion we speak not only for ourselves, not only for this one paper but for numerous masses of our society, for many circles of our citizens. . . . The political situation is now entirely different from that which was the background for calling the department to life and action. None of the needs for which the Department was created exist now either in the political or the economic, or in any other domain.

The political affairs will be taken entirely away from us and should be taken away in order that now when our state exists and must carefully guard its political dignity its course be not troubled by our dilettantism, which has caused considerable harm even during the period when we were doing our best work here. Politics will henceforth be conducted by our fatherland and its government and its foreign representative, the Polish embassy in Washington. We shall not mix into political matters and shall have not the slightest right to do so. Up to the present America could tolerate our Polonistic tendencies because they were based on the political program of Wilson with reference to Poland. But now, when the fundamental Polish ambitions have been realized, our rôle automatically ends and returns to its proper field. It should be clearly recognized that we here must be officially first of all Americans—of Polish origin and with sincere Polish sympathies, but Americans; and this excludes any politics which are not purely American.

In economic and humanitarian matters the field will also rapidly diminish. The relief activity is approaching its end. For the humanitarian work another kind of activity, much more important and more valuable morally and materially, should be substituted—we mean activity in such domains as commerce and industry. But for this the Department will not be needed. Up to the present it has done absolutely nothing in these domains and its Commission of Commerce has remained literally a "paper commission." This group of activities will be the object of the Polish consuls, who will deal directly with Polish firms, cooperative organizations, etc. . . .

There is little to be said about other affairs. There may be something still to do about influencing American opinion in favor of Poland, but in this line unhappily all the former activities of the National Department were completely insignificant, and the results reached by it are infinitesimal. We shall not discuss whether this was due to lack of forces, of abilities or of will. The fact is that this field has been fatally neglected and in many cases to the great detriment of our cause (the Jewish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian questions). . . .

We maintain thus our opinion that at the diet the rôle of the National Department should be declared finished and this organization dissolved. We shall have to go without it in the future, and we shall be able to do it. . . . We possess in our Polonia powerful and well stabilized organizations. These after resigning the wide fields of political and social activity mentioned above will be very well able to manage the particular local affairs. The work will be certainly at any rate in accordance with the general program of regeneration of our national life. Our patriotic bonds, our sincerely Polish spirit will remain in us, will not be abolished by the abolition of the Department, and peaceful, noble emulation in the social and national work will benefit both American Polonia and Poland.

[Karol Wachtel] *Dziennik Chicagoski*, Nov. 8, 1919.

DISORGANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

CHAPTER I

DEMORALIZATION

Demoralization is the decay of the personal life-organization of an individual member of a social group.[1] When studying the evolution of the peasant communities in Poland we have seen that individual demoralization is not in any regular and unmistakable way connected with social disorganization, *i. e.*, with the decay of existing social rules of behavior and institutions. Its existence in a social group certainly does indicate that the rules and institutions prevailing in this group at a given moment are in some respects inadequate, do not correspond to the real attitudes of the members and cannot furnish the latter with a life-organization adapted to their individual temperaments and at the same time capable of regulating their behavior in accordance with the demands of social life in the given conditions. And there is no doubt either that prevalent social disorganization, in those periods when the old system which controlled more or less adequately the behavior of the group members is decaying so rapidly that the development of a new social system cannot keep pace with this process of decadence, is particularly favorable for the growth of individual demoralization, whereas the prevalence of social reconstruction—a new system taking the place of the old even before the latter has completely decayed—is a factor of moral progress. But differences between individuals account for the fact

[1] *Cf.* Part IV, Introduction, and Part II, Introduction.

that, even in the face of a rapid disorganization, many members of the group are still able to preserve an old or create a new life-organization of their own, and even in the midst of intense reconstruction many members are yet unable to adapt their life-organization to the new social demands and remain or become demoralized. Furthermore, the effects of social disorganization and social reconstruction on individual morality depend on the relative superiority of the new system over the old as instrument of control of the individual by society, or *vice versa*. Thus in Poland the development of the new system has been accompanied by a general moral progress of the peasant class which more than counterbalanced—at least up to the time of the war—the demoralization accompanying the decay of the old institutions. In America, on the contrary, the moral progress due to the new organization created by the Polish immigrants is much less general and intense than the demoralization resulting from the fact that the old rules are losing their influence upon the individual isolated from his original social milieu. The new system here, even at its best, would be unable to control individual behavior as efficiently as did the old system in Poland, and thus the surprisingly rapid development of new institutions in Polish-American society, though checking the pace of demoralization, cannot prevent the average moral level of immigrants in general from slowly but unmistakably declining instead of rising, nor does it provide the society with adequate means of dealing with such radical cases of demoralization as those which we shall study presently.

The significance of our material bearing on the demoralization of the Poles in this country will be clearer if we always remember that all those attitudes which

enable the individual to lead a normal social life are directly or indirectly the result of a long series of social influences which have acted upon the original stock of his temperament and fashioned it into a character, that in other words these attitudes are *institutional* rather than spontaneous. We shall find overwhelming evidence that the natural tendencies of an individual, unless controlled and organized by social education, inevitably lead to a behavior which must be judged as abnormal from the social standpoint. This is true of all types and stages of intellectual and moral development. But it must be further realized that an individual who, like the peasant, has been brought up as a member of a permanent and coherent primary-group and accustomed to rely for all regulation of conduct upon habit and the immediate suggestions and reactions of his social milieu is much more helpless when his milieu fails to give him stimuli sufficiently continuous, varied and coercive for socially normal action than an individual who, like a city intellectual, has been accustomed to be satisfied with such superficial social stimulations as can be obtained from mere acquaintances or business contacts, has been trained to foresee and to be influenced by distant and indirect social consequences of his behavior, knows how to regulate his conduct consciously in accordance with general and abstract schemes and supplements any insufficiency of present social influences by personal ideals which society has helped him to develop in the past. The peasant immigrant is able to maintain his moral status in spite of the weakened social response and control only because of the power of mental habits. When a strong set of active associations has once been formed, even a weak social stimulus is sufficient to provoke the usual kind of behavior; a letter from home, the

response or recognition of a friend, even the mere remembrance of past social influences may be for a time almost as efficient in keeping the individual within the limits of normality as the consciousness of a direct social control by his old primary-group. But when the habit is broken, because the individual's social education was insufficient in the old country or because his temperament is more than usually refractory to the given social influences or because the stress of new conditions proves too strong, the average immigrant lacks the necessary preparation to construct for himself a new life-organization with such elements as abstract individualistic morality, religious mysticism and the legal and economic systems which he finds in America. In order to reorganize his life on a new basis he needs a primary-group as strong and coherent as the one he left in the old country. The Polish-American society gives him a few new schemes of life, but not enough to cover all of his activities. A certain lowering of his moral level is thus inevitable. Though it does not always lead to active demoralization, to anti-social behavior, it manifests itself at least in what we may call passive demoralization, a partial or a general weakening of social interests, a growing narrowness or shallowness of the individual's social life.

Of course the second generation, unless brought in direct and continuous contact with better aspects of American life than those with which the immigrant community is usually acquainted, degenerates further still, both because the parents have less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions and because the children brought up in American cities have more freedom and less respect for their parents. The second generation is better adapted

intellectually to the practical conditions of American life, but their moral horizon grows still narrower on the average and their social interests still shallower. One might expect to find fewer cases of active demoralization, of anti-social behavior, than in the first generation which has to pass through the crisis of adaptation to new conditions. And yet it is a well-known fact that even the number of crimes is proportionately much larger among the children of immigrants than among the immigrants themselves.

It is a characteristic consequence of primary-group life, where all the various lines of activity—economic, hedonistic, religious, etc.—are continually intermingled and the rules referring to them constitute one inextricable complex of tradition, that individual disorganization seldom limits itself to any one domain but embraces gradually the whole personality. We have already seen in our earlier volumes that when an individual rejects any social tradition of his group all other traditions usually lose their hold upon him, so close is the association between all of them. A logically motivated preservation of some traditional elements after the exclusion of others is possible only when the primary-group member is under the influence of culturally higher leaders. And this phenomenon is even more marked in those cases of individual disorganization which we shall now study. An immigrant of the first generation who becomes demoralized in any particular line—family life, economic relations, community relations—soon loses moral self-control in general, all his institutional attitudes are more or less dissolved. The situation is somewhat less radical in the second generation. Thus, we may find family and community attitudes disorganized but economic tendencies more or less

normal for a time—but even there regress or progress ultimately extends over the whole field of cultural life.

Thus, nearly every case which we have so far met involves, at least in an incipient form, most of the common varieties of demoralization. A strict and purely theoretic classification of our material on the basis of its content is therefore impossible. But each of the cases which we are taking into account here has been originally presented with reference to some specific practical problem and thus in each of them a certain particular line of demoralization stands in the foreground. These cases come from the archives of various American institutions which divide among them the social work with immigrants according to their special purposes.[1] Each institution has, of course, concentrated its attention chiefly on that kind of practical situations which it is specially meant to solve. By following this practical division of material we shall be able to treat each line of demoralization as subject-matter of separate problems, taking into account, of course, its connection with other lines. We do not feel entitled to give any concrete advice or criticism as to the way of handling the given situations in practice, since our object is theoretic, not applied sociology. But practice can be efficient only if based on a theoretic analysis of the causes of those phenomena which it tries to counteract, and we hope therefore that from our study useful practical indications will be drawn by others.

In accordance with this program we shall distinguish the following problems:

1. Demoralization of adults: a) Economic depen-

[1] The institutions of Chicago were selected for study because Chicago is the largest Polish center in the United States. We have preserved in this part the spelling of Christian names found in the archives of these institutions, but changed the family names, except in criminal cases.

dency (cases from the archives of the United Charities); b) break of the conjugal relation (materials chiefly of the Legal Aid Society); c) murder (Criminal Court and Coroner's office).

2. Demoralization of children (materials from the Juvenile Court): a) vagrancy and dishonesty of boys; b) sexual demoralization of girls.

These problems do not exhaust the total field of demoralization of the immigrants, but other forms are not so significant and representative from either the practical or the theoretic standpoint. Economic dependency is the most important and typical form of economic demoralization; the break of the conjugal relation is the central situation in the disorganization of the family; murder is the most radical expression of anti-social attitudes by which the decay of social solidarity and of the dependence on social rules of behavior manifests itself; vagrancy and dishonesty of boys and sexual disorganization of girls raise two distinct and equally fundamental difficulties concerning the adaptation of the young generation to the American social system.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

In investigating the economic situation of American Poles we are struck much less by the cases of economic demoralization which we find than by the fact that these cases are relatively so rare. The change from the old economic system of the peasant, based on family property or on the "servant" position, to the American system is so radical that a certain type and degree of economic demoralization would necessarily result in every case if there were no factors counteracting the effect which would otherwise be produced by the new conditions acting on the pre-existing attitudes.

The most important feature of the conditions of economic life of the Polish peasant at home as compared with those of the immigrant in this country is the high stability of the former, naturally leading to the formation of steady habits. This stability is, of course, particularly prominent in the case of the small farmer whose economic plans are determined in their main outlines for many years ahead.[1] But the manor-servant with his yearly contract and his chance of staying all his life in one place has also an economic life-organization which, while it offers no prospects of important advance and does not encourage any extraordinary efforts, prevents him at least from pauperization. The agricul-

[1] It is a characteristic sign of the stability of agricultural life in Poland as against America that the usual term of a contract for a farm tenantship in Poland is 12 years and, except for very small lots of land, no one would consider a yearly contract.

tural day-laborer, the trained handworker, the factory-workman are, of course, more subject to changes and uncertainty; and yet even in these lines habits are more easily formed in Poland than in America, for changes of the line of occupation are rare and there is little choice of opportunities. The immediate social environment, where its control is still strong, contributes by its continual demand for economic stability to keep the individual or the marriage group within the limits of normality, however low the standards of normal living may be in a given class. It is true, on the other hand, that when economic demoralization has already occurred the same factors make a return to normal life very difficult, but the influences leading to demoralization are much less general and powerful than in this country.

The immigrant, unless he settles on land, finds himself suddenly without any definite and permanent social scheme for economic activities. His "job" is seldom in his old line and he can change it any time and start on something quite different. Often the work is harder and always more monotonous than what he has been used to do, so that he is seldom if ever kept within a certain line by the attraction of the work itself. There is no security attached to any job; he may lose it from week to week and can only seldom base on its continuation any plans for the distant future. On the other hand, he is not very much afraid of losing it because he feels sure of finding something else sooner or later. He sees also that he can make debts much more easily than in the old country, both because of his increased earning power and because of the wider use of credit in American society. And these debts mean less because it is easier for him to escape the responsibility.

This whole set of conditions—to which must be added, as the first disturbing influence, the very fact of leaving the old economic status in search of new opportunities—acts upon the former tendency acquired from tradition and early experience to regard economic situations as essentially permanent and future possibilities as limited to a certain narrow field. The effect is the opposite tendency to live as if economic life were devoid of any general and stable schemes or principles, "from hand to mouth." This effect is, however, usually counteracted by other causes. The most important of these is the desire of the immigrant to acquire property by saving, which, as we have seen, is prevalent among Polish immigrants in this country. At first the property is thought of as a farm or shop in Poland; later as a house, shop or bank-account in America. If the conditions are propitious for the satisfaction of this desire, *i. e.,* if the immigrant earns enough to increase his savings continuously and he feels himself advancing to the status of a property owner, a new kind of economic life-organization, resulting from a permanent economic ideal, substitutes itself for the old one, which was a matter of habit due to the stability of external conditions. Later the ideal of property may change into that of a progressive increase of income or of a rise in the hierarchy of employments, and if the change is gradual the danger of economic demoralization can be completely avoided. The social opinion of Polish-American communities is the second important factor counterbalancing the demoralizing action of American conditions. The immigrant who comes to an older, coherent community finds certain already established social schemes of economic life which, though they differ from those

he knew and followed in the old country, are relatively easily understood and imitated.

But if those positive influences are neutralized by some other factors, or if additional causes reinforce the effect of the primary disorganizing influence—the relatively unsettled conditions of American labor—demoralization is bound to follow, and having once affected the old generation it communicates itself very easily to the young. Our documents will show what these secondary causes of decay are.

42. *Pichor Family.* Andrew Pichor was born in Russian Poland and married there in 1894. He emigrated to America in 1901. In 1914 he applied for help at the office of the United Charities. [Was out of work, rent unpaid.] . . .

"October 24, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office in a very much intoxicated state. Could not understand his Polish or English. His face was disfigured by small-pox marks. . . . Wanted the rent; was greatly excited and did not want to leave the office. Visitor called the police station but the officers did not come and visitor had to push Mr. Pichor out of doors. Mr. Pichor came back 2 or 3 times; sat in the waiting room and finally fell asleep. When he awoke he left the office very quietly. . . . [Later he explained some friends had treated him.] Asked to be excused and constantly repeated it was not his fault. He gave addresses of several foundries where he had previously been employed but could not find them in the telephone book, so gave him 2 carfare-tickets and told him to get right addresses and bring them to office. Said he was out of work 4 months and family had existed on loans from friends. Had very few relatives. Had a brother who had loaned him $10. . . . .

"November 6, 1914, found Mrs. Pichor and children in almost entirely dark rooms which were filthy. Woman looked stupid and did not seem willing to give any information as to relatives, income and man's behavior. . . . Asked her if she would not accept institutional care but she did not seem to understand what visitor was saying. Later stated her place was at home with her husband.

"November 7, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office very much intoxicated. Sent him home. November 10, 1914, Mrs. Pichor in office asking for food. . . . November 25, 1914, Mr. Pichor in office asking for rent which is 2 months in arrears. [In again 3 days later in intoxicated condition. Institutional care alone is offered.] . . . January 27, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office. Mr. Pichor has trouble with his leg; cannot walk. Owe 5 months' rent. February 20, 1915, Mr. Pichor in office. Paid him 50c for relief work. Was elated to have earned some money and said he would buy some liniment he needed. . . . [They continue to call and ask shoes, clothes, food, etc. Helped a little.]

"April 8, 1915, County supplies are cut off. Mrs. Pichor continually asks work for Mr. Pichor. Says he looks for work but can't find it. He used to get $3 a day. April 26, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office stating that Mr. Pichor tried to poison himself yesterday. A friend came in and notified police and Mr. Pichor was rushed to County Hospital. Later brought home. Mrs. Pichor is very worried as to Mr. Pichor's condition as he cannot eat, cannot swallow, his throat being very sore. A druggist sold Mr. Pichor the poison. Druggist said Mr. Pichor told him he wanted it for a horse [relief given]. . . . Mr. Pichor was sitting up and is still unable to eat. Had a big burn on his neck. Said he was only sorry they did not wait a half hour longer to take him to the hospital as then his troubles would be over. Said it was the idea of his wife and children going to an institution that drove him to it. . . . Seemed despondent and did not seem to feel that he had done wrong. Mrs. Pichor said that Mr. Pichor had not had anything to drink for several weeks, was not intoxicated at the time. Asked Mrs. Pichor to come to the office if she decided to accept institutional care. . . .

"May 4, 1915, Mr. and Mrs. Pichor and children in office asking milk or rent. Mr. Pichor threatened to drown the family if he could not get work. [Work for a charitable institution was given.] May 12, 1915, gave one-half acre land for gardening through the Bureau of Public Welfare. . . .

"May 14, 1915, Mrs. Pichor was utterly stupid. Could give no information as to ages or back history. Says she is 10 years old, never went to school [which seems to have been true, although her family were fairly well off farmers], does not know

when she was married. . . . May 20, 1915, Mrs. Pichor asking work for Mr. Pichor. Is afraid that he will commit suicide as he told his boy he will not have any father. . . . May 26, 1915, Mr. Pichor says he has continual trouble with Mrs. Pichor as she has no memory and cannot be taught anything. Does not know [difference between] bills; all are a dollar. She has very often passed $5 for $1. [United Charities had Mrs. Pichor examined and found she was a middle grade imbecile, 'clearly an institutional case.' They continue to ask work and carfare to their garden plot. Carfare only is given.]

"June 2, 1915, Mr. Pichor [was] examined and found normal. The doctor tried to examine Walenty but could not do very much with him. June 11, 1915, Mrs. Pichor was arrested last Saturday morning about 5 o'clock while picking coal from the tracks. A man who was there was taking coal from the car and the policeman arrested him and took her along, too. About 10 o'clock her husband became anxious and came to look for her and got her released on his promise to buy coal and wood hereafter. [Mr. Pichor said Mrs. Pichor spent for vegetables for the garden the $2.50 given them for food as she didn't like to see land go to waste. She was weeding the garden herself.]

"July 12, 1915, Mrs. Pichor said she would not go on summer outing as Mr. Pichor could not get along with the children. July 15, 1915, Mrs. Pichor says they have had no food for 2 days. Mr. Pichor tried to commit suicide yesterday with the butcher knife which Mrs. Pichor took from him [$1 grocery order given]. . . .

"July 23, 1915, Mrs. Pichor in office with letter from Mr. Pichor: 'I beg your pardon for charity for me, that is, for the ice but neither I nor my wife nor my children will or can eat ice, first, because we shall not nourish ourselves with it and secondly, because we might catch cold. So I decided to send back such a help which is not good for use. I would ask for such a help that I might nourish myself together with my wife and children and those tickets that I received for ice I gave them back to the office of Mr. Jablonski. My signature, Andrew Pichor. I now work for $1 a day.' She could not tell where he

was working, only knows he loads barrels on to a wagon. Started work the 20th.

"July 30, 1915, Mr. Pichor in office. Had only 4 days' work. Could not give name of place where he worked. . . . Will be unable to pay anything on rent. . . .

"Mr. and Mrs. Pichor were repeatedly warned to weed their garden and care for it by irrigation, etc. They had showed interest at first but were later careless. Mr. Pichor came out there drunk on several occasions and it was discovered he was selling his vegetables for drink. The plot was therefore taken from him, what vegetables there were to be given to Mrs. Pichor. When he found his plot had been taken away he went home and to relieve his anger beat his wife so that she could scarcely walk and gave her a black eye. He came with her and the children to the United Charities. He was in an ugly mood and threatening to kill Mr. Conley or Mr. Thompson of the Public Welfare Bureau and to commit suicide out at the plot, taking his wife along as witness. He refused to listen to reason so the visitor had him arrested. He was sentenced to $25 and costs to be spent in the hospital of the House of Correction taking the drink cure, Judge Labuy who sentenced him is familiar with Polish psychology and he thought the man was not perfectly normal. When Mr. Pichor was searched at the Police Station he was found to have $2.50 though he had represented himself as penniless. Mrs. Pichor did not know where he got it. Mr. Pichor's brother paid his fine and got him out of the House of Correction. He said he thought Pichor ought to be out while there was a chance for work. The United Charities then told him the responsibility for the family was on him as he had frustrated their plan of having him thoroughly examined. Mr. Pichor did get work and apparently kept it for the last record under date of October 18, 1915, is: "Mrs. Pichor in office complaining that everything was taken from the garden. States husband is working earning $2 a day. Does not drink as much as he did."

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

43. *Nowicki Family.* Mr. and Mrs. Nowicki were married in Pittsburg in 1891. Both had been born in Poland and spent their youths in unfortunate circumstances. His father died when

he was still small and he and his mother worked on a farm. He had only about 4 weeks' schooling in his life. He came to America at the age of 18. She also came to this country when still young. Her mother was a drunkard and her early years were embittered by the shame of this and by her father's bad temper. Her married life was from the beginning unhappy. She went to live with his mother, taking meals with her own family. Her husband deserted after one week and after his return failed to support her. For months at a time he worked irregularly, coming home every few days only and always at night. It was several years before they went housekeeping for themselves and during the first 3 years of this they were evicted 6 times for nonpayment of rent. A large family was born to them, Constance in 1892, Stanley in 1894, John 1895, Stella 1896, Sophie 1902, Cecilia 1904, Willie 1907, a child that died in 1910, and Anton 1912.

"October 25, 1910, woman in [United Charities] office . . . had come to Chicago 4 months ago from Pittsburg. Man is still in Pittsburg. She came away because man did not support her as he should and she felt that his influence with the children was bad. The 3 oldest children are working supporting the family. . . . Is not asking help but wants advice in regard to Constance. . . . One month ago she went to a party with Frank Rola, a young man who works [where she works]. She stayed so late at the party that at 4.30 A.M. her mother went after her. . . . Two weeks ago she left home [but later came back]. . . .

"September 21, 1912, Mr. Nowicki in office. [Lost place running elevator because it made him sick. Is living with family and asks for work.] . . . Says he likes work but gets nervous standing. Wants work as porter. . . .

"September 26, 1912, visited Mrs. Nowicki. Mr. Nowicki has a temporary job. . . . Stanley and John both work for Siegel Cooper Co. on wagons earning $7.50 a week. Constance is married [not to Rola]. . . . John wants to be a priest and studied 2 years ago in the Academy of the Holy Spirit toward that end. The family can no longer afford to keep him in such a school. Stanley wants to do designing or art work and has taken his work today with him to apply for entrance into some art school, she thinks it is the Chicago Art Institute. Both boys plan to go

to some night school this winter. . . . With the $10 a week which the man earns they could get along but she wishes to help by taking in work which she can do and still care for the 7 weeks' old baby. A few months ago most of their furniture and all their winter clothing was burned. . . . When she was in Pittsburg she bought a cow and sold milk and later bought a second cow and ran a milk dairy. This was too hard for her with the increase of the family, so they bought a grocery store for $700; but she trusted customers too much and they were forced to sell the business for $300. She asks for night work providing it would come at such hours that she could be at home to see the boys are not on the streets. . . . The family are intelligent and attractive."

The United Charities received an anonymous letter saying: "I got to ask for help. I have no money and can't tell nothing about that to my husband because he gets sick and we have nothing to eat supper. [The children are sick.]" Mrs. Nowicki wrote later that the above was written by Stella who forgot to sign.

"December 10, 1912, Mr. Connors in office saying this family separated on Sunday. Woman had told Mr. Nowicki she could not stand his abusive talk any longer. The man wanted the boys to put him out of the house so he would not have to pay anything toward their support, but they said they would never do such a thing. . . . [Man returned after two weeks and had operation for rupture.] Does not receive county rations and asks not to be reported as they will inquire of all the neighbors about them and this will make her so ashamed. . . . She says he is very much better around the house now. [She writes many letters to the United Charities begging for food, clothing, etc.]

"February 12, 1913, Mr. Connors in office. Said he had gotten John a very good place but he left it and ran away from home. . . .

"August 21, 1913, Stanley has been working in a photograph gallery at $6 a week and going to Lane School at night. He wants to be a cartoonist. Dr. Tarkowski had advised him to quit his present work as he thinks it is harmful. John is in Nebraska. Do not know where he is working. . . . He writes occasionally but sends no help. Stella is attending the Holy

Family Academy; her way paid by some society of ladies. . . . [She has musical ability.]

"December 27, 1913, clerk came from Father Sowinski's church again [for rent] and Mrs. Nowicki is very distressed. Says she would rather not have food than not pay the rent and have the neighbors know about it. Mrs. Nowicki is living in flat owned by the Polish Church. . . . Her daughter has a flat which connects with hers by an inner door. The house was well furnished: they have a piano. Mr. Nowicki is not well and his daughter thinks that the only thing he could do would be light work on a farm. They want him to get a piece of land such as is being colonized by the Polish people around Evanston. They could buy a cow on payments and make money from the milk. . . . They did not want help if it meant United Charities would go to the priest. Father Sowinski is a friend of Stanley and they feel that it would make Stanley feel terrible to have other people know how poor they are. The mother tries to conceal their poverty from him as much as possible. . . .

"January 29, 1914, Mr. Nowicki told an artist in the Tower Bldg. where he is employed as janitor about Stanley. He secured a place for him in the Art Engraving Co. [no salary but good experience] and arranged for him to go to the Art Institute. He pays $1 a week there outside of what materials cost him."

Mrs. Nowicki finally begged United Charities for help as Mr. Nowicki lost his job. "February 20, 1914, visited Father Sowinski. Did not know the family personally. Had had complaints that Mrs. Nowicki quarrelled with the neighbors. Thinks she is the nagging type. Will wait awhile for the rent but 'not too long.' Felt that Stanley's first duty is to his people even though he has an opportunity for an education. Visited. . . . Mr. Nowicki came home yesterday but did not stay. Mrs. Nowicki scolded him constantly. She thinks he is lazy or else 'out of his head.' Wife very anxious to have him examined. Constance said he was too 'long handed' and that was the reason he usually lost his places. Feels that John went wrong because of him. He is now in the penitentiary at Lancaster, Nebraska. He will get out in April or May. They had letters from the warden saying he is caring for him and that he is not a bad boy. [He was sentenced for a term from 1 to 10

years for entering a farmer's house and taking some money and clothing. He was wandering around with 2 other young men looking for work and came to this house which was empty.]

March 6, 1914, . . . phoned Mr. Raines [the artist] to inquire concerning place where Stanley worked. He is quite disgusted with family. Two little girls have been up to see him, also Mrs. Nowicki and her married daughter. He feels that they are willing to be dependent on charity and that they have hard luck stories. Mr. Nowicki was discharged from the Tower Bldg. because he cleaned very superficially. Mr. Raines feels that he is decidedly lazy and that there is nothing particularly wrong with him physically. . . . Stanley is not persistent enough. [Others speak highly of Stanley and of family.]

"April 1, 1914, [a Polish married woman took the case instead of the American girl who had been acting as visitor.] Mrs. Nowicki at first was unwilling to talk of her trouble. Later she said she did not know what steps to take or where to go for advice; felt that she could not very long go along the way she did because of her health and state of mind, restless in thinking of her children's future. . . . [Her husband's habit of stealing whether he needs it or not had always worried her.] Mr. Nowicki besides this has immoral habits—has no respect whatever for the children's ages and innocence. Mrs. Nowicki suffers agony of shame in trying to shield from children's knowledge facts that their father does not care to. When in Pittsburg a friend of Mr. Nowicki's attacked Stella, Mr. Nowicki did not think anything of it and invited him home again. He drinks a good deal and Mrs. Nowicki is sure he is not in his right senses. . . ."

Mrs. Nowicki thinks if children go to the Academy instead of public school they will not divulge what they knew or heard at home because they are closely watched by the nuns. She is worried about the children's ill health which she says is due to poor nourishment. For years in Pittsburg when Mr. Nowicki had not worked and was not able to steal, he would wait in stations when Pullman cars stopped and take garbage which they emptied and bring this home to the children. For weeks they sometimes did not eat anything but that. . . . Mrs. Nowicki stated that Mr. Nowicki is skillful at all kinds of work and he

could always get plenty of it but he would not try to get it. . . . When about September 20, 1912, their clothing and furniture burned it was Mr. Nowicki who set the fire and Stella knew about it. They had received $100 from the insurance company. . . . She states she could never go through court proceedings against Mr. Nowicki. . . . Mrs. Nowicki seems to be of a most nervous and weak disposition, also much worn out physically. . . .

"April 23, 1914, Stanley in office. Said Constance moved suddenly. Had not paid her rent for several months as she said it was no use and that she would prefer to have the money to pay on a place that they were buying. [Mr. Nowicki was living with her.] Stanley says that she constantly received stolen goods from her father. . . .

"May 4, 1914, John and Stanley in office. Mr. Nowicki had gone to Nebraska [walked all the way, he said] to have John released. . . . John seems a bright chap, strong and healthy-looking and speaks in favor of Mr. Nowicki. Blames his mother for being neither patient nor tactful. [Constance quarrelled with her husband. Mr. Nowicki was taken to court. John entered United States army, believing that was the only way of keeping straight.]"

A clipping from the Chicago *Tribune* told of the death of Mrs. Nowicki. Believing her family of 8 children was large enough for her to look after she performed an abortion on herself. Blood poisoning set in and she soon died. She was 40 years old. Mr. Nowicki did not take proper care of the children. Stella was sick in the County Hospital and generally unmanageable. She jumped out of a second story window at the hospital and broke her ankles. She said she did not know why she did it, probably was neurasthenic. The younger children were sent to an institution but Constance took them away and returned them to her father. The doctor reports Stella as a "mental deviate but not subnormal. Thinks she is a pathological liar with a strong core of egotism, a great desire for sympathy and a certain cleverness in gaining her ends." "Logic, bribes, persuasion had failed to induce her to submit to treatment. She would unfasten weights and tear off bandages while in hospital and will not come back now for massage" which would be necessary to keep her from being crippled for life.

Sophie died of heart trouble. Stanley joined the Illinois Infantry. Mr. Nowicki married again. The step-mother was mean and selfish and Mr. Nowicki neglected his children. The Polish visitor thought the secret of the downward tendency of the children was the constant quarrelling between their father and mother on a sexual ground. The children continually heard and saw things they should not have known about. She believed the father actually attacked Stella once when Mrs. Nowicki was in the hospital.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

44. *Judziewicz Family.* The United Charities were first asked to call on Mrs. Judziewicz in September, 1909, 5 days after she had given birth to a boy, Henry. They found her up and trying to do her housework. She said she and her husband had both been born in German Poland and had come to this country in 1896. There were 4 other children, Anton born in 1901, Leo 1904, Lillie 1906, Max 1907. Mr. Judziewicz had frequently deserted but returned and insisted on living again with his wife, until upon the occasion of his last desertion, 6 months before Henry's birth, she had procured a divorce. Mrs. Judziewicz, who was at this time 30 years old, was tubercular. When she obtained the divorce she had expected to marry the boarder who was father of Henry.

"September 19, 1910, landlord in office to ask rent. . . . Says woman is a very untidy housekeeper and children do a great deal of damage about the premises. Landlord met woman who had just come from hospital where she had gone to take her youngest child home as it was not going to live and woman preferred it die at home.

"September 21, woman in office asking help with funeral expenses as baby died 6.30 A.M. Her brother will buy lot. . . . Woman *does not want county* called in. Says church will not help. Two teachers gave $5 and some friends $2. She had gone from house to house begging the rest. . . . House was extremely dirty and children playing in the same room where the corpse was lying. Woman seemed utterly indifferent perhaps because she was so tired. . . .

"September 23, 1910, woman in office for pension [$2.50 a week]. Had been walking the streets begging for money for

baby's funeral. Had gotten only a few cents. Absolutely refused to have County bury the child. . . .

"October 17, 1910, woman in office demanding more aid. States in defiance that doctor orders her to eat eggs and much butter which United Charities must pay for. When told no more aid could be given until next day (regular pension day) she became sullen. Has quite settled into way of expecting U. C. to meet every demand she presents. The fact that her rent and milk bill are cared for by United Charities seems rather insignificant in her eyes. . . .

"February 23, 1911, visiting nurse in office. Woman has been in bed 4 weeks and though to the nurse she appears very normal she evidently believes herself a very sick woman. . . . [United Charities refused to help her unless she went to hospital. She refused and said she would beg if not helped. She begged from neighbors for awhile but after a month she yielded and went to the County Hospital. Her mother took the children.]

"April 26, 1911, visiting nurse in office to report woman home from County Hospital and staying with brother until she can find rooms. Says she could not eat at hospital and doctor allowed her to leave. . . . Nurse conferred with brother who says relatives are willing to help woman by caring for children although they are thoroughly disgusted with woman whom he insists is worthless. Says when man was home woman insisted on keeping boarders and that one of them is the father of the last baby.

"May 2, 1911, phoned Home for Friendless. Anton and Leo are there. The little girls were not sent to them. . . . Found woman at her mother's home sick in bed, very weak. Asks that United Charities get rooms and start her housekeeping as her mother does not want her. . . . Advised her to go to Dunning and stay until September 1 and then United Charities will look for rooms for her. Woman cried and said she would like to get her children together, that another boy kicked her boy and she did not believe they were well cared for at Home for Friendless. Advised her not to phone for visiting nurse or for United Charities until she makes up her mind to go to Dunning.

"July 31, 1911, woman in office with letter from St. Eliza-

beth Clinic asking general assistance. She is living with her children. Works in a tailor shop earning $2.50 to $3 a week. During the day children go to her mother's house.

"August 25, 1911, Miss Foley, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, phones. Does not see how United Charities can do otherwise than assume woman's support. Says their feeling about the house is entirely different from ours. No worse than hundreds of other homes in the district. . . . Says she knows woman has been impudent and that she has believed United Charities must help but feels her spirit is broken now and says the children are remarkably healthy. Says woman has Graves disease which would make her irritable and nervous. Also has some complication of the thyroid gland. Cannot live much longer, and is really a hospital case but she refuses to consider going.

"Visited man's mother; could talk no English. . . . She spoke very hesitatingly of her daughter-in-law . . . said she did not see very much and knew almost nothing about her. Is unwilling to give any information. Said she could not do anything for her and was as disagreeable as she could be. Visited woman. Found her sitting on porch finishing pants, sewing as hard as she could. Smiled and was glad to see visitor but seemed quite nervous and unstrung, like a frightened child who was utterly cowed by what she had been through. Spoke anxiously about the rent and was so sure she could take care of the living if she could only have the rent paid. Pleaded that she would not be sent to Hospital, that she could not do anything but think of her children. She knew she would die if she had to go. Said children were good and house was clean. Insisted on visitor seeing all the rooms which were kept in very good condition. Said she makes between 50 and 60c a day sewing and that she is working. . . . Says her relatives cannot or will not help her. [She stayed with her mother but landlord objected to so many children.] Sister loaned money for first month's rent: she had to return this. . . .

"September 5, 1911, woman in office. Could get very little work, almost nothing for food. Visited Jack Dahl, woman's brother. . . . They are unable to help woman: were very indifferent in their attitude towards her. Had nothing good or bad

to say: [wife] said she had seen very little of woman, that they lived very much to themselves. . . .

Visited Frank Dahl and talked to his wife: seems rather selfish, hard and stupid Polish woman. They own 2 very poor flat buildings, renting out 3 flats and living in one themselves . . . told same story of woman's immorality. . . . They say she had a good husband and she might have been well taken care of. She did not make a good home and he got disgusted with things and left her. She made no attempt to make her home what it should be and in spite of all the brother said she kept boarders and was immoral. Although she may have changed now their feeling is the same and they are unwilling to do anything. They feel, too, that United Charities would be foolish to put in any more money and that woman should go to Hospital. While visitor was there Mrs. Bukowski [sister] came in. She has the same attitude. . . . The entire family seem to be independent and care very little for one another, selfish and ignorant. John Bukowski also owns property. Also has 6 children and works at Deerin's for $2 a day. . . . Visited mother and sister. They had little to say. Suggested that they get all brothers to their house for conference with United Charities. At first they were very unwilling to have brothers come to the house because they thought they would drink and make a great deal of noise. . . .

"September 11, 1911, conferred with County Attorney who advised that woman's brothers may be brought into court to show cause why they should not contribute to the support of woman, provided it is proven that she is at present time unable to earn living.

"September 12, visited home of Mrs. Dahl. Only Mrs. Kossok was there. The brothers sent word that either they did not wish to come or that they had to attend a lodge meeting. . . . Woman in office; needs food. Told her visitor would deposit money in the grocery and butcher for her. She did not like this arrangement. Said she also needs money for coal in a very demanding attitude. Later visited Mr. Dodek. . . . The man . . . spoke quite highly of Mr. Judziewicz, saying he was an honorable, respectable and honest man, very industrious; he always worked steadily. Says when he was leaving them he

cried because of his wife's immoral relations with the boarder and told him he may never see him again. Said at that time he was going to take her back and leave the city with her but she refused to have anything to do with him, saying she would stab him if he came near her. Mr. Judziewicz sent as much as $50 to her. . . .

"October 13, 1911. . . . Visited court with woman where her seven brothers were present. Judge ordered her unmarried brother to pay $2 a month, Frank $1, Tony [owned a bakery] $1.50, John Bukowski $1.50, which amounts to $8.50 a month which money is to be brought to the office of the County Clerk on Monday. Leo the unmarried brother was arrested for contempt of court; said he would not pay. Later he was released.

"October 14, 1911, woman's mother and sisters-in-law in office. All have hard luck stories and insist they cannot pay. The son who was arrested said he will not pay mother's rent now and she is asking United Charities to do so. All complain that woman had good husband and money once and that it is her own fault. Say that men come at night and that she leaves the children and goes to neighbors and friends. Told them they might be able to secure Juvenile Court action if they could prove these things. [They paid nothing.] . . .

"January 5, 1912, case heard in County Court. The brothers were there with their wives, all very irate at the suggestion of paying and insisting there was no possibility of their giving money to their sister. Each one's story already made up told of sick wife or death which 'cost money.' Two or three admitted, however, that they had children of working age and one had a daughter about to be married who was taking his money at the present time. County Attorney recommended Bridewell. . . . He believed men would never get as far as the bridge across the Chicago River on the way to Bridewell. [Decision postponed.] . . . Visited Mrs. John Bukowski who repeated story of woman's immorality of 3 years ago as reason for not helping her and said that a year ago a nurse decided Mrs. Judziewicz was tubercular but that it was because she was 4 months pregnant with a child she subsequently got rid of, etc. [Man had wanted to return to her and she refused.]"

The Judge raised John Bukowski's rate at the suggestion of

the United Charities—he owned property and had 4 working children—from $1.50 to $2 and charged Joe only 50c, Frank $1.50 and Leo $1.50, the others nothing. Mrs. Judziewicz improved in health and the tuberculosis was cured. She was not eligible for a mother's pension because she had had an illegitimate child. The United Charities gave her the $5 a month which was offered to them by a charitable man. She therefore got along nicely. However, the family fighting continued. Once when she tried to rent some new rooms one of her sisters-in-law went to the landlady with the story of her immorality, saying that Mrs. Judziewicz had insisted on keeping boarders who worked nights and were at home all day while her husband worked. When the husband left, the boarders had left, too.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

45. *Meyer Family.* "Mr. Meyer, a German Pole, born of peasant parents, came to this country at the age of 23 years [in 1886]. His older brother who had preceded him several years, had settled on a farm in the outskirts of Chicago and by dint of hard labor and strict economy now owns 80 acres of good land and is making a comfortable living. Needless to say he is a respectable citizen. This brother sent the necessary funds to our Mr. Meyer in order that he, too, might have a chance. Up to date this money has not been returned.

"On arriving, Mr. Meyer was offered a chance to live with his brother but the lure of a large city seemed too great and Mr. Meyer, although unskilled in any line, took up common laboring work in Chicago, living in a more or less congested neighborhood. We know nothing, unfortunately, of his employment record until ten years later when he married a young German Polish woman, 25 years old. Mrs. Meyer, an illiterate woman, had been in America six years at the time of her marriage. She had for two years prior to her marriage done housework. . . .

"The first application for assistance occurred in 1898 [2 years after the marriage] when Mrs. Meyer came to the Relief and Aid Society of Chicago asking rent. Mr. Meyer had been out of work for 3 months. There was one child [Mary], 13 months old."

Nothing seems to have been done at this time. Other chil-

dren were born, Tillie in 1899, Theodore in 1903, Bruno in 1908 and Eddie in 1911.

"January 30, 1908, Mrs. Meyer came to the office of the United Charities. Husband had not worked for 4 years, mentally slightly abnormal. She had recently begged but had usually worked very hard. Mary picking coal from tracks. . . . [Helped by United Charities and County Agent.]

"January 3, 1909, visited. Man at home, says he had to care for children while wife went out to work. Told him he must get work at once as the doctor says he is able to work. [He had a severe fall several years ago which left him partly paralyzed, but the doctor reports that the man's greatest trouble is laziness.] . . .

"November 1, 1910, Miss Campbell, whose mother has employed Mrs. Meyer for years, in office to ask if man cannot be sent to Bridewell [House of Correction]; says woman has come to work with arms black and blue from beatings. . . . Mrs. Meyer says man has not worked for more than 2 months at a time in the 19 years of his married life; says he taunts her with the fact that she must work while he stays at home.

"November 3, 1910 . . . man given 60 days in Bridewell.

"January 13, 1911, visitor heard . . . that the man had taken carbolic acid New Year's Eve. Asked woman about this. At first she did not want to tell but finally acknowledged it; says he took 20c. worth of poison while she was at work. Children yelled when he fell and the landlord came in. . . . He got better and returned home again. Woman says man sleeps during the day and will not sleep at night, annoying her considerably, thus causing her to lose considerable sleep. Quarrels with her and uses vile language in the presence of the children.

"January 16, 1911, man in office asking to be arrested; said he is unable to live with woman any longer. [Jealous of unmarried man who calls on woman.] . . . [Man complained woman took some clothes from office of the United Charities, where she was employed as janitress.] Woman acknowledged doing this and said man told her to take anything she could lay her hands on as she did not receive enough salary for the amount of work she did. . . . While woman was away at work man burned all the bedding, lace curtains, new veil daughter had received at

Xmas, insurance policies, all the woman's clothes he could get ahold of and some of the children's clothes; also broke a clock and bit up woman's wedding ring. . . .

"March 7, 1911, man given year in Bridewell. [The visitor received the following letter from him dated March 28, 1911.] Dear Friend: . . . I am thankful that you put me here. I learned how to work. Please see my wife and tell her that I will take care of my children and her if she will please get me out. I don't care much about myself but I always worry about my children and her. I did not know how to appreciate when I could see my wife and children every day. If she gets me out this time I will know how to take care of her. I don't want my children to be left orphans while they are young. [A letter dated May 5, 1911 says] I think a year too much for a man of my age. And not being my fault at all. So I thought of asking you for a favor and try and cut it to six months . . . seeing this my first time ever arrested and being in Chicago 20 years. I think I am in teal [entitled] to a chance. . . . [Another letter under date of December 23 is as follows:] Would you be so kind as to tell my wife that I am sick in the hospital hear and send her out hear to see me and give me a visset and have her bring my little Boy Bruno. I want to see him very bad. I haven't seen him in so long. . . . You will half to excuse me for sending the letter to you and putting you to so much trubble but I have ben hear so long I have forgot the number where I live. . . .

"January 31, 1912, man in office, came directly from the Bridewell without visiting his home. . . . Told him that his wife did not wish him in the home and that he would have to get a position and stay at work for a month or two and give money into the home before United Charities would give consent to his return. [He stayed a few days at the Christian Industrial League, then refused to stay there any longer and went to his sister.]

"February 5, 1912, visited sister . . . not willing to keep man there. Said he had a wife and children and ought to be at home with them. Man said he would take steps through court to get Bruno, that he was nearly insane to think he could not see them when he was released from the Bridewell. . . .

"February 8, 1912, woman in office; said man had come home the day before at noon . . . and the children let him in. When she came home he knelt before her and kissed her hands and begged her to allow him to remain. Because he humbled himself to kneel before her she weakened and told him if he worked he could stay.

"February 9, 1912, man in office asking clothing; said he secured work at $1.50 a day. Says he had no shoes and has to work outside in the wet and also that his feet hurt him. [He quit in a week and did not seem to make much effort to find work in spite of threats of the United Charities to have him arrested if he did not.]

"March 14, 1912, Mary in office first thing in the morning to say that her father tore good overcoat into strips last night and burned it in the stove; that early this morning when they were all asleep in the house, he tore the curtains down and cut them, cut some of woman's clothing into strips, poured kerosene over feather beds, slashed the leather seats of the four dining-room chairs and did other damage of this sort. [Threatened to buy pistol and kill Mrs. Meyer.] . . . Mrs. Meyer frightened and nervous and broken-hearted over the loss. . . . [Later Mary phones that her father has come home and is sitting quietly in the kitchen.] Visited. Mr. Meyer announced that he had nothing to say for himself except that 'the woman got the best of it and had everything her way.' He stated that he knew the patrol was coming for him that day and wished to 'fix' things for his wife, that he 'had not done much but had done something.' His attitude in the matter was one of spite and the attitude of his wife toward him unusually fine. Despite all that had happened she was rather gentle and almost pathetic in her statement of the case. . . .

"March 15, 1912, case tried in court. Man had no excuse to give and did not attempt to defend himself before Judge other than to make the statement that 'there was a God in Heaven.' Was given $100 and costs; sent to House of Correction. . . .

"December 12, 1912, a neighbor phones saying Mr. Meyer home and as Mrs. Meyer wanted to put him out again he beat her unmercifully [with a poker].

"December 24, 1912, woman says man was arrested. . . .

Statement by Joseph Meyer to the trial judge: 'Yesterday, the 19th of January, was the twenty-second anniversary of my wedding to my wife, Martha, from whom I became an outcast through the entrance of a former old country school-mate and friend who arrived here two years ago from German Poland, and who has won my wife's affections. And between my wife and this man they have connived to have me sent to the Bridewell upon mere allegation without foundation or truth. I was never given an interpreter and it seems that the statements of my wife were sufficient evidence to have me sentenced to serve first 2 months, the second time one year, and the third time 6 months. . . . My wife has often said that she works for rich people and can through their influence dispose of me as she sees fit, as it only takes her five minutes to make a complaint and they will attend to the rest. For over 2 years my wife refused absolutely to do her family duty by me and upon my return from the Bridewell the second time my wife had another child, a boy by this said friend, and coolly explained it was none of my business. In her attentions to this man she neglects my children and demoralizes their moral standard. I am now well and able to work and willing to work for the good of the children that God has bestowed upon me, but my wife is again attempting to have me sentenced in order to have me out of the way so she can pursue the course of her new devotion. As I said before, through the lack of having had an opportunity to explain myself in court through an interpreter I have been exiled from my family and existed a convict for the time stated. My record in the Bridewell is, of course, procurable and shows that I received 54 days' credit for exemplary conduct. I have never been a drinking man. I am not having this letter written for me because I bear malice to the courts but I must seek some way of obtaining justice. [The Criminal Court Judge upon the receipt of a certificate from the County Jail physician that Mr. Meyer was insane, turned the case over to the Detention Court. Mr. Meyer wrote the Legal Aid Society asking for an attorney to defend him.] They had felt after a conversation with him that he was not right mentally and asked Mental Hygiene to have an examination made. . . .

"February 14, 1913, visited Detention Court. Man was sent

to Kankakee [insane asylum]. After sentence was pronounced woman and Mary were hysterical; said they had never wanted him to go and they would not leave the court unless he was released. Woman's cousin told Mr. Moore that Mary is not working . . . and that she is making her mother's life miserable [she had started to work when 14 years old but was dismissed from position with Mary Crane Nursery because she was untruthful and stole several small articles and some money. The United Charities, in their résumé of the situation for the court said] Mary . . . begins to show something of her father's temperament. . . . The child's confidence has never been gained. She has always taken her father's side and her mother is worried over her as she feels she is untrustworthy, is rouging her cheeks and not coming home directly from her work. She is a woman whose enjoyment of household possessions is undiminished by the miseries of her domestic experience, as is a natural coquetry which she has always possessed. We believe that this is an innocent attribute and that all her husband's accusations of infidelity are the suspicions inevitably resulting from sexual obsession in a man otherwise unoccupied for 20 years. He has, undoubtedly, a diseased mind."

"April 3, 1913, woman says that Mary did not go to work today as the paint made her sick. Asked that we call up the firm and verify this. Mary had been to Miss Farrell to get suit which had been promised her, but failed to see Miss Farrell and insisted upon getting a coat for which she agreed to pay $8 on the instalment plan. An agent came to the house to collect for this and Mary behaved so badly, screaming and crying that woman finally paid him $2. Mary now has the suit from Miss Farrell and woman wishes to return the coat but she refuses to do so. [Mary discharged from present position because it was proved she stole from one of the girls. Mary refused to take housework offered her.]

"June 9, 1913, woman in office in great distress; says Mary has not worked at all at the hat factory [as she had pretended]. . . . Has been going with a girl who worked there. The girls say the employer is an evil man and showed them a check book and said they could draw what they liked. . . . Mary [refused to let him kiss her but] stole this check book and on the 29th

forged a check for $12 which she brought her mother saying it was her pay. On the 2nd she forged another check for $11; $6 of this she gave to her mother and $5 she spent at Riverview Park. . . .

"July 29, 1913. . . . Probation Officer says Mary lost her job on the 25th, that one of the girls had loaned Mary a ring and when the time came for Mary to restore it, Mary could not find it. . . . [A report from Kankakee that Meyer had escaped was followed by a letter saying] 'he escaped one evening but returned of his own free will at bed-time and has since been residing in the Institution.' . . . January 17, 1914, Mary brought home $6 on the 14th but insisted upon $4 being returned to her and with this she bought a very elaborate hat of black velvet and gold lace. Talked with Mary. She was very defiant and said that she would spend her money on clothing until she had something to wear. Was not satisfied with the coat that United Charities had given her from second-hand store. Said she would keep her money until she could buy a new style coat. Told her that if she did so the United Charities would not help with food.

"January 22, 1914, Mrs. Meyer in tears. The forelady at the shop where Mary works telephoned that Mary had gotten married in court today. . . . Mary gave the date of her birth as December 18, 1895 [instead of 1896] and signed the affidavit herself. . . .

"January 30, 1914, visited. Asked Mrs. Meyer to take a position. . . . Suggested Mary could stay and take care of the children. . . . Mary was at first very unwilling to consent to the plan. While the visitor was there Mr. Andersen [her husband] came in. He agreed to the plan at least temporarily.

"February 4, 1914, Mrs. Meyer in office. Says the work is too hard at the present situation and she is not earning enough to feed the children. Mary has had to give her money and she is ashamed and sorry. She feels too nervous to work and wants United Charities to get Mr. Meyer out of asylum to support her. Jennie, her niece, took her to visit him and she found him nicely dressed and sober, doing teaming work. He promised never to drink and to support the family."

A letter written by the United Charities June 16, 1914, states: "We have found her this spring in a peculiar mental condition

due, we think, to sheer discouragement and a feeling of having been defeated in life. All of her home furnishings are dilapidated and of long usage, because of her inability to replace them. She has been a woman who always took a peculiar delight in her home and longed to have it furnished daintily so that it did not compare so poorly with the homes where she has worked. We feel now that if we might help her replenish her linen and some of her household supplies we might be able to tide over their period of discouragement and help her to feel that life was again worth living. . . .

"August 19, 1914, Mrs. Meyer and Mary in office. [Mary very well dressed and living in her own apartment.] Mary says she has been helping her mother continually with food and clothing. Her husband makes $19 a week but she has to pay $17 rent and $5 a week on her furniture. She also has to save money because she is now several months pregnant. Her husband wishes her to have a doctor. She is planning to have a midwife because it is cheaper. Advised her not to do this. . . . During a period of unemployment for her husband she refused to seek aid at her mother's suggestion as she felt too proud. . . .

"November 13, 1915. Tillie still earns $4 a week. . . . Must buy new dress [refuses to wear dresses given by charity as being old fashioned—same as Mary]. For lack of satisfactory dress she has not gone to church for 3 weeks. Mrs. Meyer fears she will slip away from church unless allowed clothes she wants. Her [Mrs. Meyer's] ideas become more and more erratic. She said she wishes she were dead, had only trouble.

"For the past year the church [Irish, not Polish, for the latter always demanded money instead of giving assistance] has had a decided influence over Mrs. Meyer. Her children attend the parochial school and the priest has taken a very active interest in their welfare. . . . The family lives in a less congested district and although Mrs. Meyer is still very nervous and frequently complains the whole complexion of the family has changed. She is very interested in a mother's cooking class started last winter . . . and is also being taught to write by her 12 year old son. . . . If the man remains in Kankakee and the children keep well we feel sure the family will eventually become self-supporting. It is surely the highest point as far as

the standard of living is concerned. . . . The present system of County relief cannot but have a debasing effect upon the family, particularly upon the children who frequently must accompany the mother in order to bring home the dole of inadequate rations. . . . Mary is a good housewife and a sensible mother. She is contented and happy and her ideals are considerably higher, due directly to her husband."

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

46. *Wasilewski Family.* Mrs. Wasilewski was born in Galicia. She left home alone at the age of 15 years and it was 8 years before her family heard of her again. Her father had been organist in a church for 20 years and retired to spend his old age on a small four-acre farm. When she did write home to complain of her poverty here her father wrote her that she had made her own choice and he could not help her, that it grieved him to hear of her misfortune and therefore he preferred she would not write at all.

"June 13, 1910, woman in office [of the United Charities] saying she married one year ago. Has a baby [Helen] 5 months old. Man does not want to support her and child. . . . Woman had man arrested some time ago, for which he received a 7-months' sentence in Bridewell. Man begged woman to have him released and promised to do better, which woman did. [Man disappeared. Marriage had been a forced one, 3 months before Helen's birth.] . . . She came to office again and again. United Charities proposed different plans but she refused to consider them; she did not want to give up her flat, was very unwilling to go to work and simply wanted money. . . . Later her landlord in office. . . . Says that woman quarrels with every one. Also that men come to the house; says that she neglects the baby, leaving it sometimes for hours in a swing out in the yard or locked in the house. Says she has a mania for swearing out warrants for people. Says she swore out warrant for her husband because he talked to some girl boarders that she had. She would like to get out of working, if possible. . . .

"August 20, 1910, woman in office saying she had no food in home. Gave her grocery order. Refused to take it, saying Damman does not carry the sort of groceries she likes, espe-

cially her favorite bread. . . . [She put her girl boarders out because she found them having men callers and acting disorderly. One man gave her a black eye.] She said she was ashamed to go to work with the black eye. Asked her why she was not ashamed to come to office with her black eye, to which she answered very impudently. [Continues asking for rent.]

"March 21, 1911. Woman is going from door to door with baby and begging [stating that her husband is dead]. . . . Visited . . . found woman living in 3 rooms all very neat and clean. Said she is sick and cannot do hard work. . . . Says if she could not get any assistance she would be obliged to take in boarders which would mean that she must live with a man. This she had tried to keep from doing. Asked for shoes for herself and dress [as Easter is coming]. . . .

"December 16, 1911. . . . County substation phoned to say that woman is there asking rations and had a doctor's certificate with her saying she is pregnant. [Roy John was born 5 months later. Father was married man with 2 children in Europe. He gave her a little money occasionally and she says he promised to get a divorce and marry her.] . . .

"November 21, 1912, woman in office. . . . Said again she was 'very sick' and could not go out to the dispensary, so had to come to United Charities to ask for a free doctor. This story is in character with much she has told United Charities, as the dispensary is across the street from her and the United Charities office nearly a mile away. . . . She is unbelievably childlike and naïve in her inconsistencies.

"November 11, 1912, County visitor . . . was told by her landlord and the neighbor on the first floor . . . that men were calling on Mrs. Wasilewski and the echoes of their jollification were often heard. Mrs. Wasilewski had called at the County Agent's office a few days ago very finely dressed and joyously informed the office staff that she was going to be married.

"December 6, 1912, woman in office; said she quarrelled with her lover about 3 weeks ago because she refused to take him into her house as a boarder. She told him that if he would get a divorce and marry her she would be willing to live with him. . . . Said she had a dream the other night in which her husband was beating her; consequently she is sure he is thinking of com-

ing home. She lays awake praying she can get work and that her husband can come back. She would tell him so long as she had 10 fingers she will have nothing more to do with other men and will remain true to him. [Asks United Charities to advertise for him; she heard he had $300. She received a letter from her brother from whom she had not heard in 15 years. He said he had written before but the letter was returned to him opened. She had her landlord arrested.] . . . Woman sure of winning case and seems highly pleased with whole affair saying before long house in which she is living will be hers. Refuses to stay another night, saying landlord will try to get in and murder her. Left office very angry and used filthy language when told United Charities had no intention of moving her. [The United Charities wrote a letter to the Associated Charities of Minneapolis asking information about Mrs. Wasilewski's brother and saying] She is an attractive woman and has a rather naïve charm. She varies from great craftiness in her dealings with us to absolute childlikeness . . . evidenced by her 'histrionic' ability. To evade working in the Mary Crane Nursery or following the other requests of ours she pretends to faint and is carried home in an apparently collapsed state. She ties her head in a towel and comes to the office where she will sit moaning and rocking for hours trying to play upon sympathy or when in a pettish spirit of refusal, she bangs her head violently against the wall like a small child."

She was committed to Kankakee Insane Asylum upon the finding of a jury composed mostly of Poles who found her quite incapable of caring for herself or using money sensibly. The children were placed in an institution. Mrs. Wasilewski wrote imploring letters to her brother and finally induced him to take her and the children to his home in Minneapolis. The report which the United Charities later received from the Charities of Minneapolis is as follows: "March 7, 1916 . . . her brother . . . has had very little to do with Mrs. Wasilewski for the last 2 years because of her actions since coming here. After he got her out of the Sanatorium at Kankakee he intended to take care of Helen and John so that she could go to work. She would not do this but preferred to run around with other men. An illegitimate child (Victoria) was born in Minneapolis in

September, 1914. This child died in infancy. . . . After Mrs. Wasilewski came to Minneapolis, Mr. Wasilewski wrote from Texas saying he would return to her if she were leading a better life. They did not remember name of city correspondence came from. She was pregnant at the time and he was not heard from since."

The United Charities learned from other sources that Mrs. Wasilewski had lived with her brother only a month and left to live with a man. She insisted upon having her children. Helen was with her brother who fought for the custody of the child, showing much hard feeling against Mrs. Wasilewski. He had prejudiced the child against her mother so that she was actually afraid of her. John was in a German Catholic Orphan Asylum. Mrs. Wasilewski persuaded the Juvenile Court to place Helen in the orphanage also, because her brother refused to let her see the child. Mrs. Wasilewski paid the children's board regularly for a time until she convinced the judge that she was able to care for the children and entitled to have them with her. She then adopted a different name and continued her old ways of living, receiving assistance from the United Charities who did not connect her story with what they knew of Mrs. Wasilewski. Finally the United Charities procured a warrant against her from the Juvenile Court because she neglected the children. After the summons was served on her she left town to avoid appearing in court and came to Chicago. Here she began begging under still a different name but was discovered and identified by the United Charities.

"February 21, 1916, Mrs. Wasilewski had large, healthy twins at the Chicago Woman's Shelter where she was put temporarily.

"March 3, 1916. . . . Hospital phones they cannot keep woman any longer . . . now that woman is getting up she is very hard to manage; uses vile language too [she was to work when well enough to pay for her back board, but was sent immediately to the poorhouse in Oak Forest. From there she wrote the United Charities] I don't ask you to put me in a poorhouse where I have to cry for my children. I don't ask you to put them in a home and eat somebody's else's bread. You only want people to live like you but I will not listen to you no

more. . . . I bet some people would have taken me and kept me there for a few days. I can't even live here without Helen and John. I am so sick for them. I listened to you and went to the hospital. I could live at home and spare good eats for them. What good did you give me to send me to the poorhouse. Please tell me and send me a letter back. For money I could find lots and lots of good places. Thanks Miss Jablowska that you told me of my children. I ask you Miss to send me the address of my children. . . . I am a good lady. I live like god gives me living. I want to live like good kind ladies live. I am such a not right lady living without a husband.

"March 20, 1916, Mrs. Wasilewski left Oak Forest during the night and was picked up by the Travelers' Aid Society at the depot and taken to St. Vincent de Paul's, who placed her in St. Joseph's Home. [She was again sent to Oak Forest.]

"March 29, 1916 (Clipping from Chicago *Daily Tribune*): 'Twins offered to Police. Mother brings 2 months old boy and girl to station for adoption. . . .' [Mrs. Wasilewski gave an assumed name.]

"April 8, 1916, Home for Friendless phones that Mrs. Wasilewski is there [applying for help]. . . . Said she intended to find rooms and support herself and her children by taking in washing and keeping boarders. [After a great deal of trouble Mrs. Wasilewski and the children were sent back to Minneapolis, as the County Agent decided she was not a resident of Cook County and thus not entitled to support in Chicago. To induce him not to send her she showed the $65 she had treasured all the time she had been in Chicago. He took this and used it to pay the carfare of herself and her children back to Minneapolis. The Juvenile Court of the latter place agreed to arrest her on her arrival for not appearing in answer to the summons it had issued before her departure. Her children were unusually attractive, docile and easily managed.]"

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

47. *Kupczyk Family.* Anton Kupczyk and his wife were born in German Poland and married there in 1906. In 1909 they came to America with two children, Gertrude and Kasimer, who were respectively three and two years old. In January,

1914, Kupczyk applied to the United Charities for help. He was receiving supplies from the county but wanted milk for the children. Investigation showed he had left of his own accord a carriage company where he had worked for two years at $8.50 a week and a saloon where he had been bartender for nine months at $10 a week. He claimed these wages were insufficient.

"The man has a very peculiar habit of crying pretty nearly continuously. His appearance is that of a decent fellow and he seems very much attached to his children. Also seems much more intelligent than Mrs. R. . . . January 22, 1914, Mr. Kupczyk was in the office in a spell of crying, states his wife will not give him anything to eat and makes him scrub and wash. Mr. Kupczyk asks $1 for food and money to pay 3 months' back rent. He states he walked today to the Carriage Co. and was told there was no work. He is all tired out and very hungry. Visitor gave him a hot cup of tea and a sandwich. Mr. Kupczyk has a very queer way of not looking straight in the eyes of the person to whom he is talking; looks always embarrassed but is exceedingly polite and humble. He says he never quarrelled with his wife and since they are married they have lived a very happy life. Now woman has changed and is very mean towards him.

"January 24, 1914, visited family. Found Mrs. Kupcyzk, a strange man (John Hubner), and children at lunch—meat, potatoes and coffee. Mr. Hubner and Mrs. Kupczyk were eating from one plate. When questioned whether Mr. Kupczyk had obtained work from Mr. Englers, Mr. Hubner stated that Mr. Kupczyk did not want work, nor would he try to get any. Little by little, as visitor questioned carefully she was told that Hubner was Bavarian, had boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Kupczyk for seven or eight years, that Mr. Kupczyk had practically given away his wife to him [as wager in a saloon bet] and has been extorting money from him ever since. The four younger children were Hubner's and it is only because the woman had begged her not to divulge anything (lest Mr. Kupczyk would take revenge on her) that Hubner has not said anything up to now. Five or six weeks ago Mr. Kupczyk quit working and said he did not have to work and it was Hubner's duty to support

him and his family. This attitude has lasted until now Hubner has nothing left from his wages ($15.00 weekly as night watchman at the Terra Cotta Co.). Mr. Kupczyk has even forced Hubner to borrow money for him. Last week he asked for money to go to Gary, Ind. Hubner gave him his last $10 yesterday. Mr. Kupczyk came for more. As Hubner refused Mr. Kupczyk said he would sell the furniture. Last night he brought some men to look at it. Mr. Hubner gives $10 weekly to Mrs. Kupczyk. Mr. Kupczyk takes it away in small sums. Mr. Hubner states he pays the rent of $11 every month and this month is paid until February 3. Mr. K. had offered to 'sell' his wife to other men, but Mr. Hubner does not know this except through hearsay. Mrs. Kupczyk says that Mr. Kupczyk told her to go to another man and she would get a nice suit of clothes for it. Mr. Hubner states that Mr. Kupczyk has been for a number of years an 'invert' [indulged in homosexual practices]. He thinks he can produce witnesses. [It later developed that the thirteen year old daughter and her younger brother, twelve years old, had the habit of spying through a hole in the wall and seeing their father's actions in his room, which was next to theirs]. Mr. Kupczyk swore he had not lived with Mrs. Kupczyk as his wife for years [but to the public he posed as her husband and the father of her children]. Mr. Hubner states that Mr. Kupczyk has a mania of crying, is but an 'old woman,' and yet has the ability to work on people's feelings. Mr. Hubner seems a decent fellow, big, strong, very quiet, big-hearted, though weak and easily managed. Stated that he loves Mrs. Kupczyk desperately and cannot live without her. Mrs. Kupczyk is a very homely, unattractive person to every one else, but evidently to John she is the 'apple of his eye.' He will protect her to the end. Wants to know if there is any legal way to better things for Mrs. Kupczyk. . . .

"February 13, 1914 . . . visited Mrs. Kupczyk, who states that Mr. Kupczyk came home a week ago, sold some of the furniture in the front rooms, took his belongings and moved away. He told Gertrude he was going to live at 822 Noble St. Since he moved he often comes home at night and Gertrude lets him in and he sleeps on the floor in the kitchen. Complains that his new rooms are very cold. Mrs. Kupczyk thinks it is best

that Mr. Kupczyk moved. She could not stand him any more. She has not the courage to forbid him altogether coming to the house. She thinks he has a right to see his children, but she is afraid he will teach them bad things. John Hubner wants to 'throw him out,' but is afraid on account of the noise it will make in the neighborhood. . . . Mrs. Kupczyk is the image of a Polish country girl, simple and stupid. She despises Mr. Kupczyk but has never told him so, as she is too afraid of him. She plainly acknowledges John Hubner as 'her man' and states that she does not know of a better man in the world. She begs visitor to arrange things so that she can get a divorce and marry H." This the visitor did not encourage, for Mrs. Kupczyk believed divorce was wrong because forbidden by the church. Mrs. Kupczyk, however, had no scruples about continuing to live with Hubner and when they found Mr. Kupczyk continued to annoy them and demand money, they quietly disappeared. Later, however, Mrs. Kupczyk returned to the United Charities the money she had borrowed from them in order to move.

From the *Records of the United Charities of Chicago.*

The cases above quoted show all of the secondary factors which bring economic dependency in spite of the positive causes which usually counteract the disorganizing influence of American economic life upon the immigrant.

The most striking and general of these secondary factors seem to be physical handicaps and mental deficiencies. But it would be a serious methodical mistake to limit our explanation to the mere statement of these factors, as is usually done, assuming that they are direct and sufficient causes of economic demoralization. The effect of physical or mental disability on the individual's social behavior depends not only on the nature and degree of this disability itself but also on the individual's own attitudes and on the social system which prevails in his milieu. None of the cases here quoted would lead to abnormal behavior in the usual conditions

of peasant life in Poland. However disabled physically an individual may be—like Maciejewski or Nowicki—there is some place for him in the family economy of peasant life, even if it is only the supervision of children in the absence of parents. His position may be inferior but not abnormal in consequence of the mere fact that his work is not equivalent to the expense of his support, and even if he cannot work at all he is dependent only on the family of which he is a rightful member, and his dependence is a simple and common social fact implying no feeling of sacrifice on the part of those who support him and little feeling of humiliation on his own part. There is, on the other hand, no tendency to exaggerate one's own disability in order to escape work, since the individual is interested in the results of his work as benefiting his own group and is willing to do as much as he can.

Here the social situation is radically different. American society has no place for the disabled except the hospital. But the hospital has traditionally meant pauperization in the peasant consciousness, and he refuses to go as long as he has some self-respect preserved. When American agencies compel him to go he feels himself pushed down below the level of economic normality. As a reaction he may cease to care for any standards and be ready to beg or steal in order to escape that ultimate humiliation. Even a temporary disability by reinforcing the general impression of insecurity brought by American conditions, produces an attitude of despondency which may even lead to suicide. We know cases in which suicide could not be ascribed to any other causes.

The Polish-American society counteracts this cause of economic demoralization in a considerable measure

by its mutual health insurance system without which a very large proportion of cases of temporary disability would be followed by economic decadence. But where the "sickness benefit" does not exist or is economically insufficient, and particularly in cases where the disability though only partial is permanent, society offers no preventive mechanism of any kind. Even if the individual or marriage-group has relatives in this country the large family has no longer its old significance in matters of social solidarity and the attempts of American institutions to compel relatives to help the disabled are entirely hopeless. The reasons are clear. In the old country economic life was included in and subordinated to social relations, economic solidarity was one of the necessary manifestations of a deeper unity of the large family which implied common responsibility and prestige, reciprocal response, community of traditions, similarity of occupations, etc.—a complex and indivisible set of attitudes. Here economic interests become dissolved from other interests and individualized; common prestige is no longer required, for the large family is not enough of a unit in the eyes of the community in which its members are scattered. Each member follows his own course of action, has a different set of interests, and whatever feeling of social cohesion is left is not sufficient to induce the individuals or marriage-groups to support the disabled relatives against their own private economic interests.

In cases of mental abnormality or subnormality the rôle of social conditions and of the individual's own attitudes is even more clearly manifested than in those of physical disability. The cases of Meyer, Mrs. Wasilewski and Mrs. Pichor are particularly instructive. The stupidity of the Pichor woman certainly

would not have led her into any trouble in the stable and regulated conditions of traditional peasant life in Poland. It would not have prevented her from acquiring the minimum of habits necessary in her position in the family and this position itself could have been adapted with the help of the large family to her abilities, however low. It is the novelty of the situations which she has to face in this country that makes her mental incapacity a factor of economic demoralization. Meyer and Mrs. Wasilewski are abnormal, not subnormal, but their mental abnormality is as much an effect as a cause of their abnormal social situations. The Wasilewski case is complicated by sexual demoralization, but Meyer's alleged "insanity" is a very clear and simple matter. The man was, of course, more or less abnormal temperamentally, which probably would have interfered to a considerable degree with his economic success and the harmony of his family life if he had lived in Poland. But he certainly would have remained a sufficiently steady and controllable member of his group to make any extraordinary measures against him unnecessary, whereas here his abnormality not only becomes an almost insuperable handicap by preventing him from constructing without social help a new permanent economic life-organization adapted to the new conditions, but everything that happens to him out of the traditional order to which he has been accustomed increases his inability to define the situations which surge up in the course of his life, breaks whatever remnants of normal habits he had left and drives him finally into a mental chaos and emotional despair actually verging on insanity. No wonder that at last the prison and the insane asylum are welcomed as bringing rest and relief in the form of a simple and regular life-organization

with no longer new and incomprehensible problems to solve at every step.

Somewhat similar is the significance of alcoholism for economic demoralization. The physical and mental effects of the direct influence of alcohol upon the organism are only one element in a complex situation whose other elements are the individual's traditional attitudes and the social and economic conditions. Drunkenness in a well organized peasant community is within certain limits a socially sanctioned and customarily regulated matter and precisely therefore, though it may impair the social and economic status of the individual, seldom leads to actual economic demoralization.[1] In this country both its proportion and its effects depend on the life-organization of the individual. If the latter tends to the ideal of property his use of alcohol is apt to remain within certain limits and indulgence does not easily lead to economic demoralization. If, on the contrary, there are no positive economic interests and particularly if the individual has been generally unsuccessful, alcoholism easily develops because it gives an emotional substitute for practical success, an illusory feeling of power which the individual needs in face of the difficulties of his position. In general it is clear that the unsettled conditions of the average immigrant favor a craving for artificial excitement of a pleasant kind. There is a still deeper reason why the immigrant wishes to drink. Drinking is always performed in company and by heightening social emotions produces a substitute for that primary-group atmosphere which every immigrant misses for a long time after coming to this country. The same situation which favors the develop-

[1] It is more developed and very disastrous in Polish cities for reasons which we shall discuss in Part IV.

ment of alcoholism also makes the effects of the latter more harmful. Even a moderate amount of repeated intoxication acts in a disorganizing way on an individual whose ability to lead a steady life is already weakened by the decay of his traditional economic schemes.

Alcoholism is also favored by laziness which it reciprocally favors but which often becomes of itself an important factor in economic disorganization. We need not discuss how far the so-called laziness is an effect of organic disability, for there is no doubt that it can be produced and is often counteracted by social influences and in so far as it is a socio-psychological attitude it cannot be organically explained but constitutes a distinct cause. By laziness in this sense we mean not the unwillingness to be active in general but the unwillingness to be active in those particular lines in which under the given conditions the individual can gain economic stability. Now this unwillingness may have two different sources. An immigrant may be unwilling to do a kind of work to which he has not been used in the old country and which is either too hard or too monotonous to suit him. If given an opportunity to work in his old lines he may completely "reform." We know a case of a boy born in the old country who seemed irremediably lazy until given the opportunity to work with horses. Meyer was put to similar work in the Kankakee Asylum and was perfectly satisfied. However, it seems strange that the cases are far more numerous in which the individual has an aversion to precisely the kind of work he used to do before coming to this country. It is a well-known fact that peasant immigrants do not wish to work on farms unless they can have farms of their own. This is probably the result of several different factors, not purely economic, but there is another similar group of

facts which throw a better light on the subject. We mean the unwillingness of the woman to do housework, a very general phenomenon found not only in numerous cases of economic demoralization but also constituting a frequent factor of family troubles which sometimes result in breaking the conjugal relation entirely. Its most dangerous effect in the economic field is not the mere difficulty of maintaining the standard of living of the family but demoralization of the wage-earning husband or children. This laziness of the housewife seems to be brought about by the changes in the nature and bearing of housework. Housework in this country does not include as many various occupations as in Polish peasant life—no cows, pigs, poultry, nor garden to be attended to—and the occupations that are dropped are precisely those by which the woman positively contributed to the income and property of the family, whereas in this country her cooperation with her husband is limited to managing his earnings as economically as she can. Most of the positive interest is thus withdrawn from housekeeping activities and they reduce themselves to the routine of cooking (which in the peasant class lacks all hedonistic purpose and means only preparation of something eatable), cleaning the house and mending the children's and husband's clothes, in short, not helping things to progress but keeping them from retrograding—an essentially unsatisfactory task. And this reduction of the work in extension is accompanied by a growth in intensity, for the standards are higher here than in the old country and the schemes of management are not as settled and socially sanctioned. To these factors of demoralization may be added the exaggerated consciousness of the man's earning power, due to the amount of cash which he brings home every

week—very large judged by old country standards—and the complete lack of interest in the man's work, due to the woman's ignorance of its nature. All these factors acting upon the centuries-old tendency to consider work in general a hard necessity and leisure a perfect blessing produces in the women that common carelessness and untidiness of which a great number of the immigrant men complain. And it is natural under such conditions if the man, feeling that he is not only not cared for properly when he comes from work but that the money he gives to his wife will be in a large measure wasted, often begrudges every dollar he leaves at home and either tends to use most of the money for purely personal aims or is tempted to indulge in leisure following the example of the woman.

The woman's loss of interest in the housework when the latter ceases to be an instrument of economic advance and becomes only a means of economic preservation is an instance of the general truth that when the mechanism of habit fails only a positive economic ideal which the individual tends consciously to realize can prevent demoralization in this line. A consequence of this general truth is that if the effort to advance is frustrated by some external obstacles the individual is likely to lose all constructive interest and go to pieces. This was, for instance, the situation in the Nowicki case where the real troubles seem to have begun with the loss of the grocery store. In the Meyer case the woman, who had developed an interest in improving the house furnishings, is pushed back into economic demoralization by the man's continual acts of destruction. In other cases whatever tendencies to advance there may have been are destroyed by sickness or accident befalling a productive member of the family. Often, as in

the Maciejewski and Nowicki cases, a feeling of hopelessness concerning economic prospects is produced or strengthened by a too rapid growth in the number of the family, and it is not surprising if the desire to limit this growth makes the woman recur to all kinds of practices like the abortion which caused Mrs. Nowicki's death, particularly when the cares of the immediate future overshadow the possibilities of progress of the young generation in the more distant future.

A very important factor of economic demoralization is family troubles, particularly unsatisfactory conjugal relations. Not only do these obviously lead to economic decadence in cases where the husband deserts the family, as in the Judziewicz situation, but even if the family remains externally unified they undermine all tendencies to economic advance. For however weakened may be the family principle among the immigrants, economic life-organization is still indissolubly connected, though no longer with the large family, at least with the marriage-group. An unsatisfactory home atmosphere prevents the individual from enjoying economic advance and deprives his plans for the future of most of their attractiveness. And even when he is inclined to separate his economic interests from his marriage-group interests, this separation seldom leads to his absorption in business activities, as so frequently happens with Americans whose domestic life is unpleasant, but usually makes him simply spend his earnings on outside satisfaction of his hedonistic wants. As to the woman, domestic trouble contributes to destroy her interest in housekeeping, though as long as the husband continues to support the family it does not seem to affect her economic life as it does that of the man. The latter is in general more subject to the disorganizing

influence of American conditions, and if home-life, instead of having a soothing and regulative effect adds new unpleasant experiences to what seems a disconnected series of outside happenings, the individual is apt to lose still more rapidly all permanent direction of purpose.

We saw above that the Polish-American community helps the individual in some measure to reconstruct his economic life-organization, partly by giving him a few ready schemes adapted to American conditions, partly by appealing to his desire for recognition and making the latter incompatible with economic demoralization. But this beneficent influence of the community is not exercised independently nor in spite of the individual's own will, as it often is in the old country. The individual or the marriage-group may participate only superficially in the life of the community within which he dwells, and the facility of moving to another district or town makes him feel rather independent of his present environment. Thus, the Nowicki family was evidently much inclined by nature to be dependent on social opinion; but they kept rather aloof from their milieu, and the desire for recognition, or rather the fear of contempt, manifested itself only in an effort to save appearances, in their unwillingness to let the neighbors know that they received help from charitable institutions. In other cases the only thing that from the point of view of social recognition seems to have a real importance for the immigrant marriage-group is to have their rent paid, so as not to be publicly evicted; the lack of money for rent is usually what makes them first apply to charitable institutions, while they seem to have lost that deeper feeling of shame which causes the peasant-farmer in the old country to pride himself on his self-reliance and re-

fuse to accept charity even if his neighbors should not know of it. Nothing shows better the shallowness into which the social emotions degenerate after emigration.

In the attitudes of the immigrant toward American charitable institutions there are several interesting points. While we find an unmitigated aversion to the use of hospitals and to allowing the county or the city to bury the dead—the Judziewicz woman prefers to beg for money for her child's funeral rather than let the burial be performed by an institution—the help of the Charities in money and supplies is taken quite naturally after the first step is passed and the immigrant has decided to apply. Many of them, in fact, become very bold and exacting, as if the assistance were due to them. Of course this difference is partly explained by the fact that going to a hospital or having a dead member of the family buried by the city is a public event and becomes the object of general gossip, whereas receiving help from charities is a less apparent form of dependency; also the traditional connection which hospitals and public burial have with pauperism, as we mentioned before, prevents these forms of assistance from ever losing their undesirability. But there is a still deeper and more general foundation for this difference. We notice that what the immigrant really wants in all his dealings with charitable institutions is material assistance without interference. Receiving help is felt as much less humiliating than having one's personal life or family affairs controlled in any respect by outside agencies. This attitude takes us back to those social conditions which prevailed in the life of Polish peasants under the serfdom system. It was then perfectly natural to receive assistance from the lord in cases of economic trouble; indeed, such assistance could be almost claimed as due

by virtue of custom and was not in any way humiliating. But the lord was not expected to interfere with personal or family life, except in the case of those who depended on him personally and had no land. The peasant farmer resented such interference as humiliating because putting him on the same level as the landless manor-servants. And this distinction evidently remains in social consciousness and asserts itself in all dealings with agencies which are outside and above the peasant's or workman's own community. The abolition of serfdom and the gradual merging of the peasant class with the lower city class, who were always independent, have indeed, developed and popularized the principle of self-reliance which originally existed only among those peasants who were dependent not on private persons but on the crown. Now under normal conditions even mere material assistance is felt as humiliating by the more progressive and well-to-do members of the class; and the social opinion of the community—which, as we have seen in the preceding volume, has a growing consciousness of its own importance—favors this attitude. But in abnormal circumstances, when the individual is thrown out of his traditional economic field, is isolated from his original community and gets into contact with unknown and uncontrollable foreign agencies, there is a reversion to the attitudes of the period of serfdom.

It is, of course, easy to understand that the interference of American institutions, when not based on an adequate acquaintance with the specific social psychology of the immigrant but proceeding from mere common-sense generalizations about human nature in general, is often likely to become a new factor of demoralization instead of being, as intended, a factor of reform. It introduces into the immigrant's life ele-

ments which are new to him and are not in accordance with his traditional life-organization. He can assimilate them fully and adapt himself to the demands put upon him only if he succeeds in incorporating them into a new life-organization; and this evidently presupposes that he is able to construct spontaneously, or that the American institution can give him, such a new life-organization instead of the old decaying one. But certainly this is not an easy task, and if either the immigrant's own moral and economic energy or the activity of the institution falls short of accomplishing this end, if the immigrant does not reach a permanent psychological basis on which he can reconstruct his life, everything that is done in order to force him to adapt himself to the situation as defined by the American social agency only aggravates the feeling of insecurity and purposelessness which the conditions of American economic life produce in him, increases the consciousness of his inability to deal with the situation and drives him further into economic and general demoralization. The frequent attempts of suicide, the outbursts of "ugly temper," etc., which so often follow the interference of American institutions are sufficient proofs of this fact. What the immigrant—man or woman, boy or girl—really needs is either some relatively important and attractive economic aim toward which he may be helped to *advance,* or a radical change of his traditional economic attitudes, an inculcation of the principles upon which the life-organization of the modern American city workman is based. Unless an American social agency is sure of attaining the one or the other it would be better if it simply pledged a definite amount of relief for a definite period in cases of real need, and abstained from all active interference.

In general, moreover, when demoralization has already progressed sufficiently far to bring it to the notice of American institutions it is difficult to stop it, for it creates a predisposition to react to all economic influences in a negative way and is apt to change from a mere passive inability or unwillingness to construct a permanent and independent economic life-organization into an active policy of obtaining satisfaction of one's needs without such an organization and if possible without any effort. When an individual has reached this stage any situation which enables him to live without working may become a factor of further demoralization. The dependence of the result of an influence upon the pre-existing attitude of the subject (which has forced us to consider this attitude an inseparable component of a socio-psychological cause) is very well illustrated by the fact that a husband whose demoralization has only begun will resent the suggestion of staying at home while his wife works outside, while (as in the Meyer case) the completely demoralized man "taunts the woman with the fact that she must work while he stays at home." Of course any charity assistance offered to the man in such a situation will only encourage demoralization. This explains also the fact that in economically disorganized families the work of children, if the latter are willing to work, has little, if any constructive influence. The demoralized father or mother is glad to live from the earnings of the children, having in this case the pseudo-justification of the old principle of familial solidarity. A still further step in this gradual decadence is found when the woman, as in the Wasilewski case, prefers to sell her body rather than to work; or when the man, as in the Kupczyk case, practically sells his wife to the "boarder," who supports the whole family. If living

from other members of the family is impossible the demoralization proceeds along the line of pauperism. Picking up coal on the railroad tracks, emptying garbage pails and begging are manifestations of this downward tendency. Stealing also belongs here in part (see Nowicki case), but it may have other sources and will be treated later.

Of course, this process of gradual decadence can be stopped and reconstruction begun if sufficiently powerful motives, adapted to the individual's psychology, are used. The most efficient means seems to be the arousing of the desire for social recognition, provided there are ways of satisfying it, and developing the desire for response, if response can be obtained by reinforcing the old family ties or establishing new ones. The principle is the same as the one employed by peasant communities in the old country when they wish to reform a recalcitrant member, though the details of its application differ. It is always the appeal to the fundamental "social instinct" which in its concrete complexity has more constructive power than any particular objective interest—economic, religious, even hedonistic. The method of giving the individual an important economic ideal can ordinarily be successful only in the very beginning of economic disorganization. The inculcation of the norms of the American workman's life-organization brings good results usually only with young people, whereas in cases where it is possible to base economic reconstruction upon a general social regeneration the results are apt to be beneficent under any circumstances. We find in our materials several examples of at least a partial reform attained by this method, though the latter was not applied very consciously nor consistently. In the Meyer case we see what seems at first a mere vanity

of the woman and the two older daughters—their interest in nice furniture and pretty clothes—become the starting-point of reconstruction, owing to the connection of the little group with a new community, the Irish-Catholic parish. Stanley Nowicki seems also to preserve more normal economic attitudes than the rest of the family because of his artistic aspirations and the new milieu with which he is brought in contact. In the reform of Mary Meyer the new family ties produced by marriage play a very important part. In the Kupczyk case the woman acquires a satisfactory economic life-organization after leaving her husband and establishing a permanent and regular family relation with the boarder. Even Nowicki, whose economic decadence had gone very far, seems to have partially reformed in this respect, at least after his second marriage. We know from other sources that in some of those cases where an apparently quite demoralized man deserts his family, settles in another community and marries again, the new set of social conditions leads him to reorganize his economic life in a perfectly normal way. Of course, the influence of the conditions must be stable and thorough, the individual must have many social contacts with the new community and many opportunities to gain recognition, the new family ties must be very close, and the economic atmosphere of the new milieu must be perfectly normal. Otherwise the change will only contribute to further downfall.

In short, the only really efficient remedy against the economic disorganization of the immigrant when the latter is no longer susceptible to economic ideals is his complete, exclusive and permanent incorporation into a new, coherent and normal primary-group, Polish or, better still, American.

CHAPTER III

BREAK OF THE CONJUGAL RELATION

The general background of the disorganization of the marriage-group among Polish immigrants is the decay of the large family, the weakness of the Polish-American community and the novelty of the American legal standards. Marriage as social institution was a part of the wider family institution. The large families of the husband and of the wife, whatever rivalries and conflicts there might be, were both interested in preserving the conjugal bond which was much more their work than that of the individuals concerned and which had led to a detailed adjustment of the economic and social affairs of each family and could not be broken without undesirable consequences for each of them. Each family, therefore, took care to enforce all the traditional rules of behavior upon its own married member and at the same time was ready to defend this member against any break of these rules committed by the other party. And whenever the large family itself overstepped the principles for which it was meant to stand or was unable to influence the marriage-group, the community exercised its rights of control over both the marriage-group and the large family. The traditional system was sanctioned by the entire social milieu of the married couple, including the church and the state, whose rules in this one respect were in harmony with those recognized by the peasant community.

Now, as we have already seen, in this country the

large family is no longer a real social body with concrete common interests—for usually only a few members have immigrated and these are often scattered over a vast territory. The community has also only a small stock of old traditions left and cannot efficiently enforce even these unless the individual chooses to participate actively in common life. Further, in spite of the great vitality which the parish has as social institution the authority of the church as religious institution is much weakened, perhaps for the very reason that the existence of the Polish-American church depends on the free will of the congregation. And the state, even if it tries to uphold the marriage-group, does it in a way which does not harmonize at all with the traditions of the peasant and far from preserving, rather weakens, as we shall see, the institutional meaning of marriage in the eyes of the immigrant. As a result marriage almost ceases to be a social institution, and the old socially sanctioned attitudes upon which the strength and permanence of the conjugal bonds were based lose most of their practical influence.

Under these circumstances marriage rests almost exclusively temperamental attitudes of the individuals, not upon their obedience to social rules. Sexual desire, maternal instinct, in a much smaller measure paternal feeling, desire for response and desire for security are practically the only powers which draw and keep the couples together. Our documents will show that none of these attitudes is sufficient to form a permanent basis for the family. And it is much more difficult for immigrant society to substitute new social ideals and norms for the crumbling old institutional foundation of family life than to create substitutes for the traditional economic life-organization. The abstract principle of duty

has little if any practical influence unless derived either from concrete social rules or from some form of religion. Love as cultural product with its idealization of the entire personality and consequent permanent attachment to the exclusion of all other individuals is rare in general and particularly rare among the peasants with their traditional subordination of the individual to the group. Economic ideals, when they exist, contribute, indeed, to the maintenance of family life in general, since the immigrant can seldom imagine an economically perfect life without a family. But this does not guarantee sufficiently the stability of marriage, for in any particular case a man may prefer to establish a new family rather than stay with the old one. Moreover, conjugal trouble reacts unfavorably, as we know, upon economic life. The social progress of the marriage-group, an active and prominent participation in Polish-American life which attracts to it the attention of the community, and the advance of the young generation are indeed positive moral factors in so far as they frequently prevent an open breakdown of the marriage-group; but their action is limited to a minority of the immigrants and is appreciable only when the marriage-group has already begun to achieve a certain social prominence, *i. e.*, when the parents have passed the "stormy period" of youth. Besides, in view of the tacitly accepted principle of Polish-American society not to interfere too much with the private life of socially useful members, a very far-going real demoralization may subsist under the appearances of respectability. The nominal standards of respectability are, of course, still kept up by the leading circles but with the exception of a small number of intellectual immigrants who have brought with them a general and more or less rationally motivated ideal-

ism, and of those members of the younger generation who are in close touch with such American circles as have preserved the traditional family mores intact, these standards seem to be merely a respected survival whose most real, though unavowed function is to impart to the eyes of society a kind of scandalized interest in those cases in which they are openly broken.

The moral status of the average Polish-American individual or marriage-group in matters of conjugal life can be thus briefly characterized as that of a very unstable balance of temperamental attitudes and personal habits, which determines whether the traditional social schematization—now almost reduced to a mere form—will be preserved or not. As long as the natural tendencies and habits of the man and of the woman work more or less in accordance with this schematization, their relation is still defined as of old, since it is easier to accept the ready and usual definition than to work out a new one. But there is no social prestige behind this definition and no higher motive which would induce the individual to accept and maintain it when it disagrees with his temperament and habits. Therefore any cause producing disharmony between the old social schemes and the individual's natural or habitual tendencies may lead him to reject the traditional definition and either prevent him from establishing a conjugal relation where according to all the social rules it should be established or make him break a conjugal relation already existing. The cause may be some influence producing in the individual new attitudes incompatible with the elementary conditions of conjugal life in general, or it may be some agency modifying the specific traditional scheme of conjugal life in a way which makes it seem no longer acceptable to him. Our object will be to determine these

special causes which definitely destroy the conjugal relation after the latter has already lost its old institutional significance as a consequence of the general effect of immigration.

[Although each of the documents quoted below shows the cooperation of several causes in the break of the conjugal relation, we are using more particularly documents Nos. 48 to 53 to illustrate temperamental misadaptation, Nos. 54 to 66 for sexual factors, Nos. 67 to 70 for economic factors, Nos. 71 to 77 for family interference, Nos. 78 to 80 for state interference.]

48. *Morawski Family.* Michaelina and Michael Morawski had been married 30 years and had 6 children, all grown up. Mrs. Morawski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband was a hard drinker and had always abused her. He often dragged her out of bed and threatened to kill her and when the children were young he sometimes locked them out and they were forced to sleep out of doors all night. She said that she had developed heart trouble and her physician advised her to leave him. She did not want a divorce, for religious reasons, but wished to keep her rights in the house, which belonged to them jointly. She asked advice as to the effect of her leaving him and going to live with her children.

But before anything definite was determined upon, Morawski deserted her. Mrs. Morawski had him arrested for non-support. She told the court that he had left her once before and when he returned after 7 months' absence she contracted syphilis from him. He proved, however, that he had never had syphilis. As there was no question of Mrs. Morawski's morality, the only possible explanation was that she had become infected from some of the washings she took in. As she seemed very well able to support herself and moreover was in possession of the house, the judge dismissed the case against Morawski, ordering him to stay away from her. He then went to the County Court and insisted he was unable to work and should be supported by his wife. It was finally decided that she would raise $500 to pay him for his share in the house, which was worth about $2,000, but which she claimed had been purchased from her earnings. He was completely broken down by alcohol, while she was thor-

oughly disagreeable and quarrelsome, not only in her dealings with him but with the Society as well.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

49. *Łapiński Family.* In their 30 years of married life Mary and Max Łapiński had had 8 children, all of whom grew up healthy. At the end of this time Max began to abuse his wife so much that her sons objected and ordered him to leave the house. They insisted he should pay $3 a week toward the support of the younger children. He paid for only 3 months. The family was not in need, however, for the oldest son and his wife boarded with them, 3 sons were working and making $10 a week each.

Mrs. Łapiński received a summons to defend a divorce suit brought by her husband. The bill charged that she "without any just or reasonable cause therefor, ordered your orator out of the house, saying: 'Pack up your things and get out. Go to the Devil and don't stink my house.' Your orator further represents that upon said above mentioned date in fear of his life he was compelled to leave and since that time the defendant has wholly refused to live and cohabit with him . . . without any fault on the part of your orator."

Mrs. Łapiński's answer was that she "admits . . . she used in substance the same words toward the complainant . . . but she denies that they were used without any just or reasonable cause and states that they were uttered in the heat of passion during a quarrel which had been provoked by the complainant's drunken and indecent behavior in consequence of which this defendant lost her temper." The case had not yet been heard.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

50. *Ziejewski Family.* After two and a half years of married life Lena Ziejewski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband beat her repeatedly with unusual cruelty, particularly when he was drunk or in the morning when he had not slept well. His lungs seemed to trouble him often at night. They had gone together for 4 years before being married and had been married only 3 months before their first child was born. He taunts her because she had relations with him before marriage.

About 2 weeks after the child was born he tied her hands and feet and bound her mouth. When she was almost suffocated, he released her. His family opposed their marriage and continued to incite him against her. Conditions did not improve when another child was born. He spent much of his time in a saloon across the street, drinking and gambling, and his only friends were his saloon-comrades. Yet he gave her most of his earnings. But when she put too much salt in his food, he beat her and once because she spilled some lard on the stove he struck her in the face, cutting it, and knocked her down. The neighbors often saw her with dress torn and eyes blackened. His father was also violent.

She had him arrested and placed under peace bonds. He then ceased his beatings but threatened to take both children and leave her. She was willing to let him have the children.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

51. *Gutowski Family.* Martha Gutowski wished to know whether she was divorced or married. Four years before she had married Walter Gutowski. Three years later he sued her for a divorce and claimed to have gotten it. Nevertheless he again induced her to live with him for 2 weeks, after which they again separated. Ever since, however, he had followed her to all her boarding-houses and insisted on paying her board and part of her expenses. Again he induced her to come to live with him, bought furniture and rented a flat. After they had been living together 6 months she inherited some money from her mother. He then ceased to support her until they should be openly living together again as man and wife. Two months later she applied to the Legal Aid Society to know whether she should be remarried to him.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

52. *Jalowiecki Family.* During their 12 years of married life Jalowiecki deserted his wife more than a dozen times. He always returned after a month or so.[1]

[1] This may be a case of temperamental misadaptation but may be also a kind of alternation between the desire for new experience pushing the individual to vagabondage and the desire for stability compelling him to return to the known and habitual conditions. *Cf.* Wladek's psychology in Vol. III.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

53. *Czalpiński Family.* Walter Czalpiński was a skillful cattle killer and made from $20 to $25 a week regularly. Mrs. Czalpiński belonged to a Polish benefit society and was secretary of her lodge. They had been married 17 years and had 6 children. Their domestic difficulties gained in intensity and in extension as time went on, for not only relatives and friends and even their whole neighborhood had become involved in their fights, but the recourse to the police and the courts became increasingly frequent.

Mrs. Czalpiński's tendency to indulge in dramatic effects and threats of suicide had convinced her husband that she was insane. She fainted spectacularly on several occasions. When her husband on returning from an absence in another State confessed that he had been unfaithful to her she ran to the pantry and snatched a bottle of poison. After one of her periodical quarrels with him she walked barefooted in the rain and snow to a druggist, bought some poison, and sat on the front steps, attempting to swallow it. Once when her husband was drunk but making no disturbance she went for the patrol herself. After 3 days in jail awaiting trial, during which time he lost 20 pounds of weight, he was discharged by the court and in her indignation she went to the railroad station and lay on the tracks until removed by the police. An examination, however, showed she was not insane, merely supersensitive to certain suggestions. She herself acknowledged that her attempts at suicide were chiefly for the effect.

But her quarrels and repeated arrests had a more disastrous effect upon her husband. After his third arrest matters became so bad that she left the house, claiming she could not live with him any longer. The chief matters of dispute were money and the children. He claimed she neglected and mistreated the children. Further she loaned money given her to pay bills of her worthless brother, and was generally extravagant. So much bad feeling existed between them that it was impossible for them to make any compromise for support. She refused to let him have any of the children and he would not give her any money, though he was willing she should return home if she would behave herself. She would not return, nor would she take the

proper steps for treatment of her tubercular condition, due to lack of nourishment and worry. The children were finally placed in institutions, Mr. Czalpiński became so nervous and excitable that he threatened to cut his throat with a knife if any more were said to him about his domestic affairs, and Mrs. Czalpiński was quickly and miserably dying, too defiant to yield to her husband and too unreasonable to accept any other help. She insisted to the last that she would take her husband to court and make him support her.[1]

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

54. *Adamski Family.* The following statements were presented to the Legal Aid Society by Mrs. Adamski to induce the society to act in her behalf in having a divorce set aside and obtaining for her the custody of her children then living with Mr. Adamski and his second wife.

Statement of Mrs. Mary Adamski under date of May 12, 1914: "I was born Sept. 8, 1880. I will be 34 years old next birthday. I married Joseph Adamski on Nov. 23, 1897. . . . I was living with my husband very happy. . . . Our first child Weronika was born Jan. 9, 1899. Then about a year later I had another child which died. On Feb. 26, 1902, another child was born to us, namely Helena. When I happened to be in a pregnant condition with my fourth child my husband decided to visit U.S.A., much against my wishes which he resisted. . . . He left me on May 22, 1903. Daughter Stanisława was born Oct. 26, 1903. He stayed away from me for about 1 year and 2 months during which time I received from him $100. He returned to me and stayed for about 1 year and 10 months, at which time he decided to leave me and the children and return to U.S.A. . . . My husband hardly ever sent me money and it was a pretty tough proposition for us to live. Many days I went hungry for I hated to beg.

"One Jan Masłowski . . . who is now about 45 years of age, and at that time being married and having children of his own, lived next door to us. He had been a friend to my husband . . . and continued to make visits. . . . On or about Feb. 14, 1910, the children went to visit . . . and left me all alone in

[1] Temperamental misadaptation aggravated by repeated arrests.

our living rooms. Mr. Jan Masłowski appeared. After sitting and speaking to me for awhile he seized me, covered my mouth and threw me on the bed. My resistance was of no avail, he committing cohabitation against my will. The result was a son being born on Nov. 14, 1910, christened Jan. At one time after the child was born the said Jan Masłowski remarked to me: 'You know I went to the U.S.A. before your husband and left my wife and children here. Your husband arrived in America sometime later and boasted of having intercourses with my wife. We often quarrelled and called each other names. It broke me up considerably for sometime, until once I told him I would do the same thing and let him taste the same medicine. I am now satisfied that I got back on your husband.' [An affidavit by Masłowski accompanied this statement and confirmed the facts.]

"I wrote to my husband to come. . . . When I was pregnant I pleaded with him to come, confessing . . . and begging him to come over or send for me. . . . [He wrote he wished to have nothing more to do with her.] About 3 years ago my husband sent for the children and against my consent they were brought. . . . It is claimed by others that he has been divorced from me. . . . I have had no hearing or notification of any divorce proceedings. [Demands children and contests lawfulness of his second marriage.]"

Statement of Piotr Nowak: "I know Joseph Adamski since he came to America and I know Francis Okrasina for a long time. This is the way Mr. Joseph Adamski got acquainted [with her]. Mr. Teofil Okrasina and Mrs. Francis Okrasina, about 5 years back, lived together happily. There was a child born to them so they asked Mr. Joseph Adamski to be god-father, and from that time on Mr. Joseph Adamski has broken up their home. . . . I know of a good many times [when] he gave Mr. Okrasina money to go out and get drunk. I got mixed up in the deal and I was asked to take Mr. Okrasina out of town so that Mr. Joseph Adamski and Francis Okrasina would have the way clear of interference. I took him to the depot and he disappeared from us, but the next day we tried it over and succeeded in getting him away. I was later approached by Mrs. Okrasina to go to the court and swear falsely in favor of Mrs. Okrasina,

which I refused, knowing that there was too much injustice done up to this time.

"Mr. Józef Adamski was furnishing the money buying her clothes, paying her rent and paying all expenses of the court costs and lawyers. I happened to visit Mr. Joseph A. since he got the divorce decree and I have seen what they do to the children. . . . They do things in front of the children so immoral that it is a pity that those children are kept or allowed to be kept in such a house. They should both be behind the bars. I will tell more at trial for the sake of justice, which they fooled to this time."

Statement of Bronislaw Babinowski: "I know Józef Adamski and Francis Okrasina, the woman that he now lives with and claims to be his lawful wife. I am married to her sister, therefore I am a brother-in-law to them. About four and a half years past Józef stayed with us and then came to stay Francis Okrasina. They had no doubt arranged beforehand to stay with us. Their conduct was awful and I had to keep my children out of sight for fear they get spoiled. It seems that they care not what they said or did in front of others. . . . [They were asked to move after they were discovered having intercourse together.]

"About 2 years later the children came from Europe to Józef Adamski and he at once started the divorce proceedings. . . . My wife pleaded with her sister to leave this man Adamski for the sake of the children and we often begged Józef to release her and go to live with his first and lawful wife. But they refused to listen and asked us to leave the house. Now to describe their action about the house one would say, and I do say, that if the children were somewhere in *Red Light* district they could not learn anything worse. . . . Mr. Adamski has said that he can have everything for money in this country and that the divorce was easy to get in as much that he had money."

The Legal Aid Society undertook to act for Mrs. Adamski for there was much evidence that the children were not being properly looked after. In spite of notice to Mr. Adamski's lawyer, no one appeared on his side. Besides the above statements some evidence was introduced as to the bad character of Adamski—enough to make him out a Don Juan type of man—

and Veronica, the oldest child, appeared in behalf of her mother. She said she was 17 years old and had been married a year ago to a man whom she did not know at all and did not care for. Her father and step-father had said she was old enough to have relations with a man and had shut her up all night with one Trawiński, whom she later married. She said he always treated her badly and refused to support her, twice leaving her without money. As her father and step-mother always took his part she left them and went to live with her own mother. Another witness told of finding this man and the step-mother "playing together very lover-like." Of course, on this showing the Master decided that the mother should have her children.

Before the order was definitely made, however, Mr. Adamski's attorney asked for a chance to be heard and the case was opened once more. Mr. Adamski and his second wife appeared with all the children, even Weronica. Their appearance was unusually prosperous and striking. Both Mr. Adamski and his wife were well-dressed, handsome and efficient looking persons. He testified he had been working for years as clerk in a drug-store, making $16 a week. As there were no children by his second marriage he was able to look after the children better than their mother who could make only $7.50 a week by working full time. The children expressed their desire to stay with their father, and Weronica contradicted all the facts she had stated at the former hearing, said she was now living with her husband and was perfectly satisfied. Whatever the facts as to the sexual morality of the father and step-mother, it seemed best under the circumstances to let the children stay with them. An order was entered confirming the degree of divorce and the award of the children to their father.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

55. *Michalski Family.* Minnie and Stanley Michalski were very young when they were married. Shortly after their marriage a friend of Stanley's, a young man named Frank Kornacki, came to see them. He called about a half-dozen times. One Monday in January, 1912, he came to the house at noon-time. Young Mrs. Michalski was at home alone doing the washing. Whether or not he forced her to have sexual relations with him

it is hard to say. She later claimed that she resisted him, but that he held her mouth with one hand so firmly she could not scream and as she was 5 months pregnant she did not dare struggle to prevent him. She did not tell her husband of this. The child was born and named Helen.

One Sunday in August of the same year, Kornacki and Michalski were gambling together in a saloon. Michalski had won $8 when Kornacki, half drunk, offered to tell him "something" for the return of the $8. He then told of his intercourse with Mrs. Michalski. Michalski went home almost crazy and choked his wife until she told him the truth. His fury knew no bounds. He would not believe that she had been without fault in the affair and ordered her to have Kornacki arrested for rape, refusing to live with her unless his former friend was punished. The warrant, however, was refused. He was especially enraged because the attack had happened during her pregnancy, and as she was at this time again pregnant she had an abortion performed to pacify him. He thereupon allowed her to return and they lived together for 2 years more. Then he left her, promising her $5 a week for the support of the child.

Mrs. Michalski appealed to the Legal Aid Society to assist her to get more money from her husband. Michalski answered in person the society's letter and made a very good impression on the interviewer, a new and inexperienced girl who was "very sorry for him." He insisted he loved his wife dearly but could not live with her. She had admitted to him having relations twice with some man and he simply could not forget that. Besides, every time he went out with her he imagined she was flirting and making some engagements with men. He concluded by offering to bring his wife to the office of the society "to talk the matter over." This he did. He refused more money and urged Mrs. Michalski to get a divorce, nobly promising to produce conclusive evidence of his unfaithfulness to her.

Nevertheless, the Michalski family tried living together once more, rented a flat and bought new furniture. After 2 weeks Stanley Michalski left and his wife went to the Legal Aid Society to complain that he was running around with another woman and giving her only $5 a week. She was now willing to get a divorce. Nothing was done in the matter, however. Six months

later she again applied to the society. The night before her husband had come to her flat and threatened to kill her and Helen. He turned on the gas and tried to choke her into unconsciousness, but she screamed so loudly that he became alarmed and left, seizing a photograph of himself that was hanging on the wall and taking the child with him. Mrs. Michalski called a policeman, arrested him and got the child back.

Shortly after this, Michalski, who had become manager for the company he was working with, gave his wife a job in his office at $7.00 a week—this to avoid paying anything toward the support of the child. She soon lost her work and he did not resume payments. The Legal Aid Society sent for him. He said he was unable to work, that he had contracted syphilis from some woman he lived with, was undergoing treatments for it and would probably have to have an operation. He insisted that his wife was living immorally and told of catching a man partly undressed in her closet once when he called at her flat with a policeman. He wanted to arrest the man but was afraid of involving his wife. Some months later, Michalski went to the office of the Legal Aid Society and demanded the record of the case. He wished to see whether the record contained any admissions by his wife of her immorality, meaning to use such admissions as the basis for a divorce. When this request was naturally refused, he became very much excited and charged the society with always "shielding the woman."

Another 6 months went by. The divorce had been granted without a contest. Much testimony had been produced as to Michalski's good character and Mrs. Michalski's immoral conduct. Michalski's brother and a young girl had testified that one evening they had all been drinking and were playing hide and seek when Mrs. Michalski invited an 18 year old boy into her bedroom and had intercourse with him. At first Mrs. Michalski denied this and offered to bring the boy in question to court to refute the story, but when more closely questioned by the Legal Aid attorney and shown the dangers of perjury she admitted it was true. But she implored the society to get the order of court giving the custody of the child to its father set aside. She said, with tears in her eyes, that the child meant everything in the world to her. When, a few days later, Michal-

ski took the child from her, her despair was so real and so pitiful that the society determined to contest the divorce for her. The decree already entered was set aside on a preliminary showing of Michalski's bad habits. In preparation for the final hearing the Legal Aid attorney called on the girl for whom Michalski had left his wife. She did not resent the suggestion that she come to court to tell of her relations with Michalski. She "felt sorry for poor Minnie and would be glad to help her out," but it was a most inauspicious moment, as she was suing her own husband for a divorce and she did not wish to be placed in the situation of telling the same Judge in Minnie's case that she was an immoral woman and in her own case that she was an irreproachable wife seeking separation from an undeserving husband. She finally agreed that if her own divorce "went through all right," she would consider helping "Minnie." But on no account was she to be subpœnaed, for if she was forced to testify against her wishes she would tell so much that neither Minnie nor her husband would be allowed to keep the child. A few weeks later Mrs. Michalski said Stella refused to help her, for Stanley had promised to marry her if he should get another decree of divorce. This was not the only promise of marriage that Stanley made pending his divorce.

Mrs. Michalski was allowed by the court order to see the child and once she kidnapped it. The Legal Aid Society obtained a court order allowing her to keep it. Neither Michalski nor his attorney appeared in court to contest the matter.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

56. *Rozłowski Family.* On February 23, 1911, Mrs. Rozłowski called at the Legal Aid Society. Through an interpreter she said that she had married Stanislaw Rozłowski 5 years before and had 2 children by him, Gertrude then 3 years old and Jennie 2. She complained that he had always been abusive, especially when she was pregnant. He was also unfaithful. Two years earlier he had owned a candy-shop and been intimate with the girls whom he employed in the shop. Finally he deserted and brought a bill for a divorce, alleging the adultery of his wife. She denied the adultery but failed to return to the Society to be defended in the suit. Rozłowski was granted the divorce on

the testimony of his mother and sister that Mrs. Rozłowski had confessed her adultery to them.

Two years later, April 17, 1914, Mrs. Rozłowski again called on the Legal Aid Society. She said Rozłowski had the oldest child with him but permitted her to see it often. She was supporting herself and the younger child by taking in washing, but said she would like to go back to her husband. Rozłowski, when interviewed, would not consider taking her back. He was willing to take the younger child but would not support it while it lived with its mother, claiming she was not fit to bring it up. Yet he was willing to leave it with her, provided she supported it herself. The reason he gave for this seeming contradiction was that she "would be more like to keep straight if she had the child." He could not show any recent misconduct on her part, however.

July 1, Mrs. Rozłowski informed the Legal Aid Society that she was pregnant and that Rozłowski was responsible, as he had stayed with her three times during May and June and had intercourse with her each time. This Rozłowski consistently denied even to the court, but a midwife was discovered who had been sent to Mrs. Rozłowski by Rozłowski's sister. Furthermore, her landlady corroborated her story and testified to her good conduct. Rozłowski was found guilty on the bastardy charge. He would not pay nor furnish a bond and so was sent to the House of Correction for 6 months.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

57. *Piotrowski Family.* It is rather rare for a man to consult the Legal Aid Society about his domestic affairs. Usually the matter is brought before the Society by the woman and only later the man's story is heard. However, in April, 1913, Teofil Piotrowski stated that his wife had left him because he had "made a fuss" when he found in his home a boarder whom he had ordered out of the house. The man had a wife in the old country, but after the trouble Mrs. Piotrowski had taken the baby and gone to him, leaving her other 4 children at home.

He said he did not want a divorce, as that would please her too much but he did want to make it impossible for her to return to him. Later, after Mrs. Piotrowski had taken another

child from him, he said he wanted a divorce because he felt that was the best way to prevent her from returning to him. He insisted he had always been good to her, never struck her nor been ugly to her during their 13 years of married life.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

58. *Koskowski Family.* Pauline Klimek came to America when she was 16 years old. She was doing housework in Philadelphia when she met Felix Koskowski and was induced to live with him as his wife. She claimed that she did not then know that he had a wife who had returned to her home in Austrian Poland for her confinement. When the newly born child was 14 months old, Mrs. Koskowski returned to the United States. She found her husband in Chicago living with Pauline Klimek. She appealed to the Polish National Alliance for help. Koskowski and Pauline were arrested on an adultery charge but when the judge found that Pauline was pregnant he took pity on her and agreed to dismiss the case if she would have Koskowski arrested on a bastardy charge. He did not make any contest, but this suit was also dismissed, for it appeared that Koskowski had no money to pay a judgment, if he were sent to the House of Correction his wife and child would suffer, and moreover Pauline had no hard feelings against him and did not want him to be sent to jail. The Immigrants' Protective Association found work for Pauline and planned to befriend her through her confinement. However, without any notice, she left the place where she was working and ran away once more with Kosowski. Mrs. Koskowski and the child were left in Chicago without any means of support.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

59. *Siliński Family.* Mary and Joseph Siliński were married in Russian Poland in 1902. They had one child. After 2 years of marriage Joseph left home and came to America. Some years later Mrs. Silinski learned that he had married again in America, had 2 children and owned some property. She thereupon raised some money among her brothers and sisters and reached Chicago in August, 1913. She immediately took out a warrant against her husband, but the proceedings were so in-

tricate she could not tell what happened at the trial. She then appealed to the Legal Aid Society.

The Society discovered that at the trial Siliński had denied his marriage to Mrs. Siliński, but she had all the papers necessary to prove that they were legally married. Siliński had then offered her $500 to sue for a divorce, promising to pay the costs of the divorce. This Mrs. Siliński would not hear of; she "wanted her man back." The Society advised her to agree to this plan, as she was alone and friendless here and moreover had incipient Bright's Disease. She was "confused and unintelligible and evidently fated."

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

60. *Baczmarzyński Family.* Stanley Baczmarzyński was tried for bigamy. He was married while still a minor to Celia Wiśniewska before a judge. This may have been the result of a prosecution for bastardy, for the girl testified at the bigamy trial that their baby was born June 25, 1911. She continued working after marriage. Nov. 22, her husband came and lived with her until March 6th, when she "turned him out. He never worked and wasn't much good."

On August 27, 1913, he was married to Frances Detmer, in St. Stanislaw's Church, under the assumed name of Hieronim Kochański. He also gave false names for the 2 witnesses who were present. A photograph was taken of himself and his bride. One witness testified at the bigamy trial: "I told him he wasn't divorced and he denied it and told me he was. The others that were to stand with him refused and he come for me three or four times to get me and finally came in an automobile and got me. I went. I told the second wife's brother, Barney Detmer, he was married, and Barney didn't say much. I told him that same evening after the marriage. After the marriage Stanley come to me and said: 'Somebody give me out that I was married before.' I took the car and beat it before the trouble started."

The testimony of the second wife was: "After we were married I lived with my folks. . . . Lived there as husband and wife. He stayed with us till now. Have a baby Mildred, 9 months old, the result of this marriage. I have not been di-

vorced from him. I still consider him my husband." The testimony of her father was: "Defendant would not pay board, never worked and never supported his wife nor baby and didn't even buy milk for the baby."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

61. *Mucha Family.* Mr. and Mrs. Mucha had been married 23 years. They had a boy 22 years old, a girl 16 and another boy 12. They owned jointly a printing shop where both of them and their oldest son worked. They made altogether about $24 a week. Mr. Mucha suddenly began systematically to abuse his wife and insist that she divorce him, promising that his lawyer would attend to her case and would pay her $10 a week alimony. He explained that he had made another woman pregnant and that her family were forcing him to marry her. He agreed to return to her as soon as he could.

But after the divorce he married the other woman immediately and ordered his first wife to leave the printing shop. They later made some financial settlement about the business. The boy stayed with his father while the mother kept the 2 younger children.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

62. *Zieliński Family.* Charles Zieliński reported to the Legal Aid Society in Dec., 1912, that when he went to Canada to find work his wife went to live with another man and refused to come to him. He did not wish a divorce or an arrest, but he did want his wife back. She was good to the children (three and two years old), and he was fond of her.

Mrs. Zieliński's story was that she had come to America 6 years before with Zieliński and some other people. She and he had worked together and put money away in one pile until they got $80 together. He then lost his job and spent all but $10. He said he needed clothes so she forgave him and they were married 2 years later. She continued to work but her husband seldom kept a job long. He was a moulder by trade and could make $3.50 a day, but when he got any money he would quit work and spend it, so that he never worked more than 3 months at any one job. He often drank and abused her and before

going to Canada slipped off to Kenosha and tried to marry another woman, but his previous marriage was discovered. She said he had committed adultery with the wife of the man who was living with her, and whom she claimed was only a boarder. This wife arrested her husband and Mrs. Zieliński on a charge of adultery but as she could prove nothing the action was dismissed.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

63. *Woźniak Family.* Stella and Julian Woźniak had been married in Chicago in 1896 and lived together happily for 7 years. When Mrs. Woźniak was pregnant for the third time her husband suddenly deserted, leaving her without a cent. After his desertion John Pawłowski began to "be good to her." They lived together for 4 years and had 2 children. Mrs. Woźniak then appealed to the Legal Aid Society to get a divorce for her so that she could marry John. He came with her and appeared to be a decent, hard-working man, a teamster. He did not make much money but she worked as finisher of coats in the rush seasons and whenever they were in need the United Charities gave aid.

While the Legal Aid Society was securing the divorce, Mrs. Woźniak and John were arrested for adultery. They believed that their arrest was due to the jealousy of Mrs. Nowak with whom John formerly boarded. This woman had tried to persuade John to live with her and had even gone so far as to rent some rooms for them both. At this point, however, John had told her husband of her overtures. She then tried to poison him but her husband warned him in time. The adultery case was continued until the divorce was obtained and the couple married in Indiana. It was then dismissed.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

64. *Gaszyński Family.* When Mrs. Gaszyński appealed to the Legal Aid Society for help in 1911 she was a very nice appearing, neat Polish woman about 33 years old. She had come to America with her husband 6 years before. Their two children were aged 6 and 2 years. She said that she had been married 13 years, that her husband had treated her well in Poland, but was much worse since coming to America. He began to run

around with other women here and 2 years ago deserted her. She lost complete track of him until recently she discovered where he was living in Chicago and moved into the neighborhood in order to induce him to return to her. Instead he moved away immediately. He was living with a Mrs. Dujek who already had 2 illegitimate children and bore a very bad reputation, although she was only 23 years old.

Shortly thereafter Mrs. Gaszyński discovered her husband in a saloon and had him arrested for desertion. The judge ordered him to pay her $10 a week. He did not pay. Two weeks later Mrs. Gaszyński had been arrested for throwing vitriol at Mrs. Dujek and disfiguring her for life. It later appeared that Mrs. Gaszyński became desperate when her husband failed to pay the money as ordered by the judge. She planned to kill her husband, Mrs. Dujek and herself, but she had only 10 cents left. With this she bought some vitriol. She went to the home of the other woman, called her to the door and threw the vitriol in her face.

When the trial occurred the sympathy of the judge was with her and he gave her only 4 months, the lightest sentence he could under the law impose. She showed her husband was making $6 a day as bricklayer yet refused to pay her according to the court's order. He was living in open adultery with another woman who was 7 months pregnant by him. The court therefore sent him to the Bridewell for 6 months. He claimed that a boarder was the father of Mrs. Gaszyński's youngest child and he finally induced her to get a divorce. She married again and had trouble with her second husband also.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

65. *Ziółek Family.* Once when Mrs. Ziółek was sick it was reported to the Juvenile Court that her 2 boys, aged 7 and 5 years, were neglected. The officer found that she was "an almost model mother, clean, neat and attractive." But she had 4 boarders and the Juvenile Court feared for her moral condition. Her husband had deserted her after 8 years of unahppy married life in the course of which he beat and abused her, especially after drinking. She had refused to have any marital relations with him because his physician advised her that it would

not be safe in his general bad condition. Perhaps the fact that he was lame accounted for her ready agreement with this advice.

Mrs. Ziółek refused to give up her boarders and move into a smaller flat, even if promised the help of the United Charities and perhaps a widow's pension. She said that when her husband first left her she was in great distress and applied to the United Charities for help, but they did nothing. Very soon after this, in November, 1911, a baby girl was born to Mrs. Ziółek. One of her boarders, Joe Rolek, was the father. He had wanted to marry her but left before the child was born to work elsewhere. The Legal Aid Society thereupon obtained a divorce for her on the ground of desertion and she married Rolek, in Indiana, only to be deserted by him 2 months later. He returned soon, however, but continued to desert periodically.

Mrs. Rolek asked the County Court to help her. After various vain endeavors to collect money from Rolek it was discovered that Ziółek was the father of the first 2 children and he was arrested and sent to the Bridewell. On his release he went to the Legal Aid Society to complain of the treatment he had received and to ask the Society to find out why he had been sent to the Bridewell. He insisted it was his wife, not he, who had always deserted. When he was informed as to the reason he had been sent to jail he was highly indignant. He did not know how nor why he had been divorced but claimed that his former wife was not a fit person to have the custody of the children, that she was living with the god-father of her last child without being married to him. . . . His appearance was unusually decent, neat and clean.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

66. *Grabarski Family.* When this family came to the attention of the Juvenile Court in 1915 the father was 34 years old and the mother 30. Both had been born in Austrian Poland. They were married there and their first child, Helen, was born in 1908. In the same year Grabarski left Poland and came to this country. Mrs. Grabarski and Helen followed the next year. Other children were born, John in 1910 in Johnstown, Pa., Mary in Chicago, 1912—she soon died—and Annie in 1914.

In 1914 Grabarski had been out of work for 6 months. At this time Joe Wieczorek was rooming with Mrs. Grabarski's

brother, Frank Gorski. Joe began to help Mrs. Grabarski and in January, 1915, joined the Grabarski family as a boarder and practically supported the whole family. On Feb. 2, 1915, Grabarski came home drunk and threatened to kill Joe Wieczorek. Joe then went to room with a Polish family who lived above the Grabarskis. A few weeks later Grabarski disappeared. The Juvenile Protective Association complained to the Juvenile Court of the neglected condition of the children. Mrs. Grabarski refused to obey a summons of the court for some months. However, in June she came to court to complain that Joe Wieczorek had left her and that she had been evicted. She was again pregnant.

Though Mrs. Grabarski said her husband had refused to work her brother insisted he had always been steady until she had become intimate with the boarder. The children had always been neglected.

"August 9, 1915, met Mrs. Grabarski on the street. Her husband has returned and they are living [in] . . . rear basement. . . . Says that Mr. Grabarski has steady work in Braddock, Pa., and has come back for his wife and children. Says he has a month's leave of absence.

"December 7, 1915, called at 6.30 P. M. and found the whole family at supper, Joe Wieczorek as well. An empty whiskey bottle and beer can were on the table but disappeared suddenly when the officer's back was turned. Joe says that he is living next door at a shoemaker's but he eats his supper with the Grabarskis. Advised him to keep away and not to bring any more liquor to the house. Mr. Grabarski is now working [in Chicago].

"December 20, 1915, called in the morning. Found Mr. Grabarski, Joe and another man all at home, smoking. No evidence of drink. It was a bad day and they said there was no work. The children looked pretty well. Mrs. Grabarski apparently does just as little work in the house as possible.

"January 5, 1916, found Joe Wieczorek eating his lunch and helping to dress the children, very much at home. Mr. Grabarski working. They have not paid their rent for 2 months and the landlord has served notice. Told Joe he must not be found there again. January 13, 1916, called and found family had moved. . . . Called at shoemaker's next door where Joe Wiec-

zorek lived. He also has moved away and owes room rent. . . . [Got new address from Mrs. Grabarski's brother.]

"February 16, 1916, the children were alone in the house, dirty and half clothed. The place was very warm and there was plenty of meat and potatoes on the table but also a whiskey bottle and beer can. The older children said they had not yet gone to school. I called up Board of Education and reported case to Compulsory Department. . . .

"April 3, 1916 [Monday] called but could not get in. The younger children were evidently in the house alone. Called at Mrs. Górski's . . . and found Mr. and Mrs. Grabarski, Joe Wieczorek and Mr. Górski all there drinking. They had had a grand spree on Sunday night and said they were too sick to work. Told Mrs. Grabarski to go home to the children and threatened arrest if they were not all working in 4 days. Grabarski said he had lost his job.

"April 27th, 1916, obtained warrant for Mr. Grabarski on charge of non-support [but the family moved]. . . . May 8, 1916, called at Mrs. Górski's and found Mrs. Grabarski there. She says that they are living at 721 Ohio St. May 11, 1916, could find no house at 721 Ohio St., but fortunately met the family returning home from market, very much disconcerted at being discovered. [They immediately moved again leaving no trace.] . . . I talked to . . . Mrs. Grabarski's landlord. Said that Mr. and Mrs. Grabarski always had 3 men and 2 women at the house from Saturday night till Monday All drank and were so noisy that the other tenants could not sleep, so he made them move. . . .

"June 2, 1916. . . . Called at Mrs. Królek's and found Mrs. Grabarski there doing her washing. Mr. Grabarski has not worked for a week and is not even sleeping at home, so she had no money to buy coal. She will take out warrant for him if he does not come back tonight; will go to United Charities if she needs aid. [Officer found United Charities already had record of the case. They said that the present situation was no new one to the Grabarski family. Mrs. Grabarski admitted to them that Joe Wieczorek is the father of the last 2 children.] . . .

"August 2, 1916, called at Górski's. Mrs. Górski said Joe Wieczorek was paying Mrs. Grabarski's rent. No sign of Paul.

Called at Grabarski's. Mrs. Grabarski was asleep on the bed. Her children dirty and neglected as usual. . . .

"August 8, 1916, called at 8.45 P. M. Found Joe Królek and Joe Wieczorek there. The former had his hat on and was evidently about to depart but Joe Wieczorek seemed thoroughly at home. All had been drinking. The children were asleep on the floor and the baby in the crib. The latter was a little better. Joe Wieczorek had given Mrs. Grabarski $3 to take him to a doctor. He would not acknowledge he paid the rent. Said Mrs. Grabarski was working and could do it. Both men went out when officer did [but neighbor later reported Joe slipped back later]. . . .

"September 6, 1916, took out warrant for Mrs. Grabarski for contributing to dependency of children. Put children in Detention Home. September 7, 1916, case in Court of Domestic Relations. Paul Grabarski appeared also. He is working in the freight yards near his home but intended to go back to Gary where he was getting $4 a day. Mrs. Grabarski was found guilty and placed on probation for a year.

"October 28, 1916, family is now in the same basement as a year ago, but Mrs. Grabarski is keeping it much better. The children look better cared for. Helen and John are going to . . . school. Paul Grabarski is working in a foundry near by."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

67. *Kulas Family.* After 7 years of married life Mrs. Kulas complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband had never supported her nor their 2 children. He made $15 a week but would not give her more than $4 or $5 occasionally to pay a grocery bill. She made $9 a week cleaning.

Mrs. Kulas had her husband arrested and he was ordered to pay $8 a week. He said he would rather get a divorce than pay, so he was sent to the Bridewell. Mrs. Kulas, however, asked to have him released and the order reduced to $3 a week. Three months later he took the oldest girl and left home. Mrs. Kulas went after him and got back the girl. He himself returned in 4 months, but stayed only 2 months and took both children with him this time. He was again sent to the Bridewell but again released at Mrs. Kulas's request. He did not return home

and the Legal Aid Society was urged by her employer to get a divorce to free her from her fear of him. She was afraid he would get drunk, break into her house and either force her to have sexual relations with him or kill her. He had often threatened to kill her. She had always submitted in the past to avoid violence, though he called her vile names. He was often drunk for days. She did not get a divorce, for her children became sick and Kulas either returned home or gave her a little help.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

68. *Rzepecki Family.* Tom Rzepecki was a blacksmith, making good wages, who deserted his wife and 5 children (ages 23 and 16) after he had been married 27 years. She thought he went away with another woman for she found a picture taken with some woman. For the preceding 5 years he had given practically no support, leaving all the burden on the children—even the taxes—while he drank up his money. He had lately taken to chasing the children out of the house.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

69. *Zakrzewski Family.* Zakrzewski never supported his wife nor their 3 children properly, went around with other women and deserted her after 4 years of marriage. But he continued to annoy her occasionally. Twice he went to her rooms and spread such stories about her and created such a disturbance that both times she was asked to move. Five years later he again returned and made a scene, taunted her with being still alive, although tubercular, and said he would have to kill her to get rid of her. She then asked the Legal Aid Society to get a divorce, so as to escape being annoyed by him, but she was very ill and was soon taken to the hospital.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

69a. *Kochański Family.* The Legal Aid Society sent for Michael Kochański to ask support for his wife, whom he deserted after 21 years of marriage, and his child, 16 years old. They had come from German Poland 9 years before. He drank and told his wife that he ran around with other women, but she had seen nothing of this. She did not want him back but demanded that he support her.

He declared that never under any circumstances would he give one cent to support his wife or child, and claimed that she put him out of the house without a penny in his pocket and threatened to kill him if he returned. "When I go out my money goes out. Now, I have 2 good suits of clothes and $50. Give wife money! No, never!" He was much under the influence of liquor.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

70. *Rola Family.* William Rola was an incessant drinker during the first 9 years of his married life. He then reformed and saved for 4 years. He forced his wife to earn money, which he put into a house, while the money he earned went into the bank. He then withdrew all the money from the bank, stored the furniture and demanded a divorce so that he could marry some other woman with whom he was infatuated. Mrs. Rola was unwilling to divorce him, perhaps for the sake of their child.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

71. *Wroblewski Family.* Anton Wroblewski invited Mary Tomaszewski to come and live with him. She agreed and they lived happily together for two and a half years, telling their families and friends and relatives that they had been married. She even took out life insurance as his wife. But when she met a man whom she had known as a child but hadn't seen for 8 years she told him she was not married and began to flirt with him. He was a married man with 3 children but met Mary several times. Anton became enraged at this conduct and complained to his widowed sister who was living with them, stating that he and Mary were not married. His sister promptly drove Mary out of the house, with her 18 months old baby. As Mary was again pregnant she took out a bastardy warrant against Anton. They became reconciled before the trial and the judge married them. They had wanted to be married in a church but the priest refused to marry them because of their previous irregular relation, promising that he would marry them after they were civilly united.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

72. *Szulc Family.* Carrie Kliszewska, a young Polish immigrant, 17 years old, worked in a tailor-shop. One evening she was sitting with some friends on her doorstep when Fred Szulc approached and began to talk to her. After a month they began to have sexual relations in the front room of her home, after her mother had gone to bed, practically every Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday night. In 3 months she became pregnant but she did not tell Szulc for 3 months more for fear he would run away. He agreed to marry her but, since he was only 19 years old, he was refused a license without his mother's consent. She refused to give her consent. Carrie's mother then insisted upon arresting Szulc and he was sent to jail. His mother was willing he should stay there, though she was warned of the dangers of leaving a young boy in jail. She said he would not mind being in jail as long as Carrie supplied him with money as she did before, and as to the moral dangers, he could not be worse off than he would be with Carrie's family who were an idle, drunken and poor lot, one of whom used cocaine. She claimed that her son was lazy and shiftless and had not done a stroke of work for 8 months past, though he was the only child at home and his father was sick. He lived on what he could get out of an older brother, a detective at the Desplaines Police Station, who made $110 a month and had no children. She refused to let this older brother bail Fred out of jail for fear he would run away and marry, in which case his family would be obliged to support Carrie and the child to prevent him from being sent to jail constantly for failure to support them. Her antagonism was further increased by Carrie's threats to make the Szulc family take care of her. She even turned a deaf ear to the judge's requests, though stating that if the young couple had come to her in the first place she would have given her consent.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

73. *Bukowski Family.* Stanley Bukowski petitioned the Legal Aid Society to get his wife back for him but without her brothers. The brothers had come to board with them and made trouble. They complained because their sister had been married in court, though Stanley said they were married in court not

because they had to be, but because they wished to be so married.

Mrs. Bukowski called at the Legal Aid Society in answer to its inquiry and said she had worked ever since she had been married, for her husband would not work most of the time and when he did gave her about $10 a month, was abusive and often struck her. Once he held a pillow over her mouth and only released her when she was nearly dead with suffocation. She would not return to him, for she would not dare live with him without her brothers and besides all he wanted was her wages. Their furniture had all been taken away because he would not pay for it. He was not working but spending all of his time following her about. One night he met her as she was returning from work, drew a knife on her and demanded that she come back to him. She had him arrested but her cousins appeared against her and told the judge that her brothers were at fault. He came to her boarding house twice and tried to get in to her, staying around and making a disturbance from 12 to 3 A. M.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

74. *Ceglarek Family.* Mrs. Ceglarek and her mother appealed to the Legal Aid Society to arrest Mr. Ceglarek. He was earning $14 a week and giving his wife $12 of this but drinking heavily—drunk every Saturday and Sunday. When he was drunk he sometimes struck his wife and was abusive. They had been married 8 years and had 3 children. Mrs. Ceglarek's mother seemed most anxious to have Ceglarek arrested; she thought it might scare him into doing better. He owed her $48, which might account for her hard feeling against him.

Three months later Mrs. Ceglarek again called on the Legal Aid Society and stated that her husband was still working but changing places, giving her $12 a week but still drinking on Saturdays. Her mother was again with her and very dictatorial as to what should be done; she "had even more to say" about the matter than Mrs. Ceglarek.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

75. *Lucki Family.* Max Lucki was suffering from tuberculosis and was sent to the hospital. When discharged he went

to his mother's home and his wife complained to the Legal Aid Society that his mother would not let her see her husband, and that he refused to change his insurance policy for $1,000 so as to make his 9 months old child the beneficiary instead of his mother.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

76. *Przybyłowski Family.* Mrs Przybyłowski had her husband arrested for trying to commit rape on her daughter by a former marriage, who was 17 years old. She had 5 children by her former husband when she married Przybyłowski 4 years before. He drove the older daughter away by his attacks. Both daughters were working and promised her their wages of $10 each if she would come to live with them. She did not want to leave her husband. He was willing to live with his wife and support her but said he had a hard time getting along with her children, for she encouraged them to be disobedient to him.

Mrs. Przybyłowski later decided she would leave her husband and live with her children, but she wanted to be sure that he would support her.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

77. *Dombrowski Family.* In Sept., 1912, Gustaw Dombrowski took his daughter by a former wife, left home and went to live with his sister. Mrs. Dombrowski went to the Legal Aid Society and demanded support. She had had 6 children by a former husband when she married Dombrowski in 1909. Although he had no bad habits he would often grow very angry and sulky and four or five times before he had taken his clothes and gone away. A conference between husband and wife brought to light the real trouble, which was that Mrs. Dombrowski insisted that her husband's first wife had told her that her daughter was not Dombrowski's child. This created much bitterness and jealousy and Dombrowski complained that his step-children insulted him, quarrelled and used rough language. When he objected he was told to pack up and leave if he did not like it.

For some time Mr. Dombrowski called on his wife and took her to nickel shows twice a week. He then returned, but left again after 4 months.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

78. *Frankowski Family.* Bronisława had known Peter Frankowski in the old country. She had been in this country about 2 years when she had a child by him and had him arrested, hoping he would marry her. They were married in court but after the ceremony he refused to live with her or have anything more to do with her. He soon returned to Poland and she heard he was to marry another girl there. Bronisława's people tried to stop the marriage but the priest did not recognize Frankowski's civil marriage as valid. Bronisława then asked the Legal Aid Society to have her marriage annulled.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

79. *Baranowski Family.* Mrs. Baranowski had had 3 children by her first husband, deceased, and 7 by Baranowski. All 10 children were living with them when Baranowski deserted. Hearing that his wife had sworn out a warrant against him, he gave up his good job as pile-driver at $4 a day and hired himself out in a lumber-yard at $1.80 a day so that when he was arrested he was able to show the court that he could not pay more than $5 a week for the support of his family, which amount he was ordered to pay. The following day he went home drunk and created a disturabnce, then packed up his clothes and returned to his old employment. He frequently came to the house at night, even at 2 A. M. demanding to see the children, because the judge had told him that he could see them. Once Mrs. Baranowski locked the door and he broke it down. The Legal Aid Society discovered that he gave all his earnings to a saloonkeeper who let him draw as much as he pleased, that he spent most of his money on drink and worked very irregularly. The Judge then increased the order to $10 a week.

A few months later Baranowski was arrested on a disorderly charge, fined $200 and sent to the Bridewell. He refused to talk to his wife when she visited him in hope of extracting some promise to reform, and when his time expired he contributed nothing toward the support of the family. Mrs. Baranowski then had his brother arrested for coming to her house, calling her names and trying to break down the door, etc. She accused him of influencing her husband and preventing him from

returning to her. The Judge continued the case to give the brother a chance to persuade Baranowski to return home. Meanwhile, however, Mrs. Baranowski decided she would not take him back but she insisted he must pay as ordered by the court. She had him arrested once more. He promised to pay $8 a week but disappeared without paying a cent. Mrs. Baranowski asked the Legal Aid Society to have her sister-in-law arrested as she was circulating stories about her. But as she could give no address nothing was done. The social workers who had dealings with Mrs. Baranowski agreed with her neighbors in thinking "she was not much good."

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

80. *Lewandowski Family.* The Lewandowski family had been in this country three years when Mrs. Lewandowski complained to the Legal Aid Society that her husband drank and was cruel to her and to their 2 children, a girl of 9 and a boy of 7. She had had him arrested and sent to the Bridewell 4 times for disorderly conduct. Each time some one paid his fine and he came home "worse than before." She said he had not worked in 4 weeks and acted very ugly to her unless she gave him money enough for drink. Some of the neighbors were inclined to think Mrs. Lewandowski was the "trouble-maker," for she quarrelled with her husband very often and talked about him a great deal. They declared they had never seen him drunk. One neighbor, however, thought he was crazy, for one night she saw him run back and forth between his house and the next one, stopping every little while to pull his hair like a crazy person and returning to peek through the key-hole of his house. He ran away from his house a little distance but finally came back and went in. She had noticed other "queer things."

Mrs. Lewandowski said she washed nearly every day and when she returned home at night her husband always asked her where she had been and what men she had seen. He was so jealous he would threaten to kill every one of them. Once she found a piece of iron in his pocket. But on the other hand, she also found some letters written to him by women. When Mrs. Lewandowski called at the office of the Legal Aid Society he acted very "peculiarly" and was "ugly and indifferent." He in-

sisted he did give his wife all his earnings and the rest of his money he kept with a saloon-keeper near their house. He said his wife was a bad woman and made all the trouble herself. He did not care if she did have him arrested, as he was quite willing to go to jail.

From the *Records of the Chicago Legal Aid Society.*

We find in the above material five main factors which, after the general decay of the institutional significance of marriage, lead to the actual disruption of the marriage-group. These are temperamental misadaptation of husband and wife, sexual interests, economic demoralization, interference of relatives and neighbors, interference of the state. None of them is, of course, sufficient to cause a break in the conjugal relation—otherwise there would be no married couples left. But each of them becomes a sufficient cause when acting in combination with certain other social or psychological elements and then, unless counteracted by other causes, necessarily produces a break.

Temperamental misadaptation seems to exist in most of the cases here quoted; it is probably the main reason of trouble in the Morawski, Łapinski and Ziejewski cases. Whether its ultimate sources are physical or psychological—which, in any particular case, is difficult if not impossible to determine—its sociologically important manifestations are remarkably uniform and can be characterized as general mutual dissatisfaction, frequently breaking out in open fights, for reasons which objectively taken are either trifling or irrelevant. Usually temperamental misadaptation manifests itself more in the behavior of the woman than in that of the man, probably because of organic differences between the sexes and because the woman's indoor life and household occupations make her ascribe more importance to

trifling circumstances. The unusual quarrelsomeness of Polish immigrants' wives certainly springs for the most part from this source. In man temperamental misadaptation expresses itself in "ugly temper," often in beating the woman—though beating may also have as its source sexual jealousy or unsatisfied desire for sexual relations—and regularly in alcoholism, for drinking (particularly drinking with friends outside of home) is the habitual means of escape from the quarrelsomeness of the wife—an artificial hedonistic substitute for the comfort and response of home life which the man needs.

But these expressions of temperamental misadaptation would hardly ever lead to a definite break of the relation in the old country, first because they would normally be kept within certain limits by the social milieu, secondly because even if the large family and the community failed to check them the married couple, seeing no escape from their position, would feel the need of putting up with their troubles and in some measure at least would try to adapt themselves to each other. Whereas here not only is there little if any social check to prevent the expressions of misadaptation from indefinitely increasing, but both husband and wife *know that they can escape the unpleasant situation*—the man by deserting, the woman by taking out a warrant against her husband, and both by divorce. It is this possibility of an escape which, in connection with the original temperamental misadaptation, produces in the individual the feeling that his marriage is nothing but a burden to be rejected as soon as it becomes too heavy, and makes him forget at least temporarily whatever positive elements there may be in his conjugal life. The idea of possible freedom, presenting itself usually at moments of

dissatisfaction and struggle, gradually leads to a one-sided definition of the situation—the break of the conjugal relation appears as the only possible solution. Often, in this case, when the break has already occurred and the individual is free, the other side of the question presents itself. The remembrance of the desirable features of past conjugal life gradually brings forward an entirely different definition and the individual is inclined to return. Thence the frequent cases in which a woman who has sent her husband to prison gets him out during his term, the man who deserted comes back home, even the couple who are getting a divorce "make it up" and begin to live together again (see Gutowski). The same performance may repeat itself later—almost indefinitely. This alternative "breaking and making" of the conjugal relation seems to characterize more particularly cases in which the source of trouble is temperamental misadaptation; it occurs, indeed, but less often, in troubles resulting from economic disorganization or from the interference of society, and is relatively rare when the break results from sexual tendencies or from the interference of the state.

Sexual life has acquired among the American Poles a significance entirely out of proportion to the relatively secondary rôle which it possessed under the traditional system. This is due to the fact that sexual tendencies from the standpoint of the family organization of the Polish peasants were not exactly a matter of *morality,* as they are in the eyes of religious puritanism, but merely one of social organization. The relations between the sexes before marriage were regulated in view of the concrete problem of marriage, not from the standpoint of abstract moral standards. There was therefore no idea of indecency connected with sexual questions in

general and any amount of direct sexual allusion was permissible in public; indecency was only attached to sexual words or contacts between particular individuals as affecting their marriage possibilities, which social consciousness required to be determined not privately but socially and in accordance with a strict ceremonial. The feeling of indecency was thus very much akin to the feeling of sacrilege—though less intense—for the latter is also aroused when sacred matters—matters of great social and ceremonial importance are treated by individuals profanely, *i. e.,* informally as if they were purely private. After marriage sexual life as such ceased to exist for social purposes; the important thing for society was the growth of the family and with this all the sacral and half-sacral ceremonial was connected. The relations between husband and wife were relegated to the sphere of strictest privacy and to bring them into public attention was indecent, because it introduced this essentially private matter into the social and half-sacred family system. Conjugal infidelity was indecent for the same reason, but it was also anti-social in so far as it contributed to weaken the family; if it happened, the proper thing to do was to counteract its undesirable consequences rather than to take personal feelings into consideration—to avoid a break of the conjugal relation by all means.

When the large family and the marriage-group lose their institutional significance no check on sexual tendencies is left except religion, which in this respect never had any particular influence. The looseness of mores which prevails among Polish immigrants and astonishes the American social worker is thus easily explained. Sexual indulgence as such has no meaning of "wickedness" attached to it; only its bearing on the family sys-

tem made it condemnable or contemptible. The facility with which "free-love" relations are established—shown in such cases as Michalski and Adamski—proves that the sexual connection between two individuals tends to become in the eyes of the large masses of Polish-American society a matter of personal choice, not subject to any social inhibitions or regulations. If it over reached this limit would no longer be a source of demoralization, for it would not conflict with the socially regulated types of individual life-organization; free love might exist then without trouble, with marriage as a certain form of economic cooperation and an institution for producing and bringing up children, as it did in the European aristocracy of the eighteenth century. But the sexual interest has not yet become generally dissociated from the other interests involved in conjugal life. Cases like that of Rozłowski, where the husband has sexual relations with his divorced wife, but refuses to reestablish the marriage situation, are rare. Usually the complex of tendencies and beliefs associated with marriage is still indissoluble and both the individual's own sexual desire and his expectation of fidelity in the other party remain included in the whole conjugal situation. In other words, most immigrants—men and women—are inclined to treat marriage, *i. e.*, living in one house, having common economic interests and caring for the children together, as the most normal way of obtaining sexual satisfaction, even though marriage has no longer the old sacredness and the line between marriage and concubinage tends to disappear. It is when this attitude is present that extra-conjugal satisfaction of sexual tendencies becomes the cause of a break in the conjugal relation. The individual who is not satisfied with the sexual side of his conjugal life and has sexual relations

outside of marriage tends to break the latter entirely and to establish a real or quasi-conjugal relation with the other person. Thus Gaszynski deserts his wife to live with another woman; Mrs. Piotrowski leaves her husband for another man. Koskowski, married in Poland, lives here with another woman as wife and when his real wife comes from Poland, after some hesitation due to state interference, runs away to live with the Klimek girl again. Silinski, also married in Poland, actually marries here for the second time. Raczmarzynski leaves his first wife whom he married here and, without divorcing her, marries another under an assumed name. Mucha proceeds more regularly, divorces his wife after 23 years of marriage and immediately marries another. In many cases where the woman asks for divorce and after divorce marries another man it is probable that she had relations with this man during her first marriage but kept these relations secret, for example Mrs. Woźniak. The Zieliński situation is interesting. Both the man and the woman have sexual interests outside of marriage, but while the woman, in consequence of this, wishes to break the conjugal relation the man has evidently dissociated in some measure his sexual life from the other interests involved in marriage and still wants his wife as housekeeper and mother of his children, though he is sexually interested in some one else. In general in the woman the connection between sexual interests and other interests seems to be closer than in man, though on the other hand her greater economic dependence and stronger affection for the children make her usually willing to lead a double life whenever by breaking her conjugal tie for the sake of a more satisfactory sexual relation she would risk her economic security or be in danger of losing her children. Thence

so many of the "boarder" stories which have become a well-known feature of Polish-American life. The woman has a secret sexual relation with a boarder and at the same time preserves her conjugal relation for economic and family reasons.

But even if the individual whose sexual interests are outside of his marriage-group tries to satisfy the former without breaking his conjugal tie, the other party may be unwilling to bear the conjugal infidelity of his or her partner and, after trying to counteract it, deserts or divorces. For jealousy seems to persist much longer than actual sexual interest and, along with cases when it really is the manifestation of injured love, we find others where it exists in an individual along with his own conjugal infidelity. Thus Michalski is definitely induced to leave his wife because of jealousy, though he has many sexual relations outside and certainly no longer cares for her, and Mrs. Gaszyński, herself an adulteress but exasperated by being left destitute, throws vitriol on her rival.

It is necessary to note, nevertheless, that the husband's or wife's infidelity, which seems to modern consciousness the most natural reason for breaking the conjugal relations—as is proved by the fact that adultery is the most generally acknowledged ground for divorce —does not to the same degree appear to the peasant as necessarily suggesting a dissolution of marriage. As we mentioned above, in the traditional system the prevalent tendency was rather to prevent it from having a destructive influence upon the family life, and this tendency goes so far as to lead the husband or wife to adopt, tacitly or explicitly, the child born from the adultery of the other. In this respect the attitude of the recently arrived wife of Silinski is typical; she "wants

her man back," though he had been living with another woman for years. The more natural reaction to infidelity is the desire for revenge, and we have cases where the wronged husband or wife explicitly refuses to get a divorce because this would only give satisfaction to the adulterer or adulteress. Usually the desire for revenge manifests itself in the man by physical violence —for however indignant the American social worker may be with a husband beating his wife from jealousy this behavior is perfectly sanctioned by tradition and socially normal—and in the woman by the desire to repay her husband in the same coin. Sometimes the man also resorts to this revenge by retaliation, as in the Adamski case, where Masłowski's vengeance is directed not only against his wife but against his rival as well. Of course, if the indignation at the unfaithfulness of the other party cooperates with the individual's own desires for outside sexual relations the dissolution of the marriage becomes unavoidable as in the Michalski and Ziołek cases.

The Grabarski case is very suggestive. The husband there, after some revolt, accepts the situation of the boarder but makes the latter share all his conjugal responsibilities, familial and economic, by alternating with him in living with the woman and supporting her and the children. It is a regular polyandric arrangement, which shows both the close connection that still subsists between sexual life and other marriage interests in the immigrant's consciousness and the decay of the institutional significance of marriage. As a solution of the given subjective situation it seems to work satisfactorily for all the persons concerned, since no higher ideals of love are active. More than this, such a solution seems to be one toward which the evolution

of conjugal life in Polish-American society is naturally tending, for that dissociation of sexual tendencies from other interests which was once predominant in the aristocracy is hardly likely to develop and there is a restraining influence which will always prevent many breaks of the conjugal relation for sexual reasons. This restraining influence is the children. We have, of course, a number of cases in which the father, and a few in which the mother, shows no interest in the children. But these are so contrary to the deepest and oldest social traditions that they could hardly become very common even if the maternal or paternal feeling has no foundations which are in some measure independent of the changes of social conditions—a question which we cannot discuss here. In any case it is more probable that conjugal jealousy, at least where it is not the outcome of exclusive sexual absorption in the other individual, will yield to parental affection than *vice versa,* and it is quite possible that informal polygamy of both the polygynous and the polyandric type, *i. e.,* the actual participation of an individual in the sexual, economic and familial life of two or more marriage-groups in succession or at once, will become the prevalent type of family organization among the American Poles. It is already much more frequent than American social and legal institutions can ascertain and if kept quiet is ignored by social opinion—which is the first step toward its tacit acknowledgment.

Economic demoralization of the individual as factor of the break of the marriage acts in two ways. First, it provokes a hostile reaction from the other member and thus becomes a source of further trouble, which may finally result in a break. Thus a woman whose husband does not support her may become more quarrel-

some, or yield to another man in order to get support, or appeal to relatives for interference, or have the man arrested; and *vice versa,* a man whose wife is economically demoralized becomes "ugly" to her, or drifts away from home and becomes easily interested in some other woman—all of which contributes to break the relation. But more significant psychologically than these obvious indirect effects of economic demoralization are the direct effects which the latter has upon the individual's own conjugal attitudes. We notice that in many cases where the individual breaks the marriage bond for temperamental or sexual or social reasons investigation shows that this individual also is or was more or less demoralized economically, while there are a large number of situations where economic disorganization seems to be the chief if not the only factor of the individual's unwillingness to keep up the marriage. We refer to Kulas, Rzepecki, Zakrzewski, and there are thousands more or less like these. There is a clear connection here which has been often noted. Marriage requires a certain degree of economic efficiency and it is therefore not surprising that the individual who has become unable to attain the latter is glad to throw off the burden of his conjugal obligations and to desert or divorce. This, however, explains only those situations where the economic obligations of marriage are either enforced from the outside by society or the state or are still felt by the individual himself, who thus finds himself in a painful internal struggle between his unwillingness or inability to make the necessary effort to support his family and the emotions aroused by the sight of the latter's misery, and deserts in order to escape and forget this situation. In both cases the decision to break the conjugal tie is the effect of the economic obligation, ex-

ternal or internal, acting upon those attitudes which make a regulated economic life subjectively impossible. But there are also situations of a different type where this conflict between economic demoralization and economic obligation does not exist, where the individual is neither so demoralized economically as to be entirely unable to support (however unsatisfactorily) his family nor so conscious of his obligations, externally enforced or internally felt, as to be driven to break the conjugal relation in order to avoid them. The Kochański, Perkowski and Rola cases exemplify this kind of situations. Here the source of the trouble must be sought in the general effect which a certain degree of economic disorganization has upon the character of an individual whose attitudes are still in a large measure determined by primary-group traditions. The instability of American economic conditions, while it produces a feeling of powerlessness and despondency in individuals in whom the desire for security is prevalent may, on the contrary, arouse a feeling of personal independence and the longing for adventure in those whose predominant attitude is the desire for new experience. The result, depending on the degree of economic preparation, may range all the way from a reckless tendency to make a fortune by unusual means (unusual, of course, from the standpoint of the immigrant's traditions) down to vagabondage. But in all these cases the individual is apt to resent marriage, with all the associations of stability, regularity, social order, etc., which are still connected with it, as an obstacle to his desire for new experience. And it may even happen—in view of the close connection of all outside interests in the primary-group psychology—that the desire for new experience communicates itself from economic to sexual interests and in-

stability in the first domain prepares the ground for instability in the second.

We do not need to expand upon the interference of relatives as factor of conjugal breaks, since the situation as shown in our documents is perfectly clear after what we know already of the decadence of the large family in this country. On the one hand, marriage is often concluded not only on the initiative of the young people alone, without the assistance of the family, but even against the will of the relatives. On the other hand, since the large family has ceased to be a really coherent group its individual members are no longer concerned in their attitude toward the married couple with the interest of the group as a whole but with their own individual benefit or loss, liking or disliking. The break of the conjugal relation brings little if any harm to the social prestige or economic security of the relatives, so there is really nothing to prevent the parents, cousins or even friends from stirring up trouble in the marriage group if they desire. Motives are easily found and if either of the young couple is amenable to such influences, the break is often produced. Mothers- and fathers-in-law are particularly dangerous in the early period of married life, while the married couple are not yet adapted to each other and the decay of the institutional significance of marriage makes a break appear easy. Later interference is less effective because of the growing estrangement of husband and wife from their respective families—a natural result of the American conditions—so that even such imperfect community of economic and progeny interests as may be established here between the married couple is sufficient to counterbalance external interference if there are no other special factors leading to a break. Very different

in this respect is the case where either husband or wife, or both, has children by a former marriage. Even in the old country familial unity is much more difficult to establish in second than in first marriages. Not only the relatives on both sides are apt to interfere, but there is always some trouble between step-father or step-mother and the step-children, since common life is bound to provoke many disagreements and there is nothing left here to counteract the latter after the decay of the family consciousness in general. There is in the records of American institutions frequent mention of sexual relations of step-fathers with step-daughters, which tends to prove that the step-relation ceases to be felt as a family relation. When the step-children grow the troubles increase and the desire for independence which, as we shall see later, prevails among the young generation leads them often to work quite consciously in favor of a conjugal break between the parent and step-parent, which will weaken even more the already weak control to which they are subjected at home.

An entirely new element is introduced into the conjugal life of the Polish immigrant by the interference of the state, which from his standpoint includes not only court and police action but also the activities of private or half-private American institutions, because he can seldom distinguish a purely social institution from one maintained by the state, particularly as the former does or can, or at least is thought to be able to make use of courts and police. None of the other factors of conjugal disorganization has an equally uniform and general destructive effect upon marriage. After a careful study of many hundreds of cases we have not found a single instance where official interference strengthened the conjugal bond. If occasionally some improvement

seems to follow institutional action it does not come because of, but in spite of this action. Sometimes it is due to some constructive economic or social influences, sometimes again the situation at the moment when brought to public attention was not really as bad as it seemed and a spontaneous readjustment was possible. In a great majority of cases, however, no detailed analysis is needed to notice the immediate additional strain which actual or threatened state interference puts upon the marriage bond.

The explanation of this is easy. The social control to which a marriage-group in the old country is subjected by the families and the community bears upon this group as a unit and has the interests of this unit in view. The rôle of the social milieu is not to step between husband and wife and arbitrate between their personal claims as those of separate individuals, but to uphold their union when threatened by the action of either. The misbehaving individual is made to feel that he sins against the sacredness of marriage, not that he is wrong in his contest with another individual. Therefore the control of the old social milieu increases the institutional significance of the conjugal bond. On the contrary, the interference of the American institution means an arbitration between husband and wife, who are treated, officially and unofficially, as contesting parties, as individuals between whose claims a just balance should be established. This, for the consciousness of the immigrant, puts the whole matter at once not upon the basis of solidarity but upon that of fight where each party wants to get the best of its opponent by whatever means possible. This impression is strengthened by what seems to be the official and foreign character of the

interfering institutions, making any appeals to solidarity meaningless, because the social worker or the judge himself is not a member of the community and has no direct, vital interest in the marriage-group. Moreover, the action of American institutions differs in nature from that of a Polish community by being sporadic and putting the matter on a rational basis, whereas the old social milieu acted continuously and by emotional suggestions rather than by reasoning.

Thus, direct or indirect state interference unavoidably *undermines* the institutional significance and traditional social sacredness of marriage. It does it even in the rare cases when it is well informed. But usually the conditions are aggravated by the ignorance of Polish peasant traditions and mores which characterizes the best intentioned and idealistic social workers and court officials. It is still worse, of course, in those happily rare cases where the representatives of American institutions lack tact and human interest. And any mistake or injustice committed by those in authority is apt to be exaggerated and misunderstood by the individual himself and becomes further, often most absurdly, misinterpreted by the social opinion of the immigrant community.

This is not all. Certain predominant tendencies manifested by American institutions when interfering with conjugal life have already given birth among Polish immigrants to new social attitudes which constitute a predisposition most favorable to further conjugal troubles. Besides the idea of the instability of "American marriage"—a result of civil marriage and divorce—the most important of these are the exaggerated feeling of coercive power on the part of the woman and

the corresponding feeling in the man that conjugal obligations are a matter of legal coercion but not of moral duty.

The consciousness that she can have her husband arrested any time she wishes on charges of non-support, disorderly conduct or adultery is for the woman an entirely new experience. Though under the old system she had in fact a part in the management of common affairs almost equal to that of the man, yet in cases of explicit disagreement the man had the formal right of coercing her, whereas she could only work by suggestion and persuasion, or appeal to the large family. Now not only she can refuse to be coerced, since the only actual instruments of coercion which the man has left after the disorganization of the large family—use of physical strength and withholding the means of subsistence—are prohibited by law, but she can actually coerce the man into doing what she wants by using any act of violence, drunkenness or economic negligence of his as a pretext for a warrant. No wonder that she is tempted to use her newly acquired power whenever she quarrels with her husband, and her women friends and acquaintances, moved by sex solidarity, frequently stimulate her to take legal action. Such action is, of course, radically contrary to the traditional significance of marriage, but this significance is weak and apt to be forgotten at a moment of wrath, since there is no large family to keep it always alive. And the action once taken is irreparable, for the husband will never forget or entirely forgive an act which introduced foreign official interference into the privacy of his conjugal relations, humiliated his feeling of masculine dignity and put him for the time of his arrest on the same basis as a criminal. If the arrest is made by a girl on a bastardy

charge the offence seems less grievous since there is no break of family solidarity; the girl does not owe obedience, and in most such cases the whole relation was already on a fighting basis before the arrest. A marriage performed in court under such conditions is, of course, usually a failure—as our materials show—but if the girl does not prove too contentious or insistent upon her rights, the relation may be established later, voluntarily and without legal pressure; whereas a conjugal bond is virtually broken by the husband's arrest. The man may be cowed into submission by fear but his marriage relation has ceased to imply any familial solidarity in his eyes and is no longer a voluntary union but an enforced cohabitation and economic contribution which taken together appear much akin to serfdom. Naturally, unless much attached to his children or indolent by temperament, he tends to run away at the first opportunity. And the popularization of such facts and attitudes among the immigrants has resulted in the tendency of men to waive all idea of permanent duty connected with marriage. There is no use in trying to make an immigrant accept in this respect the formal idea of contract and admit the principle that by marrying he has undertaken certain life-long obligations, for obligation is significant for him only as long as it is a part of the organization of the primary social group to which he belongs. American law treats him and his wife as isolated individuals, not as primary-group members and between isolated individuals the normal connection in his consciousness is not that of a contract, binding even against one's will, but that of a free association dissoluble at any moment at the will of either.

Thus, in general the marriage situation among the American Poles looks quite hopeless when judged by the

standards of the permanent and exclusive conjugal bond. Numerous causes contribute to the progressive dissolution of the monogamous marriage-group, and there are no important and general reconstructive factors. Perhaps this process would not constitute a social danger if among the immigrants of peasant origin disorganization of marriage were not as closely connected as it is with demoralization in other fields, and if it did not affect the children as it does. For normal social life may coexist with other forms of family life than those based on the monogamous marriage. But it is obviously impossible for Polish-American society to construct a new type of family organization on some polygamous basis, first because this society is not sufficiently coherent, secondly because the American social and legal system will not allow an explicitly recognized and socially regulated polygamy. However general polygamous arrangements among American Poles may in fact become they must always bear the outward character of clandestine adultery and thus not only be officially marked as signs of general immorality but must actually contribute to general immorality, *i. e.,* to the decadence of individual life-organization. The only possible way to counteract this degeneration of marriage is to give the Polish-American society new ideals of family life or help it develop such ideals. And this can be done only by its actual incorporation into American society, not merely into the American state and economic systems—if American society has really vital family ideals to give.

CHAPTER IV

MURDER

There are from the sociological viewpoint two very different types of crime—crime within the individual's own group and crime committed by the individual outside of his group. What are the limits of the individual's own group in any particular case depends on the range within which the ties of active social solidarity are acknowledged by him as binding. Thus, for the savage these limits are those of his particular tribe; for the ignorant old-type peasant they practically coincide with his primary community; for the average modern civilized man they are those of his nation; for the conscious socialist they extend as far as the working class; for the practical Christian they include the whole human race; for the habitual criminal they are not much wider than his gang. Of course, in many cases the lines cannot be drawn exactly, for there may be several degrees of solidarity which the individual acknowledges and in a decreasing measure; for instance, the family, the community or acquaintance milieu, the city and the nation are the individual's own groups. Nor are the two types of crime always sharply distinguishable in practice; there are complex intermediary types in which the characters of the two fundamental types are mixed in various proportions.

The crime within the group is essentially and primarily anti-social in that the criminal who is expected to contribute positively to the welfare of his group acts

instead against it and breaks the principles of social solidarity not merely by not doing what these principles prescribe, but by doing something exactly opposite. The crime outside of the group is of itself socially indifferent, neither positive nor negative, for the social relations between the given group and outside groups are not definitely nor permanently determined. The crime may become socially negative, *i. e.,* harmful to the individual's own group indirectly, when these relations happen to consist at the given time in an exchange of services, whereas if there is an exchange of hostilities going on the individual's own group will appreciate the crime committed outside positively as indirectly contributing to its own welfare. Exactly speaking, therefore, from the socio-psychological standpoint we should apply the term "crime" only to the first type of actions, *i. e.,* to those directly opposed to the solidarity of the group which the individual considers his own. Nevertheless, there is a certain justification in the now common use of this term for certain harmful acts committed outside of the individual's own group in so far as the progress of civilization widens the limits within which active solidarity is required and the individual's subjective judgment as to what is his own group may be much narrower than that prevalent on the actual stage of civilization. Crime being now generally defined from the standpoint of a national state as a solidary group, the individual is not supposed to limit his solidarity to any group narrower than this. But when we do not wish to judge the crime, but simply to understand it we must draw the lines somewhat differently. On the one hand, from the abstract social standpoint we see no reason for limiting the term crime to harmful actions committed within a state, but shall extend it to all anti-human actions. On

the other hand, from the socio-psychological standpoint we must clearly distinguish between crimes committed within the group which is "his own group" for the criminal himself and those which a judge or a consistent Christian would consider opposed to active solidarity but which the criminal himself treats at most as breaks of a truce between his own group and the outside world. In the light of this distinction the very fact that a certain individual or a class draws the limits of "its own group" narrower than the more progressive part of a given national or international society is very significant sociologically, for it proves that this national or international society has failed to implant in this individual or class the feeling of a national or international active solidarity.

Psychologically, the crime committed within the individual's own group implies stronger motives and deeper conflicts of tendencies than the crime committed outside. The power of the motives cannot, of course, be estimated without knowing what are the values which the given group in general and the criminal individual in particular appreciate most; and in considering the conflict of tendencies we must always keep in mind the fact that a hostile act of a member of the individual's own group constituting a real or imaginary break of solidarity is apt to provoke a much stronger emotional reaction than a similar act committed by an outsider.

Murder is of all crimes the one whose interpretation is the least doubtful. Other acts qualified by modern law as criminal may be variously estimated in various milieux under the influence of certain beliefs and customs. Thus, even such a generally acknowledged crime as theft has relatively little significance in the peasant social system when committed within the closest social

group, *i. e.,* between members of the same family, whereas it is much more important between non-related members of a community, though even then its importance varies from a mere pardonable offence like stealing food to a heinous villainy like horse-stealing. The condemnation of theft outside of the community in general decreases again, but there are forms of theft—chiefly the stealing of money—which peasant consciousness always condemns without regard to the harm which the act may bring to the individual's own community. The degree of condemnation to which murder is subjected, on the other hand, varies almost everywhere in proportion to the closeness of the bonds of social solidarity between the murderer and his victim.

When studying murder among other crimes in peasant communities in Poland we had to deal chiefly with the first type of crime, *i. e.,* with murder committed within the individual's own group. Indeed, murders of strangers are surprisingly rare among peasants. The reason is simple. The social contacts between the individual and the social world outside of his own community are relatively few and superficial, so that there is not much motive for violence, whereas, quite independently of any considerations of social solidarity, the peasant needs really strong motives for any abnormal acts because of the stable and regulated character of his habitual life and because of the strength of his desire for security. There were, indeed, many murders committed upon strangers during the period which we have investigated in Vol. IV, but these happened mainly in towns and were the outcome of the social conditions created by the revolution of 1905-6 and could be adequately understood only in connection with a study of this revolution. In peasant life a murder is usually

the tragic solution of some difficult social situation involving powerful individual tendencies, a set of social conditions which make it impossible for the individual to realize these tendencies without removing the person, or persons who stand in his way, and almost always the feeling that he has been wronged and that this person, or persons have broken first the principle of solidarity. Greed, fear, sexual desire, jealousy, revenge, mostly exaggerated by long brooding, constitute the usual factors of murder, and it is clear that situations giving rise to such emotions are apt to develop only within the individual's own group.

Now, from what we know already about the weakening of all social bonds and traditions among the immigrants we can expect that here the nature of crime in general and of murder in particular must be very different. On the one hand, most of the motives which actuated the peasant in the old country either do not exist any longer or are greatly weakened, precisely because all social ties are loosened. An individual seldom, if ever, finds himself here in a situation which seems to him insoluble except through murder, for his wishes, less determined by tradition, are less exclusive, he has usually many ways of satisfying them and no institutional bonds can hold him against his will. There is no need of recurring to violent means in order to get rid of one's undesirable family members, for one can simply desert them. A house or a sum of money which the individual may inherit after the death of his parents does not mean here even approximately as much as the smallest farm in the old country either in its bearing on the individual's social position or even from the purely economic standpoint relatively to his earning power. Sexual desire can be satisfied outside of the one

legal way of marriage. Jealousy still exists but is in most cases weakened by the consciousness that it is possible to have many other men or women beside the unfaithful one. The fear of social opinion can hardly compel the average individual to murder as an alternative to some shameful disclosure, for social opinion has much less influence and can be easily avoided by moving away. The desire for revenge cannot be as deep as in the old country for here an individual has less chance to inflict a really serious wrong upon another and since the claims of solidarity have lost most of their old meaning, a break of solidarity is less resented as such.

But if thus the tragic murder, the murder with powerful motives committed within one's own group, becomes relatively rare here for lack of motives there is a wide field for the second type of murder, the murder without internal conflict and tragedy committed outside of the criminal's group. The immigrant gets into contact with outsiders, with people not belonging to his family, community or even race incomparably more than he ever did, and even the members of his old community living in changed conditions and no longer constituting one coherent group often become estranged from him. His usual attitude toward this social environment is not that of mere indifference. It is essentially defensive, full of mistrust, of a vague feeling of danger, of a continual expectation of wrong or offense. Mistrust toward strangers was the habitual attitude of the peasant, developed by centuries of cultural isolation and by a subordinate social status which made the peasant community often suffer from unexpected social evils whose source it could not control. The immigrant's experiences in this country, sometimes involving exploitation, often humiliation, always full of things and hap-

penings and human acts whose meaning he only vaguely grasps, contribute, of course, to maintain and develop this attitude of general mistrust and his first movement is usually one of apprehension or implicit hostility. Furthermore, the nervousness brought by the unsettled conditions of life makes him easily exaggerate the slightest wrong. This is the background which helps us to understand cases like the following.

81. *Joseph Opalski, murderer of Joseph Stanczak.* Joseph Opalski had been boarding with Joseph Stanczak. Stanczak was 37 years old and had been in this country 8 years. He was born in Russian Poland and married there. He had with him in Chicago his wife and 2 children, 10 and 2 years old. From the testimony at the trial of Opalski it appeared that the relations between Mrs. Stanczak and Opalski were the common gossip of the neighborhood "but nobody wanted to interfere with him." It was well known that Stanczak wished him to leave, "but the wife wanted him to stay. Three months ago Opalski beat him up also, cutting his head. He [Opalski] had more to say in the house than the deceased." Further trouble was expected by all concerned.

One Sunday night, August 29th, Joseph Stanczak asked his brother Feliks to stay with him all night. Whether he was actually afraid of Opalski or wished his brother's help in driving the obnoxious boarder out of the house is not clear. They were all drinking beer together. Opalski said he did not drink anything but went to bed early, though he could not sleep. After he had gone to his room, where the Stanczak boy also slept, Joseph Stanczak "made two breaks to go into the room," but was stopped by his wife, who complained that she was sick and did not want any noise. Later, about 1 P. M. Stanczak went to the saloon for more beer and his brother stepped out for a moment. Mrs. Stanczak, her woman boarder and her brother-in-law, who lived up-stairs, entered Opalski's room and begged him to leave the house because Stanczak and his brother were planning to cut him up with a knife, "they were going to show him American court." He slipped quietly out of the house.

When the brothers returned they went to bed, Joseph with his wife and his brother with the woman boarder—who had a husband and 2 children in the old country and an illegitimate child here.

Opalski states in his confession: "I went over to Peter Altman's house. . . . There I put on my shoes, coat and hat, and went back to Stanczak's and entered by the rear door. Finding the two Stanczak brothers, Joe and Feliks, I said: 'If you are so strong, why, commence now.' Joseph ran towards me, struck me with his fist right by my right ear. I had a file which I carried inside with me; I pulled it out of my pocket and struck Joseph on the head with it. He fell down on his side and then Feliks ran toward me and I struck him twice on the head with the file. And he staggered against the stove and called out 'Women, help!' Feliks ran into the bedroom and Joe was about to get up. When I seen him getting up, the file slipped from my hand and I grabbed the chair and beat him with it on the head. The chair broke in pieces and he fell down again. I don't know how or when the women got out but they were gone at that time. I went into the front bedroom and got my revolver, which I had bought from a pawn-man a few months before. . . . I bought it with the intention of killing Joseph Stanczak after a fight I had 3 months ago.

"I then went to Joseph Polowski at 49th St. I got there about 4 A. M. His brother-in-law opened the door and I asked him if Joe Polowski was home. He answered: 'Yes, he just came home a few minutes ago.' He let me in and I went to bed with Joe and I told him I could not sleep at home because the two brothers were fighting. Joe Polowski got up at 5.30 A. M. and went to work and I slept until about noon. Got up and ate breakfast and left there and rode to Stephen Malecki's, 26th St. I got there about 2 P. M. I changed into my Sunday clothes and left there about 4 P. M. I went downtown to see a show on State St. I left the theater at 9 P. M. and then I came home to Peter Altman's . . . and slept in the kitchen until 8 o'clock in the morning, August 31st. Then I got my revolver and went to Joseph Stanczak's. I entered by the kitchen door and went into the bedroom where Joseph Stanczak was sleeping and fired three shots at him. He was asleep. There was no-

body else in the house at the time and nobody knew my intention that I know of. . . . [Went to his friends; hid the revolver; the next day went to work. The day after] I ate my supper at Stephen Weybeck's, 26th St. They mentioned that Joseph Stanczak was dead, but I didn't answer when they told me. I went down to Stańczak's place and Josephine Stanczak and Josephine Okrasina [the woman boarder] and Binkowski [Stanczak's brother-in-law] was there. And Binkowski told me that Joseph Stanczak was dead, and I answered that his time was come. The women were in bed asleep and I went to bed and slept with little John Stanczak. And no more was said about the death. The morning of September 2nd I got up at 9.30 and went to work. I worked until 1.30 P. M. At the time I was arrested. . . ."

"Q. Weren't you living with her just the same as if you were married to her?

"A. No, never.

"Q. Why did you do this?

"A. [I] done this just because I knew that this man lived long enough. He killed one in the old country. He cut a man out there with a razor.

"Q. Was this man in the old country that was killed by Joseph Stanczak a relative of yours?

"A. I don't know this man at all."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

82. *Władek Kowalski, murderer of Teofil Snopczyński.* Teofil Snopczyński, a brick-layer, 50 years old, who had been born in Galicia and was unmarried, as far as his friends knew, was killed one Sunday morning in May at about 2.30 A. M. by Władek Kowalski, outside of the home of the latter in Chicago. Kowalski was shot in the shoulder by a policeman but escaped.

At the coroner's inquest it was learned that Kowalski had been born in the province of Warsaw, was 40 years old, a laborer. He had been married 14 years before "in a church" in the old country and had been in America with his family for 10 years. His wife, who had been born in the province of Płock, was now 31 years old and they had had 5 children ranging from 13 to 1 year old. For some years prior to the murder the fam-

ily had kept a boarding house in Gary, Indiana. They had sometimes as many as 15 or 18 boarders. For some reason not mentioned the number of boarders had fallen to 2 in the preceding spring. Kowalski worked on a farm in North Dakota for 3 or 4 months and sent his wife $70. He then changed places, worked 2 months and quit. He returned home in December and did not work any more. In March he sold his home in Gary, receiving $950 cash and a mortgage for $500. With the $950 he bought a saloon in Chicago. But business was not good. He had no money to pay for a license on the first of May and had to give up the saloon, losing the $950 he had invested. What liquor was left he moved to the place where he was living.

Mrs. Kowalski testified that she was not required to sleep with the boarders but had to work very hard, to which the coroner replied: "I don't doubt that you had to work hard. You look to me like a woman that has worked hard." But when they kept the saloon her husband required her to have intercourse with other men. "He says: 'I am not going to work and you got to earn a living. . . .' Several times he pulled a revolver and he wanted to kill me with an axe, too. . . . It wasn't in the presence of other men, but he threatened me that I should do that kind of work . . . and he wanted to throw me out of a second story window."

The following testimony was given by the man who was with Snopczyński the night he was killed.

"I was coming from my home. He [the deceased] was standing on the corner of Milwaukee and Division. It was about 8.30 in the evening. . . . He invited me to have a drink. . . . We were sitting in the corner [an hour later when Kowalski entered]. . . . And he came to us and says: . . .

" 'If you want intercourse, what's the use of hanging around here and looking for something else? You can come over to my home and have drinks and it will cost you less.' . . . He didn't say that it was his wife. He said that he had somebody there [with whom he was 'just living']. . . . The man left that saloon and walked to Warsaw's saloon. . . . He took 4 men out and . . . I asked him if he is through with these 4 men . . . and he says 'Yes, I am taking them there [home],' so I told the deceased that 'I am not going there now. . . . We will come over

later.' . . . When we came over to the house [at about 11.30 P. M.] . . . only this woman and the husband was there. . . . When we got in there he brought out whiskey and wine and placed it on the table and he says: 'Go ahead and drink.' . . . The deceased paid for everything. . . . For the first drink I believe it was a dollar or so. . . . For the second drink it was half a dollar. . . . While we were drinking . . . the woman stepped into the kitchen [in her night-gown covered with an apron and bare-footed. She had been sleeping. She testified that this was the first time her husband had brought men to the house]. And the supposed husband said to her: 'Well, why don't you go to him?'—the deceased. . . . This woman came over to the deceased and they went over to the bedroom. . . . When this lady came back to the kitchen she gave her husband the dollar. . . . When we drank the second drink . . . he insisted that she will go with him the second time. . . .

"Q. Was there anything said then about how much would be charged for the second intercourse?

"A. No. . . . When they returned the second time she had [money] in her hand . . . had her fist closed and was giving it to the man, and I says 'Maybe you robbed him. How much did you get?' She said: 'No, only I got two dollars . . . the first time I charge a dollar because you shortly with me. The second time it took longer so I charge two dollars.'

"Q. Was the deceased trying to get part of his money back from the husband?

"A. He didn't say, 'Return it to me,' but he said it was too much. . . . I said to the husband: 'You had better return the dollar back, . . . [and on his refusal] I am going to fix you. I am going for the police.'

"Q. Who made that remark?

"A. The deceased said that and even I said it 'because you people are pulling a person in here and want to rob them.' . . . After that I saw this man placing his hand in his pocket. . . . And the deceased said: 'Come on, we will go . . . over there and complain.' And when he heard that he [Kowalski] walked out first and the deceased followed, and I followed the deceased and this woman followed me. . . . I was still on the stairs and I heard a shot and this Snopczyński says: 'I am shot.' "

Kowalski ran away, going first to friends in Gary and then to Detroit. He wrote his wife and children to join him there, but when he went to her sister's house to meet her he was arrested. He insisted the deceased had drawn a knife first and attacked him. The detectives who were watching his house entered one night and found a drunken man with his clothes on in bed with Mrs. Kowalski. He said he was from Gary, Indiana.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

83. *John Grajek, assailant of Dr. Witkowski.* John Grajek was arrested on the following complaint of Dr. Leon Witkowski: "I was at the front of my house on the night of June 19, 1916, at 10 minutes after 9. . . . A man came out of the shadows and without saying a word fired point blank out of a revolver toward me [at a distance of 10 feet]. . . . I took care of defendant's wife on the 11th of May. He was peeved because he thought on the strength of a statement I would give him he would collect $5,000 from Armour & Co. where she worked [when she had a miscarriage]. . . . He wanted me to change the statement to show it was Armour's fault. . . . He went right out and handed my statement to a saloonkeeper who handed it to his son. . . . Grajek then said to this young man, 'If this paper is not good for that money I am going to shoot a bullet into the doctor's belly.' [This was the Friday before the Monday of the shooting.]"

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

84. *John Iskierski, Murderer of Peter Wojdyla.* Frank Schneider testified that he had worked with John Iskierski for a year and saw the fight between Iskierski and Wojdyła: "We were making posts . . . and that man [Wojdyła] came and said [in Polish], 'You son-of-a-bitch, why do you come here and jump on somebody else's work. You are taking some one's bread away.'"

Charles Parcik testified: "Wojdyła called [Iskierski] a whore and a son-of-a-bitch. . . . John says, 'Get away from me. I have nothing to do with you. . . . If you won't go away, I will hit you one.' Wojdyła said, 'All right, come on.' Then I saw how John and Wojdyła ran in a fight. I saw him [John]

hit him [Wojdyła] with his hand. . . . They caught each [other]. . . . Both of them fell over against the wall. When they sit up again I didn't see any blood going down but saw blood on the back."

There was evidence that Wojdyła had been dismissed from the factory and that he had had a fight there once before. "He told every one a son-of-a-bitch." After this fight he lighted his pipe and walked away, but later collapsed and died.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

85. *Stanley Koch, murderer of Joseph Murac.* Joseph Murac was a 19 year old boy who had come from Russian Poland 2 years before. January 5, 1914, he and his cousin August Miller were walking along South 85th Street at about 11 P. M. They apparently had started to see some relatives but had stopped in a saloon instead. Miller testified: "When we passed by on German Ave. this man [Koch, whom the deceased did not know] stepped near a tree and my cousin started running. My cousin said to me, 'This man I ain't much afraid of.' . . . Then this man started walking very fast. My cousin walked faster than him. . . . My cousin followed behind. . . . I was a distance behind. . . . They got close up. . . . Both clinched, got hold of one another. . . . I didn't hear anything. . . . I think my cousin was the first to [make a lurch] because he was following. . . . Then I heard a shot fired. . . . This fellow had stooped down when he fired the shot. . . . I was a distance away then when another shot was fired. [Neither the deceased nor his cousin was armed or had any money.] . . . He was intoxicated pretty good, but I hadn't had very much. . . . He like to laugh only when he was drinking [was not quarrelsome when drunk. He was out of work]."

Koch was a married man with 3 children, an electric welder. He could not talk English. A police officer testified that he found Murac's body where he was killed, "a very dark place, almost open prairie." When he arrested Koch the latter said he was walking along when he noticed 2 men following him and that when they caught up with him one of them struck him on the back of the neck and knocked him down and that he got up and said: "What did you knock me down for?" He was

very mad and when the fellow did not answer he fired a shot, then 2 more. He denied laying in wait for some fellow to come along and said he did not know why he put the revolver in his pocket. He was not carrying much money himself, nor did he attempt to rob the deceased. He said he had "a pretty fair load" of drink. "He exhibited sorrow for the occurrence. In fact he cried while telling about it." He said he knew the young man Miller by sight. He lives near him. But the other he did not know. He lived about a block from the scene of the shooting. He said he had found the gun sometime before on the prairie.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

86. *Stanisław Kamiński, murderer of Anton Kołodziejczak.* "I, Stanisław Kamiński, 22 years old, . . . make the following statement. I came from work at 5.30 P. M. August 23, 1916, and I washed and dressed and went over to Jackson Park. . . . I was supposed to meet a young lady there to whom I wrote a letter . . . the previous day, but she did not come. And so I got on the car and came back to South Chicago [telephoned the girl, played pool in a saloon and had a drink. Then joined some friends sitting on a fence-rail at the corner of 85th St. and Brandon Ave.] . . . A crowd of young boys came up to us. . . . They stopped and started to fooling, when one of them said something in English and the other one answered in Polish, 'Leave him alone.' Then the lad that spoke English took hold of his shirt sleeve over the muscle and said to me in Polish, 'Look how strong I am.' And I answered him, 'If it comes to wrestling I will throw you.' As I said this the man struck me in the face and it took me off my balance. And when I regained my balance I started for the lad and then someone else struck me and knocked me down, and every time I got up some one knocked me down again until a crowd gathered. When I was knocked down the second time I pulled my knife out of my right hand trouser pocket . . . and lunged with it in the fight. I don't remember whether it was open or not. After the fight I went home and washed up and threw the knife under the sink." Anton Kolodziejczak had been stabbed above the heart. He died 4 hours later.

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

87. *Władysław Szczepański, assailant of Alex Zachowicz.* "Prosecuting witness Alex Zachowicz became acquainted with the defendant [Szczepański] in a saloon. They had 2 or 3 drinks and went out of the saloon at 1 A. M. An argument ensued between defendant and one Krupka, and defendant fired 2 shots at him missing him. Then defendant came over to where the prosecuting witness was standing and pointing his revolver at him fired the bullet, striking prosecuting witness in left breast. Prosecuting witness then fled and defendant fired another shot at him which fortunately missed. This is Polish warfare: I know of no motive unless it be union trouble or the hot weather" [June 27, 1916].

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

88. *Augustine Selwocki, murderer of Tony Maciejewski.* "I, Augustine Selwocki, am 36 years old, reside with my wife and children. . . . I am an elevator operator and work [in large office building]. This being a holiday, I did not work. About 2.30 P. M., May 30, 1916, I left the house and went to Mike Lepiński's tailor-shop . . . to order a suit of clothes. When I got there Lepiński and about 4 other men were engaged in shaking dice for money. There were 2 or 3 others in the store and he (Mike Lepiński) asked us to shoot dice. I had a $10 gold piece in my possession and got into the game. About 5 minutes after we started Tony Maciejewski came in and joined in the game. . . . After the first roll Tony Maciejewski changed my $10 gold piece and in about 20 minutes the 2 strangers [friends of Tony's] had $6 and Tony Maciejewski had the other $4 of my money.

"Then I asked a friend of mine, Charlie Lees to let me have $1 so I can go to my sister and borrow $2 to order my suit of clothes so my wife won't bawl me out. Then he says he was broke and Tony Maciejewski's friend said: 'Here is $1 and go have a drink. Next time you see me you pay me back. I said, 'Maybe I never see you any more.' Then he says, 'I don't care.' Then I took the $1 and went [to a saloon]. . . . When I was there I met another friend of mine [bought him a drink and borrowed $2]. . . .

"I had a gun, a 32 calibre blue steel revolver all this time in

my pocket. I went to the tailor shop of Mike Lepiński with the $2. When I come into the place I said, 'Here is your dollar.' . . . Then 'Matchie' said: 'Here is the c——r back. Maybe he has got a $10 gold piece.' Then I said: 'You know what you did to me 3 years ago [held him up with a gun. The case was continued by the court 8 or 9 times and then Tony was put on probation].' 'Matchie' said: 'Tell me what I did.' Then I said: 'I will tell you what you did.' And I pulled out my gun and I shot him 4 times. [Went home and told wife, kissed baby goodbye, told a saloon-keeper about it and gave himself up to a police-officer.]"

Tony died an hour after the shooting. A police sergeant testified that Tony had "phony dice and was winning right along." Also "they were still sore" about the hold-up 3 years before. "That was what the shooting was about."

From the *Records of the Cook County Criminal Court.*

89. *Joe Belsky, Paul Sambrowski, et al., murderers of Joe Potala.* Joe Potala was 27 years old, was born in Austrian Poland and came to this country 9 years before. He was married and had 2 children, a boy 3 years old and a girl 14 months. One Sunday night, he wanted to telephone and not being able to talk English he asked a boy, Razor Kudla, to go to a saloon and help him to telephone. They went to a saloon where they had never been before and knew no one. Not wishing to use the telephone without paying, Potala ordered 2 glasses of beer and left them on the bar while they went to telephone. When they returned they found their glasses empty. Kudla's testimony was: "That gentleman (pointing to Sambrowsky) was at the bar and Mr. Potala asked him, 'Where is the beer?' That gentleman says he don't know where is the beer. Then Mr. Potala called for 2 other glasses of beer and this Mr. Sambrowski called everybody in the saloon to come on for a drink on Mr. Potala. . . . And Mr. Potala say: 'I ain't got so much money to buy drink for everybody in the saloon.' . . . And then after he don't want to buy a drink for everybody, he [Sambrowski] talk rough to him. They was all in the saloon and this gentleman (indicating saloonkeeper [Stanisław Mertes]) was first in the saloon who hit Mr. Potala inside. . . . And then after they

was all bunched around Mr. Potala . . . he jumped in the door. He want to go out. And this gentleman and . . . [Joe Belsky] catch him in the door and pull him he should go back in the saloon. And he got outside anyhow. And I run to . . . Mrs. Potala. . . . The whole bunch was hitting Mr. Potala outside saloon."

Potala fell 3 times. There was a slight cut on his upper lip from a knife and his neck was broken, which seems to have caused his death, as no other wound was discovered.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

90. *Julia Majkowska, murderess of Frank Kalinowski.* The testimony of a police-officer was: "On December 7, 1913, at 12.30 A. M. we received a call to go to 1919 Division St. Upon arriving we found the deceased Frank Kalinowski on sidewalk in front of 1919 Division St. He was lying face downward. He was still alive. I asked him who had shot him and he said Julia Majkowska. . . . I spoke to Julia [who had shot herself also] and asked her why she had shot deceased. She told me she and deceased had been keeping company for the last year and were engaged to be married either after the holidays or in the spring, and that on Dec. 6, 1913, in the evening the deceased called to see her at 1919 Division St. and that they visited some theater. . . . And while in the hallway of 1919 Division St. the deceased told her they would have to break engagement and that she could not stand to have engagement broken and so she told the deceased, and that she then ran upstairs to her room and got a revolver, ran back downstairs, shot the deceased and then shot herself. I asked her where she got revolver. She replied: 'I bought it about 2 months ago in a store down town.'"

Kalinowski was 24 years of age, single, a joiner by occupation. He was born in Russian Poland. He had told his friends that he did not wish to marry Julia because "she was no good as a housewife and was too much of a politician." He had been going to night school but gave it up because Julia waited for him afterwards and kept him out so late he could not get up to go to work the next day. He had taken one revolver away from her and knew she had another.

When they were brought together in the hospital after the shooting she cried and kissed him. She later told her landlady she was sorry she had shot him. She told the physician that she had had intercourse with Kalinowski 2 or 3 weeks before and had thought she was pregnant but discovered she was not and Kalinowski had refused to marry her. Kalinowski admitted having had relations with her.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office.*

91. *George Krupka, murderer of his wife, Mary.* Mrs. Krupka was about 28 years old. She was born in Austrian Poland and had been married 12 years. After they had been married 6 years she began drinking. In Dec., 1913, she took Michael, their 9 year old boy, and went away with another man. Krupka did not find her until Jan., 1916. They began to live together but she drank and would not cook. On the 19th of Feb., 1916, he came home from work, had nothing to eat but found his wife drinking with an old friend, Mrs. Mitchell, and a man, David Betley. He joined in the drinking.

David Betley testified: "I worked with her [Mrs. Krupka] in the restaurant . . . 5 or 6 months, and she asked me to come to visit her on Saturday night. She says, 'You come and visit me and my friend [Mrs. Mitchell] will be there.' I came there and this other woman was there. . . . They were drinking whiskey. Then they asked me to sit down while they were drinking. Then [I] gave them $1 to buy wine and beer. . . . He [Krupka] was sitting kind of sad . . . and his wife said to him: 'Why are you so sad, why aren't you happy like the rest of us are?' He say: 'How can I be happy when you won't live with me?' 'Well,' she said to him, 'I like you anyhow.' And she kissed him. She kissed him about 3 times and put her arms around his neck. He says, 'Why do you kiss me when you don't like me? You like somebody else.'

"She was dancing around the room then and she said: 'Davy, let's dance,' some sort of dance they have. They danced around about three times. Then Krupka sat down and again began to look sad. Then she went to him again and said: 'Don't be sad. Why aren't you happy?' He says: 'I can't be happy. I am so sad. I have to wear this belt, I am so thin. I don't feel well.'

He said to her: 'Now, if you are going to keep up with that German fellow'—some fellow he mentioned—'you will see me dead and you also.' And she says, 'I don't care what happens.' Then they kept on quarrelling about this German. He accused her of going to see some German. Then he tried to tell her not to do those things. [She said] she could have it settled through the police and not quarrel about it. And he said he didn't have to settle anything in courts or anything of that kind.

"And she put her coat on and said she was going to run away. And then she took her coat and her pocket book and she wanted to go away. Then he went and stood at the door and he says: 'Don't go. I won't do anything. You don't go away.' He stood there, and she took her pocket-book and hit him in the face. Then . . . this man got awful excited [and killed his wife with a hatchet]."

This happened about 10.30 P. M. The boy was asleep in the adjoining room—they had but the 2 rooms. When Krupka was arrested he said he had so much trouble about this other man, though he had wanted to live decently, that he thought he might as well kill her and hang. But when he became sober he was filled with horror at what he had done and could not understand how he had come to do it. He made no attempt to protect himself and the state appointed in his behalf an attorney who was totally inexperienced. Krupka was sentenced to death, but his boy made an eloquent appeal to the judge and the *Tribune's* interest was aroused with the result that the sentence was changed into a life imprisonment.

From the *Records of the Chicago Coroner's Office, Records of the Cook County Criminal Court,* and *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

We see that out of the murder cases here quoted only the two last belong to the first of the two types which we have distinguished, *i. e.,* they are committed against individuals with whom the murderer normally should be unified by bonds of active solidarity and involve really important motives. All the others are murders of people who are not in an indissoluble way connected with the murderer's life and the motives are

trifling, not only from the observer's point of view but even from that of the Polish-American society. In reality the proportion of murders without emotional conflict and strong motives is even greater than in our selection—so much so that apparently unmotivated and therefore incomprehensible and incalculable aggressiveness has come to be considered by the American police as a special characteristic of the Poles (*Cf.* the term "Polish warfare" used by the policeman reporting the Szczepański case).

There is a common feature in all these cases of murder of the second type. The crime is always a reaction to some present or past act of aggression. The act may be insignificant in its outward manifestation—perhaps no more than a slighting remark or an expression of boisterousness; it may be even only a reaction to the murderer's own aggressive move. Evidently, however, it is not the objective side of the act which is important but the meaning given to it by the man who answers by a murderous attempt. Now, this meaning is clear; the aggressive act is interpreted by the individual against whom it is directed as a provocation to fight. The psychological background of this interpretation is that general mistrust toward the social environment, the vague expectation of hostility which we have above characterized.

Even so, however, this does not explain why an apparent provocation to fight should ever lead him to a murderous assault. A socially normal individual might ignore the provocation, or appeal to his social milieu for arbitration, or have recourse to law as an instrument of struggle and redress, or indulge in a fist fight, or finally, follow the traditional "code of honor" of European nobility and fight a regular duel. The murder-

ous reaction implies in the immigrant a pre-disposition different from those which we find in any organized society. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that the murderer does not feel himself backed in his dealings with the outside world by any strong social group of his own and is not conscious of being the member of a steadily organized society.[1] His family is too weak and scattered to give him a safe social refuge where he could obtain all the response and recognition he needs and ignore outside provocations in the feeling of his social importance and security. The new Polish-American community is not a proper arbiter in personal struggles, since it does not have any coercive power and is in general not much interested in individual needs. The American law and police system are too different from what the peasant considers proper justice to become identified in his eyes with social order; they stand usually for a power which is often incomprehensible in its impersonal, institutional character and seems arbitrary in its applications from case to case. The Polish peasant likes to appeal to law as an instrument of fight and would very frequently do so during the first period of his stay in this country if he understood the institutions. But often by the time he begins to be able to utilize these institutions he has already forgotten the tradition of going to law in personal struggles and become accustomed to the idea of self-redress. Only the woman, less capable of self-redress, always uses—and

[1] All this, of course, does not apply to the relatively intelligent and socially responsive immigrants who take an active part in the construction of Polish institutions and have an economic ideal which gives stability to their lives. Among the settled majority of Polish-American society there may be disorganization of family life, but very little real crime. The latter grows among that floating, unorganized mass of intellectually backward immigrant population which constitutes among the Poles from one-quarter to one-third of the total number.

frequently abuses—the courts. We notice in the Opalski case the expression "they will show him American court," which proves that the method of self-redress in general has been particularly associated with American life. Of course, this evolution has been helped by the influence of the American underworld with which many of the immigrants come in contact.

In short, the immigrant—or more exactly, the uneducated and socially non-constructive immigrant—feels himself here in a human wilderness, with nobody and nothing but his physical strength to rely upon, just as if he were in a wild forest or prairie. The result is that the social schemes by which the relations between people not bound by ties of social solidarity were determined gradually drop from consciousness and the individual's behavior with regard to strangers and half-strangers becomes the direct, unreflective and unrestrained expression of his temperament, modified by the mood of the moment. The unusual nervous strain of modern city life heightens the variability of the individual's moods and consequently his behavior appears often as incomprehensible and incalculable even to those who know his normal temperament. Whether in such conditions the individual who becomes an object of aggression will commit a murder, or calmly walk away, or treat his aggressor in a saloon, depends no longer on any social customs or beliefs but merely on his innate fighting disposition and his momentary physical and mental state.

The two cases of socially motivated murder, Krupka and Majkowska, are also, in this particular form, the specific product of Polish-American life. They are much less akin to the other murder cases than to those examples of utter despondency of which many are scat-

tered through our previous materials. Krupka might as well have committed suicide; the meaning of the situation would have been the same. In each of these cases an individual whose fundamental attitudes are still in accordance with the old traditions is in a close personal relation with another whose behavior is a product of the partly disorganized conditions of Polish-American life. A break is unavoidable; but, while for the "adapted" it is merely a matter of new experience without any deeper sentimental or moral significance, for the "unadapted" it is a personal injury and a moral wrong to be tragically avenged.

CHAPTER V

VAGABONDAGE AND DELINQUENCY OF BOYS

In the cases studied in the two preceding chapters some of the individuals belonged to what is commonly called the second and others—to use an exact though awkward term—to the half-second generation, *i. e.*, they were born here or came here as children with their parents and were thus wholly or partly reared in America. We did not think it necessary for the purposes which we were then pursuing to distinguish these cases from those in which the immigrants were fully grown up when they arrived in this country, because as far as actual demoralization, *i. e.*, the decay of an existing life-organization is concerned, the difference between the first and the second and half-second generations is more a matter of degree than of nature. For in so far as the child of the immigrant has any life-organization socially implanted in him in this country, this organization, while differing with regard to its practical schemes, from the traditional one and usually less complete and strong, is nevertheless still essentially identical with the latter in its most important social and moral principles. Demoralization in the proper sense of the term, *i. e.*, the decay of this life-organization, is therefore similar in its general outlines whether the individual whose moral system is decaying was brought up exclusively in the old country or partly or wholly in a Polish-American community. The process of social disorganization is continuous and increases in intensity rather than

changes in character when passing from the first to the half-second and second generations.

But an entirely new side of the whole question is disclosed when we ask ourselves not how the young generation loses a life-organization that it has acquired but how it ever acquires a life-organization at all. For then it proves that, while in relatively organized and isolated Polish-American communities—particularly in provincial towns—the economically most settled and socially most active part of the population can still impart to the growing youth a certain minimum of normal and vital principles of behavior, there is a large proportion of immigrant children—particularly in large cities—whose home and community conditions are such that their behavior is never socially regulated, no life-organization worthy of the name is ever imposed upon them. Their status is, exactly speaking, not that of demoralization—for demoralization presupposes the loss of a moral system and they never had any moral system to lose—it is simple and plain "a-morality." If personal character is the product of social education acting upon a given temperamental foundation, such individuals in the most radical cases have no character, good or bad. They are originally in a condition similar to that which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, even socially formed individuals can reach if left outside of any organized social group and subjected to destructive influences—a condition of passive or active wildness in which behavior is not controlled by social customs and beliefs but directly conditioned by temperamental tendencies and swayed by momentary moods.

Such is the fundamental significance of the cases which we are to investigate in this and the following chapter. When we have to deal with an individual who

evidently had no social education and therefore no moral status to lose, our problem is not what were the negative influences which led him astray and demoralized him. Such a way of putting the problem is very common, but it implicitly rests upon the false presupposition that man has an innate system of morality which would make him socially normal if he were not subjected to external demoralizing forces. Our problem will be just the opposite, namely, given an a-moral individual following merely his impulses, what are the socially constructive influences which tend to develop in him a normal life-organization and why do they fail or succeed.[1]

92. *John Falarski.*[2] John was 13 years old when his mother died March 8th, 1915. There were 4 younger children. Mr. Falarski remarried a few weeks later but after 2 weeks his wife left him. She had him arrested for non-support. She said that 2 weeks after their marriage he wanted her to go out to work and she would never live with him again. He had been out of work 8 months. His brother-in-law complained that he neglected the children, did not give them the proper food and that he had seen him with other women. The father said he had a housekeeper now, so the judge gave children to him on probation. In the beginning of October the Juvenile Protective Association was notified that John was sleeping on the prairie. The visitor "found that John had been away from the house for about a week but was lurking in the neighborhood and had twice met his sisters on their way to school and had asked them to bring him food. . . . [His sister wrote] 'Dear Sir: Will you pleas tire to get my brother that ran away from home. He says very bad wrods on the lady [housekeeper]. He says that

[1] We may, indeed, meet cases where, judging from the social conditions in which the individual has been reared, it seems as if he should have had a-morality to start with. In these cases we must evidently investigate whether this presumption is justified, and if so consider the problem of the breakdown of this morality.

[2] The names of delinquent boys and girls are fictitious.

he don't want to see our father any more. The lady was calling him but did not want to come. He wants to broke all the windows and doors. He digs a hole under the house and get in. He took 11 cents from me. He took my and sister's lunches and when we go to school he hits us. He takes my little brother and learns to bum. To Mr. House, From the dare little girl Sophie Falarski.' Called at home. Saw Frank. Found rooms clean. Housekeeper said other children were at school. John was away for a week on a bum but returned Sunday, Oct. 17th. . . . John back again in the 7th grade and doing nicely. . . .

"November 27, 1915, saw father and all of the children except John at home. The father said that he had been without a housekeeper about 2 weeks but was trying to get another. John had been gone 3 days. . . . December 30, case in court. . . . Last week he was picked up by the police. The day before he was picked up . . . he took a dollar from a boy on the street. . . . [John said] 'I don't like to go to school; it is too hard. History I can't remember.' . . . Paroled to live with father. [Good reports for some time, but then again John left home. Was rough and abusive to his sisters.] . . .

"June 13, 1916, in court. [Complaint.] . . . 'This boy stole a bicycle from a little boy in March. He also stole some bread. . . . This boy is always running away from home and in winter time he sleeps in chicken coops. . . . The father is a peculiar man. He is a capable man. He makes $28 a week.' Judge: 'This boy is an exceptionally bright boy.' . . . [John said he made $5 when he was away. Slept 'in some hall of under steps,' lost his job because he was sent with a bundle and lost it in the car.] 'I was passing through and I knew that boy, but I did not know his name. He had a bicycle. I asked him for a ride and I had a bicycle bell and he gave me a ride for it. I took a ride and he forgot to take the bicycle and when we came back it was gone.

"Judge: Where did you put the bicycle?

"A. In front of his house. . . . [Placed in the Working Boys' Home.]

"Oct. 20, 1916, in court. Officer: 'This boy set fire to his father's new building in the basement flat and burned a hole in one of the bedrooms.' . . . John: 'I had trouble with my step-

mother.' [Stayed only 4 days with Father Leddy. Father married again.] The first [second] wife, it developed, had been previously married. . . . I understand the present stepmother goes away for 2 or 3 weeks at a time and then comes back. They used to lock the other [youngest] boy in the house and leave him alone. The stepmother refused to talk to any one when she was in here." Committed to St. Charles.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

93. *Joe and John Kasperek.* Mr. and Mrs. Kasperek were married in Galicia and came to Chicago in 1902. John was born 1903, Joe in 1905, Mary 1908 and Stanley 1910. Mrs. Kasperek died in 1911 and Kasperek married again in 1912. A girl was born in 1913. In July, 1913, John and Joe left home separately. After 8 days John was picked up by an officer, but Joe was gone 5 weeks. Joe had a record for repeatedly running away during the last 2 years. Once he had taken his little sister and kept her 4 days. They slept in sheds and under sidewalks. The truant officer said he had had trouble with the boys for years but would not bring them to Court because their father was too anxious to have them placed in an institution. Father and stepmother both worked, the latter leaving at 5.30 A. M., and returning at 7 P. M. The children were locked in the dirty, miserable house. She did not stay home when ordered to by the Court, but continued to work, saying she had no money for food. The officer wrote: "I always find the 2 youngest children sitting on a bench, never talk, appear frightened." John frequently stayed home and looked after the younger children, but Joe was wilder and was soon sent to an institution. The father was ordered to pay $5 a month board. This he never did and when arrested always claimed he was out of work. John was picked up later and sent to the Parental School also. The parents did not go to see the children or send them any clothes, though ordered to do so by the court. The father pretended he did not know where they were. When they were released Joe and another boy broke into a drygoods store and stole some things. Joe skipped out of the State, but was brought back and sent to St. Charles School. John about the same time was arrested for stealing $1 from his father and leaving home.

Neighbors complained that the stepmother was neglecting the children and even mistreating them, made them all sleep on the floor, and that the house was a rendezvous for drinking people, as both father and stepmother were heavy drinkers. Joe and John were found stealing potatoes from the railroad. Dr. Healy reported Joe in general poor physical condition, enlarged tonsils and defective vision. He had run away from his father while leaving court and told the judge he did it to escape a whipping. The father said: "I do not whip him so bad." Father made $1.75 a day working in a box-factory. Mother said she worked to help pay off debts. Both boys were again paroled to their parents. The Parental School refused to receive Joe back saying he didn't need "correction," only "permanent care" and it must have been by mistake he was sent there in the first place. The family was entirely indifferent to him, neither visited him, nor provided him with anything.

Joe and John both disappeared soon. Once in mother's absence they entered house through pantry-window and took 60 cents. A man reported that he had picked up Joe, given him clean clothes and offered him a home, but he had run away again. Officer called at home one Monday: "I found Mr. Kasperek at home playing the accordion to his wife (he was perfectly sober but very sentimental). Said he worked all day Sunday so was entitled to stay home Monday." Soon he was out of work and Mrs. Kasparek was picking potatoes off the railroad tracks. The landlady said she beats her children. "There was a girl's new bicycle in the bedroom. She said he had bought it. I doubt this very much. . . . Her own girl was well dressed. I censured her for not putting more clothing on the other children.

"Joe was picked up in front of Detention Home . . . had slept for 3 nights in a wagon almost in front of Detention Home. When found was almost starved, dirty and with a very sore foot. Was kept in bed for a week or 10 days. This child had a good record at the Detention Home [always behaved well when there]. Asked him why he will not stay home. He says he does not get breakfast at home. Talked to father and mother. Both . . . have tried to do better and in a measure have succeeded, but for some reason their boys won't stay home."

John was not yet 14 years old and was sent back to Public

School. He attended regularly except when it was stormy, "he had a very long walk and was always poorly clothed." Joe was released and went to school regularly too for awhile. The family moved to better rooms. Joe soon disappeared. The stepmother developed tuberculosis. At first she refused treatment but was soon so ill that she was taken to the County Hospital, where she died. John and Joe were sent to St. Charles School.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

94. *Eddie Czalewski.* October 11, 1911, Eddie 7 years old, his two brothers and one sister were brought into court as dependent. There were two younger children at home. The officer testified that the parents of these children failed to give them proper care, that Tom and Joe had been getting their breakfast out of garbage cans, that they had been begging on the streets," etc., that the mother had let the children roam at will, the 4 year old girl often in her night-gown, that the father was addicted to liquor and was arrested twice, that he had stolen a small bicycle once but that it was recovered and the case not brought into court. The father owned two houses and had two or three women, one that he had lived with in Indiana. He had other children besides these. The children used very vile language. The oldest boy was committed to the Working Boys Home. A year later it was learned that Eddie had stolen $30, but the family was living in Indiana. He had been very bad in general during this year, and while in Indiana he stole small articles in numerous stores.

When the family moved back to Chicago Eddie was called to court but ran away from home before breakfast. October 9th the boy was in court charged with repeatedly stealing things from Department Stores. There was trouble between parents and the boy took advantage of these conditions. Mother was tubercular. "Boy has been arrested in West Hammond for annoying neighbors and destroying property. . . . Parents have absolutely no control over boy who seems to resent all correction, but the father's idea of punishing the boy is to give him a beating and then not look after him for a long time." The boy had been absent from school in the previous term 164 days and this term has been only 6 days in school. Family underfed and

environment very poor. Boy sent to Polish Manual Training School. He ran away the next day and was allowed to stay home on probation.

"November 20, 1913, boy seems much benefited by stay at Juvenile Detention Home. Is now attending school regularly and doing his best. . . . [He ran away again but was found.] Under normal home environment this child would be a normal child in school. Requested father not to punish so severely for not coming home direct from school. . . . [He played truant, saying he was abused in school.] November 9, 1914, talked to teacher in St. Andrews School. Boy continues to run away from school, has been out over a week this month. Boy seems immune to discipline. I am inclined to believe that possibly he is being punished too much in school. Sister said she would no longer keep the boy in school and wishes him brought into the Juvenile Court. The mother, whom I talked with, desires to give the boy another chance in the public school, as she showed me the black and blue marks on the boy's body where he had been punished in school.

"November 14, 1914, boy in public school but . . . continues to disturb the room by his conduct. . . . Owing to mother's physical condition [tubercular] she had no control over the boy. Is afraid to tell father as he beats boy unmercifully. Boy's teacher said that she could not keep boy in school any longer. . . ."

Arrested Nov. 27, 1914, on charge of stealing a horse from a barn after breaking the lock with a stolen hammer. Parents in court. Mother fainted twice. The interpreter stated: "This woman says the man is a brute. For the last 3 years she hasn't been provided for. He won't buy her medicine. He doesn't care for the children. One of the children is already in the reform school. She says she is unable to take care of herself. The man absolutely doesn't care if she would die tomorrow. [Only one of the children, Eddie, is working, and she is supporting herself out of that.] . . . Three weeks ago he gave her $10 and last week he gave her $5. The groceryman would not give him any more feed and he had to do that. . . . He has another woman here in Chicago and stays away 3 days at a time with the other woman."

The father said: "I am buying everything. I don't want to give the money to the woman. . . . I will have to be paying off this $1,000 mortgage. . . . This boy is working all summer and let him furnish the money to her." He was not willing to turn over to his wife the $16 rent he received each month from the two houses he owned. Eddie was sent to St. Charles Reform School.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

95. *Frank Obręski.* When Frank was 9 years old his mother complained to the Juvenile Court that he was incorrigible, would not attend school, and ran away from home. He stayed out late nights and once was arrested. His father emigrated to this country from Austrian Poland 24 years before and his mother 18 years before. The father was at this time in the insane asylum at Dunning. Frank was the oldest of 5 children and his mother could not control him at all.

The judge sent Frank to St. Mary's School for [Delinquent] Boys at Feehanville. He returned after 2 months, with no improvement. A police officer found him standing on the corner of State and Harrison Sts. down town one night at 10 P. M. He told the officer he lived at 69th and State Sts. and gave a wrong name. After the officer looked all over Englewood he discovered the boy lived 20 miles from there. He was sent back to Feehanville, but ran away. He ran away 5 times from this school, all told, and the authorities there did not want him back. He wandered around Chicago and was "picked up" by every police station in town. Sent to Parental School for 8 months. After he was released he went to Milwaukee and "bummed his way back to Chicago on a freight train." His father had returned home and was making $8 a week.

On June 12th, Frank was caught at 4.30 A. M. coming out of one of the rooms of the Palmer House with a gold watch and $16 cash. He had climbed the fire-escape to the 4th floor and entered a room where a woman was sleeping. He said two other boys let him stand on their shoulders until he could reach the fire-escape. He was then sent to St. Charles Reform School. He ran away 8 times. Once when he was away he tried to steal a lady's pocket-book and was arrested. The eighth time the

school objected to taking him back, for it had no facilities for keeping runaway boys. He was then sent to the John Worthy School. He found he could run away even from this school by jumping out of a second-story window. This he did 6 times. Once he returned home and stole $13 from his mother which he spent on nickel shows and candy. When the Judge asked him why he did this he said: "My mind made me do it. I had to take it and thought I would have some fun with it." Later he stole $40 from his father and spent it in the same way, keeping away from home until the money was all gone. He also burglarized a factory with some other boys, including his own 8 year old brother. They took 3 auto truck lamps and 4 spools of thread. Three of the lamps they sold to a junk peddler for 80 cents. He was returned to the John Worthy School, but released for good behavior. The parole officer, however, surrendered him to court saying nothing could be done with him, and he was again sent to the John Worthy School.

Dr. Healy's diagnosis was that the boy needed individual oversight and patient help, for he had some very good traits but institutional care would not help him. He was, however, not given this wise treatment and his downward career continued. When he was 14 years old he broke through a sky-light, made a rope of some old underwear he found on the roof and lowered himself into a Loan Bank. A policeman hearing some noise entered and found him hiding with $9.67 and 2 revolvers. His mother no longer wanted him home and said the court could do as it pleased. He was sent back to the John Worthy School. When next released he was found carrying a loaded revolver and a black-jack. With two companions he held up a man and took 20 cents and a gold watch. He went to St. Louis and robbed a hotel; was arrested but released. A boarder at the Palmer House found him at 12.30 one Saturday morning in his room. He had taken a pocket-book and some tobacco. He was then committed to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys for 4 months. Even from this institution he managed to escape and made his way to Milwaukee where he was arrested. He escaped from the Detention Home there by tearing a bed-spread into strips and making a rope of it. He was taken back and this time he gave his right name. He, however, escaped

again and returned to Chicago. His mother surrendered him to the Juvenile Court. A job was found for him but he would not keep it. He always quit a job at the first opportunity and then ran around the streets with the worst boys in the neighborhood. He prowled nights and slept in the day-time. The probation officer reported he was lazy and hopeless, for on account of his lack of schooling he was unfit for anything but a factory job and he would not keep that. Furthermore, his parents did not cooperate in any scheme for his benefit.

Frank was again returned to St. Charles School and again escaped home, where he disturbed things badly. The judge decided to keep returning him to St. Charles' until he either stayed there or left Chicago. But before he was taken back again he was arrested as he was leaving a room in the Palmer House, so he was committed to the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. The Superintendent there evidently took a real interest in Frank and put him on a farm, but after eating all he could in 24 hours he took his clothes and literally ran—this though the farmer had told him he need not work until he got acquainted with the dog and the horses. He was a very well-to-do farmer with a splendidly equipped farm and large flourishing greenhouses. Frank had expressed great delight and interest, especially in the greenhouses. But it seemed he could not resist the "call of the wild." However, when he was returned to the school he told the Superintendent that after he ran away he kept repeating: "I will not steal." And he did not steal or commit any other misdemeanor up to the time he was "picked up." He said: "You have given me the first real chance I ever had and I'll make good."

The Superintendent then tried a new "idea." In May, 1916, when Frank was 15 years old he got him a job as porter on a boat and Frank promised to report to the Superintendent whenever he got out of a job or needed a friend. There were no further bad reports of Frank and the Superintendent was much encouraged. Frank had never lied about what he did. Whenever he was arrested he admitted he was guilty and did not try to twist the story or make up excuses as most boys do.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

96. *Peter Waśkiewicz.* Peter Waśkiewicz was born in 1899, his brother Anton was a year older. Their father was dead. April 16, 1914, Peter with 4 other boys was brought into court charged with having cut some lead pipe from the basement of a house. Released on parole. Two months later he and his brother and some other boys snatched a pocket-book. June 1st, he was in court again with other boys, charged with breaking into a number of stores and houses. While every other boy took part in only a few of the burglaries, Peter was active in all. "There was some jewelry taken and Peter Waśkiewicz is the only one implicated in that, he and a man 21 years old." Peter said: "He was going to give me some rings but I did not want them. I didn't get anything out of it." He admitted he was wearing a pair of knee-pants he stole. The officer said: "Peter is really the leader of them. I have had him several times and let him go." He had returned from the Parochial School 9 months before and been arrested twice since. He had worked one month for the Postal Telegraph Co. His mother said she knew nothing about it, he had been away from home "with that kid on Ashland Ave." The officer thought Anton was simple-minded and easily led by Peter. He told about Peter's once firing two shots in a crowd in an alley.

Peter was sent to St. Charles. "June 29, 1914, Anton is working . . . and is behaving much better since Peter was sent away. . . . The mother is getting lonesome for Peter and is going to ask permission to visit him. . . . The mother is a good woman and works hard. The home is good. If Peter is ready I recommend his release." Peter's behavior and progress in the school had been good. When he was released he did not wish to continue in school but got work. "Dec. 18, 1914, saw Peter. He is working and is proud of it. He is now in his 6th week . . . which is longer than he ever held a place before. Peter is a born leader and if ever he takes a notion to turn his talents into proper channels he will surely amount to something. . . . Feb. 25, 1915, Peter quit his job last week and ran away from home Thursday. . . . Anton is sick. He is confined to his home and is not looking for work. The mother works 3 days per week and Anton keeps house. March 6, 1915. . . . Peter is

back at home but minus a job. . . . They held it open for him for a week. We now have to start it all over again. . . . I had a job down town for him at $3.50 per week but Peter will not work for less than $4.50.

"April 12, 1915, Peter did not come home last night. . . . He promised April 4th that he would not run away again and would do better." He was found in a garret with 2 old pals who had some money which they had evidently stolen, part of which Peter took. He was placed on a farm in very good conditions but ran away, and was arrested for burglarizing a house with another pal. His brother had run away from home, probably to join him. Anton was sent home and Peter put in St. Charles Reform School. He escaped March 13, 1916, was caught and sent back June 28, without having done any serious harm, though two of his pals got into serious trouble and were held by the Grand Jury.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

97. *Walter Dygański.* When 11 years old Walter Dygański was brought to court in company with 3 other boys, accused of breaking a padlock on a grocery-store and attempting to enter the store at 4 A. M., March, 1909, and also of breaking a padlock on the door of a meat-market and stealing 36 cents from the cash till. Put on probation. August 19, 1910, he was brought to court with 2 other boys for entering a store and stealing a pocket-book containing $3. "He admitted to the officers that he and his companions were going to pick pockets down town. He is the leader of the gang." It was he who planned the moves of the others, took the purse and divided the money. Officer believes he is encouraged in his acts by his mother. His father had recently died—he came here in 1886. There were 7 children, 2 older brothers, one older sister and 3 younger sisters. "Stanley Dygański, brother to Walter, and formerly a ward of the Juvenile Court but now past 28 years of age, is serving a term out in the Bridewell." After his release he enlisted in the U. S. Navy and sent some money home but was then believed to be on a prison ship. The oldest boy's whereabouts were unknown. The mother worked nights earning $3 to $5 a week.

Walter was sent to St. Charles but ran away, broke a window and, with 2 other boys, entered a drug-store on March 17, 1914. He took $1.61 and some cigars, giving one boy 10 cents and the other 5 cents. The 8 or 9 boxes of cigars he gave away "to a lot of men and some boys." Spent the money "on candy and stuff." He was committed to the John Worthy School. A letter to his mother dated Oct. 20, 1914, said he could not be released because his conduct was so unsatisfactory. "He has been warned that he cannot leave the school until he behaves himself but he does not seem to be able to do so, or else he does not try." But on Oct. 27th he was released. Dec. 23, 1913, he was accused of having broken into a clothing store with a boy 19 years old and filled a suit-case with clothing and jewelry. The officer said: "He would like to imitate Webb. He would like to kill somebody." He said: "It was 6 P. M. I was going to confession. I met a boy and he said: 'Come with me.' About 9 o'clock we came to a clothing store and we walked to the back and seen a little hole. We pulled a couple of laths off." But the officer said they had burglarized a butcher's store before this and taken a butcher's steel, which they used to bore a hole into the clothing store. He was committed to John Worthy School and released June 28th.

July 19, shot twice at a little boy in an alley and one shot hit him. With 2 other boys broke at night into Salvation Army office, broke everything he could and "used the office as a toilet room." Next day broke into a saloon, broke the piano and took cigars. Before this he had broken a side-window of a saloon and stolen $4 and a revolver. When brought to court he said about shooting the boy: "That boy was passing and I asked him for a match, and I heard this boy holler. I took a revolver off [his companion] and fired a shot and hit the boy." His mother testified that he had spent only 3 nights at home since released. He escaped from the Detention Home after his arrest. Committed to John Worthy School.

The Superintendent of the John Worthy School wrote: "He is a vicious boy and will probably never be capable of being turned loose with civilized people. He had a most decidedly evil influence with the boys here, bullying the smaller ones and making all bend to him. He requires one person with him all

the time. . . . I asked to have the boy sent to Pontiac and St. Charles had a representative there [in court] to see that he was not sent to St. Charles. For some reason the judge again sent him to John Worthy. He came out here with his usual bullying methods and threatened to kill some of the boys and one of the teachers. He is just the type to do it and would chance anything. I laid the case before Mr. Whitman and he ordered the boy sent to the Bridewell proper. He is employed as a kind of runner in the new cell house. Even the older timers there say that he is the most foul-mouthed boy they ever saw. He is begging to return to the school, but I know that there is no doubt of his upsetting the good feeling among the boys and of trying to get them to defy authority. I did succeed in holding him down long enough to get him paroled before and I can do it again, but he would not be out 24 hours before being implicated in a murder or something of the kind, and I fear for the other boys whom he seems to have under his control. He is not a weakling like most of these boys, but a natural criminal leader. . . . He is bright enough, but a sullen, surly character."

He was returned to the John Worthy School but released March 26, 1915, after a slight improvement. April 4th he shot a man with a revolver, hitting his left arm. April 7th he committed a burglary in a grocery store. April 11th, with 3 other boys, he held up a man and robbed him of $12. The other boys were immediately seized and he was caught later. The Grand Jury found him "not guilty" and he was released.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

98. *Stanisław Ficki.* "June 24, 1914, Mr. Herrick of the Drummond School telephoned that Stanisław had run away. Saw mother today. She beat the boy last Saturday because he refused to go to confession and he ran away Sunday. July 10, 1914, saw the mother and brother. Stanisław has not been at home for 3 weeks. I have not been able to catch him and neither have the police." He was finally arrested and brought to court, with a gang of boys of the same age, accused of having broken into many shops. "As the mother is absolutely unable to control the boy I advised her to have him sent back to Parental School. This was done. March 10, 1915. . . . Stanley has

been home from Parental School for some time but has not yet found work."

Stanisław ran away from home again and on April 23 was brought to court with other boys for having entered a grocery store and taken $300 according to the victim, $160 according to the boys. They entered other places in the same neighborhood and secured small sums. He was cheated by his companions and got only $36. Committed to John Worthy. Worked on farm after release and improved. "December 28, 1915, Stanley quit work and is running around with Peter Waśkiewicz . . . . Stanley was in court charged with burglary." With Peter and some other boys he stole some money, jewelry and clothes. Sent to Cook County School.

"April 18, 1916 . . . the boy came home from Cook County School April 16th and was reparoled to me. He has a job ready but his mother wants him to rest up a few days. Stanley says he is fully determined to stay away from his old companions. . . . The parents appear to be anxious to help him. [6 children, 2 older girls.] June 14, 1916, saw parents. Stanley drew his pay last Monday and has not come home since. . . . The father is too old to work and the mother wants Stanley to work." Stanley broke into a store with an older boy whose father owned the store. They stole $55.

Dr. Healy's report was: "Stanley has always impressed us as being rather a nice boy. He has been a great failure previously on account of his association with a remarkably bad gang. . . . Peter used to go and call Stanley away from the place where he was working and he once lost his job on account of Peter's interference. . . . I should imagine that the best plan of all would be for the family to move far away, or the boy to be placed in an entirely new home."

The Superintendent of the Cook County School reported: "Nothing in Stanley's home to indicate a reason for his delinquency. The only home visited since Christmas where there was a piano and other evidences of home influence. Two older sisters, nice appearing and evidently good girls. The whole trouble lies in the fact that Stanley is so easily led. . . . Peter Waśkiewicz . . . is really the cause of Stanley's downfall. . . . He seems to be a natural leader. . . . Stanley can get work with-

out trouble. He is a fine boy and there is no doubt of his good intentions. He sees things in a proper light and if his backbone is stiff enough to resist the influence of Peter he will be a credit to his parents. A good worker and quite an expert in woodwork." He escaped from the Cook County School but was returned to finish out his term.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

The documents, as we see, corroborate our assumption that in studying the delinquency of children there is no need to ask what are the factors of demoralization, for there is no morality to start with. Except in the one case of Ficki, all the cases show clearly that there is no constructive influence whatever in the families of the delinquent boys. In some cases (Falarski and Czalewski) the marriage-group is positively disorganized; in the Kasperek case the father and stepmother are entirely indifferent to the children; Obręski's father is in the insane asylum; the fathers of Waskiewicz and Dygański are dead. But lack of positive constructive influences may very well coexist with apparently normal, *i. e.,* not abnormal family conditions. A well furnished and cleanly kept house—a point on which much stress is now being laid by American social agencies—shows a certain economic stability and an interest of the woman in housekeeping but does not permit us to conclude that vital moral traditions or active educatory interests are present in the parents, nor even that strong bonds unite the marriage-group. Even the preservation of active solidarity between husband and wife does not necessarily argue in favor of their ability or willingness to educate their children. Assumptions of this kind are based upon the mistaken idea that the family (by which always the marriage-group is here meant) is by its very existence a constructive

social agency and bound to have a positive educatory influence if only the parents are not completely demoralized and do not actually teach the children evil ways. In fact, the marriage-group organization is a good instrument for imparting to the young generation schemes of behavior with the help of which their life-organization can be built; but this instrument is worthless unless properly used, *i. e.*, unless the parents have a well ordered set of schemes of behavior to impart and know how to do it. And these are precisely the weak points in an average immigrant family.

We must realize that in Polish peasant life the educatory rôle of the marriage-group was something entirely different, much richer in content and better ordered than it is here. The marriage-group was an integral part of the wider social milieu and shared its stock of traditions and schemes of behavior. The children were early made to participate in all the activities of the parents—economic, hedonistic, social, religious—and thus unreflectively absorbed and imitated their entire life-organization. Further, the parents gradually, without effort or reflection, introduced the children into the accumulated body of traditions of the community and into the present active life of the latter and thus prepared them to supplement later from the principles and examples offered by the community whatever deficiencies there might have been in their early education. The parents did not need to be expert educators nor even to be conscious of their moral standards and planfully follow an educational system. All they had to do was to act themselves in accordance with the morality of their social milieu and to mediate between the traditions and social opinion of the community and the consciousness of their children.

All this is radically changed in America. The children no longer take part in the activities of their parents. They go to school or run the streets while the parents work, or play in their own separate milieux. There is still some community of interests and occupation left between the girl and her mother but the boy has very little in common with his father. Education by action is no longer possible. And even if the boy had any opportunities of participating in his father's activities he would not gain much by it for these activities have little social meaning left in them—unless, of course, the father is one of the active builders of the Polish-American social system. Furthermore, the marriage-group is no longer the medium through which the child is introduced into the social life of his wider milieu. On the contrary, not only are his contacts with this milieu for the most part direct and independent of the selective control of his elders but he is often called to mediate between his parents and American institutions whose real meaning he may not understand any better than they, but with which he has a better superficial acquaintance. Any authority which the parents might claim as bearers of the social traditions of the wider milieu is thus definitely undermined.

Under these circumstances the immigrant's home could acquire an educatory influence only if the older generation were trained in moral ideals, if their intellectual horizon were widened, if they were taught how to follow a system of rational education and were willing to do it. In other words, reflective, voluntary, planful educational methods would have to be substituted in each home for the unreflective, spontaneous "natural" ways by which social education successfully proceeded in the Polish peasant life. But this is clearly, at the

present stage of development of the lower classes in all countries and under the present economic and social conditions, for the immense majority of mankind, an unattainable aim. The immigrant would have an incomparably more difficult task in this respect than the average native American who has still a large stock of traditions and whose old unreflective educational methods still work. How large is the proportion of intelligent American homes where these traditional methods are supplemented or supplanted by a new, rational, planfully organized system of education?

If now a practically a-moral boy who has no efficient life-organization inculcated in him is put in contact with the complex life of an American city, it is only natural if he simply follows his instincts and moods, and it depends on the nature of these instincts and moods and on the values which happen to come within his reach whether he will approximately "behave himself," *i. e.*, do things which usually do not fall under the attention of the agencies maintaining public order, or will "misbehave," *i. e.*, transgress the limits of the permissible imposed by law and police ordinances and earn a reputation for wildness or even viciousness. Regular work in school or shop is not a form of life which would temperamentally appeal to him any more than to anybody else, for the habit of work requires a control over temperamental impulses which can be only implanted by social training. He may be frightened into it, if temperamentally cowardly or passive, by continuous threats of punishment, but if he thinks that he can avoid punishment it is only natural that he should be a truant during his school years and later leave every "job" after its novelty has worn off. If his home is associated with unpleasant experiences—lack of freedom, penalties de-

served or undeserved, uncongenial family atmosphere—it is not strange that he should run away from home and try to avoid these unpleasant experiences, for filial love and obedience and even ordinary foresight, which would make him prefer the smaller evils at home to the greater evils awaiting him outside, are institutional, not temperamental attitudes. If he sees things which he covets displayed in shop-windows or pleasures which he enjoys to be obtained with a little money, it is perfectly natural for him to steal, burglarize or rob, since respect for property is not a matter of instinct but of long and complex social education. If he is of a fighting or revengeful disposition, there is nothing to prevent him from fighting or even killing except compassion and fear which may depend on the mood of the moment and in general require an active, socially trained imagination. If the spirit of adventure stirs in him, with or without the cooperation of dime novels and moving pictures, there is no reason in his eyes why he should not launch into the wide unknown world, full of new and marvelous experiences. There is from the standpoint of his own consciousness nothing immoral in whatever he may do, for he knows only conflicts between momentarily opposing wishes but no moral conflicts between a wish and a general norm of behavior voluntarily accepted as binding.

Of course, usually such an a-moral boy, if his temperamental impulses are not particularly strong, becomes step by step adapted to the practical conditions of life by the mere pressure of the social machinery which forces him to develop a minimum of foresight, to choose the lesser evil of work rather than the worse evil of prison or hunger, to keep away from too dangerous adventures, to imitate the example or to obey the will of

other, already settled, members of society and thus to acquire a set of habits just sufficient to keep him floating with the current of social life. He does not become thereby any less a-moral, only learns to remain within the limits of the legally permitted, or more exactly, unlearns to transgress these limits. This kind of passive adaptation is prevalent among the second generation. It produces a large mass of individuals who from the social standpoint are not definitely negative, since they do not actively disturb the social order, but are simply worthless.

Such an adaptation, however, is not possible for individuals whose temperamental impulses are stronger or whose intellectual ability of adaptation weaker than usual. These need strong and permanent positive standards and rules of behavior to counterbalance the power of socially dangerous instincts or to supplement their insufficient practical foresight. Now, such standards and rules can be only imparted—at least in the beginnings of social education—by continuous and lasting direct social contact with either a coherent primary-group or a personality who has prestige. The reasons of the prevalent failure and occasional success of those social agencies which try to give the "wild" boys a life-organization are thus evident. A good school may be an efficient constructive agency if the teacher has a strong personality and if the pupils constitute a real primary-group with a set of common standards. But none of the types of schools with which the Polish "wild boy" gets in contact satisfy all these conditions. The teacher's personality is frequently on the right level; but in most cases the teacher's influence alone is not exclusive nor permanent enough to be efficient without the cooperation of the group of pupils, and such a group in an immi-

grant neighborhood has few, if any common standards of behavior to impose upon its members, since it is composed in a large proportion of just such a moral individuals as the "wild" boy himself, though less active and enterprising for the most part. This is even more the case in a reform school. Under such conditions it is always uncertain whether the influence of the more or less settled but passive majority on the wild boy or the influence of this boy upon the majority will prevail. The personal influence of the probation officer could be a strong constructive factor, but only if it were continuous—and this is, of course, impossible. Those boys' associations which are formed in connection with Polish parishes and super-territorial organizations could very efficiently supplement the schools, for they give some positive social ideals to strive for; and in fact we do not find a single member of such an association among the delinquent boys. But this seems to be due primarily to the careful selection of members which the leaders make for these associations, and it is very doubtful whether a boy known as wild would be admitted to them. Polish-American society, which is more interested in the care of the young generation than in any other branch of social work—it has even provided a reform school of its own—nevertheless preserves even here its principle of self-defense by tending to exclude socially dangerous members from the community.

Thus, the wild boy is in a rather hopeless position. His salvation would be in his being accepted—and forced to stay—in a social milieu above the normal which would give him better training and higher standards than those which are sufficient for the more passive or better prepared types, whereas he is either left to his former non-constructive milieu or put in a milieu

below the normal. The methods used in the few partial successes—like that in the Obręski case, due to the direct influence of a powerful personality—indicate that it is not a matter of eradicating evil tendencies but of persistenly trying to organize whatever tendencies there are for socially useful purposes.

CHAPTER VI

SEXUAL IMMORALITY OF GIRLS

The position of a girl in an immigrant family differs from that of a boy in the fact that the claims which the family puts upon her are greater. She is supposed to be under stricter control even after school-age. She is expected to help in housework if she does not work outside, and to turn all of her earnings into the home. Moreover, the old rule prohibiting sexual relations before marriage is still enforced upon her. Thus a few remnants of the traditional life-organization are preserved for her benefit; her rearing is on the average not as a-moral as that of a boy.

But there are many exceptions. When the parents themselves are demoralized sexually the traditional rule, of course, cannot be efficiently enforced and cases are not rare when the girl is actually pushed into sexual demoralization by her parents. And even when the marriage-group keeps a minimum of respectability and the parents wish the girl to remain "straight," applying to her the old social schemes, the latter have little if any educational value, for the social meaning which they had in the old country is lost in the new conditions and the schèmes are empty forms with no vital power of regulating conduct. The participation of the girl in the household activities of her mother has no constructive influence because, as we have before noticed (Chapter I), these activities have no longer the same positive significance for the mother herself that they had in the

old country and because the feeling of familial solidarity which made individual cooperation in family affairs interesting has for the most part disappeared. Therefore also the claim of the parents to the girl's earnings seems no longer socially justified and is apt to appear to the girl's individualized consciousness as unjust exploitation. It was perfectly normal for a girl in the old country to turn over all her earnings to her father or mother, but then she knew that these earnings went toward her future dowry or marriage outfit, and even if the family was too poor to give her a dowry—it was never too poor to make an outfit—she was positively interested in keeping its economic standing above the level of misery, for its standing was her own standing as well. All this is lost here. Finally, the demand of sexual purity was there really a demand of the most vital importance. A girl who lost her "virginal wreath" discredited for ever herself and to a certain degree also her family in the eyes of the community and impaired or even destroyed her chances of marriage, *i. e.*, the only possible form of normal life in her own eyes and in those of her relatives and acquaintances. The possibility of her action's remaining a secret was exceedingly small, and she knew it. The only course left to her under normal conditions was to leave for the city or for a foreign country, which meant breaking all the strongest and most deeply implanted social ties. Whereas here the weakness of social control, the feeling of personal independence early developed by the numerous contacts outside of home, the innumerable suggestions of sexual life pervading the city atmosphere and—perhaps most of all—the looseness of sexual mores in the immigrant community, all cooperate in depriving sexual relations before marriage not only of most of their traditional

social "badness' but even of any really deep personal importance. The whole matter acquires the character of an incident, important only when either resulting in pregnancy and childbirth or when leading to a more or less lasting life-policy—concubinage, with possible marriage later, or a prostitute's career.

Under these circumstances the rulings to which the girl is subjected at home—and which are certainly neither rationally explained to her nor tactfully suggested—appear often arbitrary and tyrannical, and not infrequently, instead of helping to restrain her instincts, stir her to a more radical revolt and from merely a-moral make her distinctly anti-moral.

99. *Stella Kurowska.* Stella was 15 years old when she told this story to the Juvenile Court: "On the night of June 7, 1916, about 8 o'clock Helen Sikowska and I were standing at the corner. . . . Mike and Tomczak and another Mike came along in an automobile and Helen asked them for a ride. We went quite a ways, and then Tomczak said he wanted to [have intercourse with] me. He said if we did not do it he would not take us home. . . . They drove up in front of a saloon and all three of the fellows went in the saloon and stayed there about one hour. Helen and I sat in the car and waited for them. They came out and we started back for home. We drove for a ways, and when we came to a place where there was no houses they stopped the machine and said it was broke. Tomczak went to sleep. Mike, the driver of the car, got out and took me with him and walked me over the prairie. There he knocked me down and . . . did something bad to me. . . . Then they took us back home."

Mike was a chauffeur, 19 years old. His parents had died when he was young and a friend, a married woman, had cared for him since. She stated that he had never been in any sort of trouble before and was always a good boy. Others corroborated this.

Shortly after Helen Sikowska, who was 18 years old, ran

away from home sending word to her mother that she would not return. The home conditions were excellent and the mother said that Helen had always been a good girl until she met Stella.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

100. *Annie Andrzejkowska.* Annie was brought into the Juvenile Court when she was 15 years old. Her story was as follows: She first had relations with a man 7 months before. He was an usher in the Eagle Theater. She went many times to this theater and saw him often. Once she stayed in the theater after the show and they had relations. He later left town but she had his address. Then she met a boy who sold papers in her neighborhood. Another fellow introduced him as "John Johnson" and she knew him under that name, though it was not his right one. They used to go to the park together and had intercourse once in the hallway of her home. She was not sure who the next man was but thought his name was "Nick." She met him in a theater and knew him for 2 weeks.

Later she met Simon Craw in an ice-cream parlor, flirted with him and they became acquainted. He asked her to go joy riding. She said "no," but made a date with him to go to Lawy's Theater. After the show they went to the ice-cream parlor and had hot chocolate. She told him she was afraid to go home so late—it was 12 P. M. He talked to a man and then said a friend had offered to let them have his room in the Triangle Hotel. She did not want to go at first, but he said if anything came up in court he would marry her. Simon's friend took them to his room and went after coal. Meanwhile she and Simon had relations. The boys went to bed and she sat up all night in a chair, none of them undressing.

A week later, on Sunday evening she met Simon in the ice-cream parlor at 7 P. M. They stayed until 8 o'clock and then went to Lawy's Theater. They returned to the ice-cream parlor and Simon introduced a soldier whose name she forgot. She told them she did not want to go home as it was 11 P. M. and she had promised to be home at 8 P. M. The soldier said he knew that the proprietor of the Ohio Hotel would let all three of them have one room for the night. She said: "I don't want

to go. I don't want to be used by everybody." Simon said: "You don't have to," and they persuaded her to go.

The proprietor took them into a room with only one bed and asked what they wanted to drink. The soldier ordered 2 bottles of beer and she drank half a glass. The soldier went to bed. Simon told her to go to bed and have intercourse with the soldier, which she did. Simon went to sleep in the chair but fell out of it. As he did not get up at once she jumped out of bed, picked him up and made him come to bed, where she had intercourse with him. The soldier left at 3 A. M., she and Simon at 12.30 the following afternoon. She was afraid to go home and spent 2 days with a chum. Annie was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd. After two months her mother petitioned to have her home again but the request was refused as there was no improvement noticeable in Annie.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

101. *Nettie Wieczorek.* "November 16, 1914. Mother died when she was 5 years old. Father married again a few months later. She says her stepmother beats and abuses her, makes her work too hard. The girl ran away from home 3 times, the last time Oct. 14, 1914 [had been sleeping in a toilet]. She does not want to go back." She was given 4 positions as domestic servant within 5 months.

"April 16, 1915, Mrs. Brennan telephoned that Nettie had gone out the previous night and had not returned. April 22, 1915, called at home of Mrs. Brennan where Nettie formerly worked. She refused to take Nettie back as girl was too great a trial and did not have clean personal habits. Said that Nettie had run away on prearranged plan. . . . [A new place was found but Nettie left after 4 months.] August 9, 1915, Nettie found by probation officer in South Chicago in home of Della Fox, delinquent ward of the court, and taken to the Detention Home. August 10, 1915, took Nettie to see doctor . . . who returned unfavorable report [hymen recently broken]. August 25, 1915, talked with Nettie at Detention Home; also talked with Miss Culver, who said that Nettie had a very violent temper and had had a tantrum at the Home, where it took 3 persons to control

her. Later I called at Nettie's home and talked with her stepmother who said that Nettie is very hard to control."

The matter was referred to the court. Nettie had run away with a girl and was out all Sunday night. She admitted having met 2 men and had immoral relations with one of them. As it seemed that the other girl might have been to blame, Nettie was given a choice between housework and an institution. She preferred housework and returned to the place where she had been working. "Oct. 26, 1915, I talked to Mrs. Brennan. She stated Nettie has been staying out very late, till 11 and 11.30 P. M., that boys call for her and her thoughts and talk are of men." She was spending all of her wages. One Sunday night a week after the above conversation Nettie failed to return. The stepmother knows nothing of her whereabouts.

"Jan. 3, 1916, Nettie's father called at office, felt very badly over Nettie's disappearance [blamed the court]. He feels she is dead. . . . The police were unable to get any trace of her. Jan. 26, 1916, case in court. Nettie returned home to her father about 10 days ago and he refused to take her. But the next night he did take her in and insisted that she come to court and explain her conduct. She has a very comfortable home with her father, if she behaved. Has a stepmother who seems a very good woman. But Nettie tells me she has been soliciting for 3 months on the streets downtown. It seems almost incredible to me, yet she seems to know all the routine and the ways, mentions several 'rich hotels' where they had 2 beds in a room with bath connected. Said she would go in without any baggage at all and clerks would register them as man and wife. She had no permanent room in the three months, would just use the room the man had engaged for her for the rest of the night. When she did not have a room she would use the money she had for a less expensive room.

"Court: Did you want to do this sort of thing?

"Nettie: Why no, I did not.

"Q. Who first induced you to do that?

"A. Della Fox.

[Probation officer.] "She had gone down to the Beach with Della one time and she said the other day she did not want

to do housework because it was so much easier to make money that way.

"Q. How much money have you been given that way?

"A. Three dollars and five dollars was the most.

[Probation officer] "She told her story so complacently, I really believe she needs training."

Nettie was unable to give the name of any man with whom she had associated or of any hotel in which she had stayed. She said they were all down-town and high class hotels. She was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, with her father's consent.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

102. *Marien Stepanek.* Marien was arrested for acting "obstreperous" with another girl in a railway waiting room. She had no underclothing on when arrested [in June]. She was 16 years old, had left home before Easter and had been going much to shows and moving picture theaters. She told a police woman that she had been drugged on the North side and carried to a room by two men on different nights. She had been in the habit of receiving mail at the General Delivery and frequented the Boston Store with a man about 45 years of age whom she claimed was her husband.

Marien said she had "no fault to find" with her home, her father and mother were kind to her but she met a lady by the name of Le Mar and told her she lived in Milwaukee. "And she asked me to live with her, said she was getting a divorce from her husband, and I stayed with her for awhile . . . assisted her with the work." When asked where she met her girl friend she said: "Met her at the Boston Store and did not want to talk to her. And she came up to me and she wanted me to fix it up for her. Said she wanted to get away from home and said I should call up her mother and tell her that she was doing housework and told me to talk as if I was an elderly lady, and I went and did that."

The following letter was received from her while she was away: "Dear Mother, I am feeling fine. Everything is all right, don't worry about me. I am leading high life because I am an actress. I got swell clothes and everything, you wouldn't

know me. I had Clara down town one day I was out with the manager. She had a nice time. . . . I never had just nice times in all my life. Everybody says that I am pretty. I paid 65 dollars for my suit and 5 dollars had [hat], 6 dollars shoe 3 gloves 2 dollar underwar 5 dollar corest. Know I have hundred dollars in the bank but I want you to write a letter and say youll forgive me for not telling the truht but I will explain better when I see you and will return home for the sake of the little ones. I will bring a hundred dollars home to you and will come home very time I can its to expensive to liv at a hotel now sent the letter to me this way Genarel Devilery Miss Marion Stephan."

Her father testified: "After Easter got a letter from her something like that one only more in it. She was rich and everything else, which is not so. So she says answer me quick as you can because I go to Milwaukee tomorrow. And I answer it right away to come home as soon as possible. Thought maybe the letter would reach her and heard nothing more until 3 weeks ago and then this letter come and I begging her to come home and be a good girl. She come home and asked if wanted to stay home now and she feel very happy that she is home and thought maybe she would behave. . . . Next day she said she was going for her clothes . . . and I says I go with you. And I could not go and left my boy and girl to go with her Sunday. And she left them in the park and did not come home. Then she was back again Tuesday and in the evening when I come home from work she was not there. . . ."

Marien said she kept company with men for quite awhile, giving three names, but she denied immoral relations with any of them. She said she had been going out with another fellow "but he is a gentleman in every way."

"Court: With whom have you had immoral relations?

"A. Cannot remember.

"Q. Have you been to a hotel at any time since you have been away?

"A. Been to a hotel one time with Helen . . . and a girl, Freda Jones. She lives under a different name, Freda Jarvis. . . .

"Q. Did you hear anybody offer $2 at this hotel?

"A. I heard that what Freda said. She was kind of sore. . . . She said about it: 'What they think I am anyhow, stingy fools. Think I am doing anything for $2. . . . Helen and I laughed at her. . . .

"Q. What did you understand by that?

"A. I understood what she meant by it. . . .

"Q. What did you mean by the statement that you are leading a 'high life'?

"A. Meant had been to cabarets and dance halls. Been going to Morrison Ball room . . . and I went to the 'Booster's Club,' that's the old Morrison place."

Marien was sent to the reform school in Geneva but released in September, as her home conditions were good.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

103. *Katie Leśniak.* "August 22, 1913, in court. Picked up by an officer late at night after having wandered about the streets the two nights previous. Begged not to be taken home. Mother says the girl fell and injured her head when she was 7 years old, since which time she has been in the habit of running away. Does not appear to be a wayward child. . . . [13 years old. Father and mother here 9 years. She was in the 5th grade in the parish school and suspected of being mentally weak. One younger brother.] The home is poor. The mother sometimes goes out to work leaving the girl at home alone. Parents are not capable of giving her the protection and supervision she ought to have." Though the mother claimed she had proper care she wanted her sent to an institution for a few months and then to have her home again. Girl sent to St. Hedwig's. She was released in Oct. and behaved well for a few months, helping with the new baby at home.

"March 13, 1914. . . . Katie has been away from home for several days [since Feb. 1st] again and mother insisted she was at [first one place and then another where she was not found] . . . . April 16, 1914, brought to court with another younger girl for having stolen money and a watch from the purse of a woman in the shower-bath room in Eckhard Park.

Katie told the court she did not know why she left home, that she often left home and wandered around—could not con-

trol wandering impulse and habit she had fallen into, that when she left she worked in a hat factory half a day, for which she received 75 cents, which she used for meals, and on Feb. 14th she secured work and remained at it until arrested April 1st. Josephine, the younger girl, told the court that Katie asked her to go to a show with her. On the way Katie said her hair was falling down and suggested going into the park to arrange it. They went to the shower-bath rooms and Katie wished to take a bath. They looked into different bath-rooms and in one room saw a purse which Katie suggested taking, saying she wanted money for a nickel show. Josephine took the purse and hid it under the bench but when the owner complained to the matron and threatened the girl with prison, Katie confessed and gave the purse back, putting most of the blame on Josephine. As it was proved that Josephine did not have a proper home atmosphere she was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, while Catherine who was a good girl, according to her mother except for her wandering impulses, and who had never before stolen, was paroled.

"May 19, 1914, held at police station. Claims to have known Robert Smith, a colored man 64 years of age, for several years. He lives in 2 rooms. . . . Learning that girls went there she too went and had immoral relations with Mr. Smith at different times. On one occasion he gave her 15 cents and other occasions 25 cents. . . . A woman named Anna kept house for Mr. Smith about 10 months ago. . . . Five or six other girls frequented this home. . . . [She said] "I went away from home that day. My uncle [father] wanted to send me away to school, so I ran away. . . . I stayed [away 3 days and spent the night] in front of our house in the hallway."

Katie was sent to the House of Good Shepherd and released at her parents' request at the end of May, 1915, and behaved until July 31st she was arrested in a rooming-house with 2 young men. She had intercourse with one, 21 years old, whom she knew before she was sent away and whom the officer described as a "bum." A social worker testified: "I met the girl at the police station . . . and I suggested that she be sent to the House of Good Shepherd but she was very much prejudiced by her past years there. . . . I told her that if she met boys on the

street she couldn't protect herself. She was very indignant in the police station." At her mother's request she was given another chance but was soon arrested for going with another girl, a saloonkeeper and a photographer. When asked by the court what she had to say for herself she replied: "I don't care what you do; I deserve it." But she requested to be sent to Geneva instead of the House of the Good Shepherd—"they all say it is better." She ran away from Geneva after a few weeks but was apprehended through an anonymous telephone message from a house on S. Michigan Ave. After she was sent back to Geneva she again escaped.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

104. *Mary Młynarczyk.* Mary's father and mother were both 52 years old and 27 years in this country. They had 7 children, one girl 30 years old, married, 4 boys—laborers at $2 a day—and Mary 15 years old, brought to Juvenile Court on the complaint of her father that she had left home without her parents' consent and stayed away 5 weeks. The father stated that Mary had finished school at 14, worked at the National Biscuit Co. and at Spiegel's, 2 months at housework and "another place."

"Q. Why did you leave these different places?

"A. Because I did not want to work there.

"Q. It was too hard?

"A. Yes."

She said she worked for $2.50 a week since leaving home. The lady kept the money and bought a coat for her as she had no clothes when she left home. She was not in the habit of telling her parents where she went nor would she ever give her mother any of her wages. She always claimed that she had just changed jobs and would not get her pay until later.

"Q. Don't you care for your mother?" No reply.

A young man called at the house and asked for $1 which Mary had borrowed from him. Mary said he was a conductor whom everybody called "Jack." She met him on the cars, he took her to a café twice, and once they had intercourse. A letter was produced by the officer: "Nov. 21, 1914. Dear Brother, I am writing you a few words. That i am married and i wouldn

like to see yous bother your head about me. I had to get married. I got married last week, that's why i was making so much bother. i live down 55 and boulevard. i married a motorman.

"This letter from your lovin sister Mary Darz. My name Miss Mary Darz and my husband is sending all a yous his best regards i got a nice home. I wouldn get married but had to get married. I field lonesome after yous. My husband name is John Darz and my name Mary Darz I am awful glad that i got married and yous will be glad to. Good-by My dear Brother Walter Mlynarczyk."

"Court: Is there a fellow by name John Darz?

"Mary: He is in my school when I went to school.

"Court: How old is he? A. I don't know.

"Mother. . . . She went to this lady here and said I was away from home with a daughter who lives in Pullman, and she said her father didn't treat her right and she had to sleep on the porch at home and she asked to stay at this lady's house. While there she went quite frequently with conductors during the daytime and came home [in the afternoons] and said work was slack and she was laid off. [The neighbor advanced carfare and lunches to Mary thinking she was working. She would ride with the conductor until time for him to stop working.] She told a conductor to call at the address where she was staying to see her and that she was a married lady. [Mary also told the neighbor she was married and stayed out several nights.]

"Q. Mrs. Młynarczyk, have the Sisters at the school ever said that they thought the girl's mind was not what it ought to be?

"A. No, her mind is all right. . . .

"Q. Has Mary always been so insolent and impudent in the home?

"Mother: She has always been that way, always a bold child. The Sisters said she was a good child in school.

"Officer: In the Polish school they have one-half day English and one-half day Polish. That is why she is so far behind. They say this letter isn't her handwritng. I went to the general office of the surface lines and they say they have no such man there.

"Q. How do the other children behave?

"Interpreter: Well, the others seem to be pretty fair. They go astray and then come home. A boy has been in jail, but he came home and went to work. Father is a good man.

"Q. Did the father have any control over Mary?

"A. He never did anything for the girl." The officer stated the son drank and he thought that was why he got into trouble. The neighbor who had taken Mary into her home said the father drank occasionally but was good to the mother and daughters though strict and quarrelsome with the sons, trying to "reform" them. The mother was willing that Mary stay in the House of Good Shepherd for a year but after 8 months insisted on getting her out to help her. Mary did not get along any better after her return, was disobedient and stayed away 3 nights. One night she was with another girl paroled from the House of Good Shepherd. "The other 2 nights mother says she was with Schultz, street car conductor on 63rd St. Received $2. Believes from condition of her clothing she solicited every day. On the day she called me up and had me take her to the home, she [Mary] threatened her mother's life. Boasts of what evil doing she learned at House of Good Shepherd and how she can make money easier than working. [Mary refused work the mother obtained for her.] . . . Mary admitted going to wine-room with Joe Schultz then to hotel on both occasions. . . . She will not stay home or help with the work. Comes home and changes her clothes and goes out again."

Mary first said she had flirted with Schultz on a car but when the question was raised of a possible marriage she said she had known him for 2 years, he was married and had 2 children. She did not seem quite as impudent when in court this time as before. She was again sent to the House of Good Shepherd.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

105. *Frances Sikora.* Frances was 12 years old when in July, 1912, a probation officer of the Juvenile Court reported that she remained out late nights, sometimes all night, refused to obey father or mother, would go into a room and lock the door, compelling parents to force an entrance, etc. When 14 years

old she was brought into court on the complaint of her mother that she kept bad company and was known in the neighborhood as a depraved child, being accused by one neighbor of stealing a bracelet. She had been on probation and the reports had been fairly encouraging. Every little while there were reports of disobedience with threats of sending her to an institution, followed by improved conduct for a while. For a short time Frances had tried boarding outside her home.

At the hearing in court her mother testified: "She did not want to go to work and also stayed away from home nights, would not tell where. . . . When I looked for her I almost got a licken from the old man. He says I did not have to look for her when she was no good. He licked me many times on account of her, does not want me to go to look for her." The officer stated: "The father is a hard drinker and very quarrelsome. Sets very bad example for the children. The other children [4 younger ones at home] seem to get along and mind the mother, but this girl and an older married sister were the wayward ones." Frances said her father sometimes struck her with a strap when he got drunk. Her mother drank but was never intoxicated. She was sent to the House of Good Shepherd where she remained a full year and "made good." There was no complaint against her there. Her mother then applied for her release on the ground that she had rheumatism and a new baby 6 months old.

An investigation of the home was made. The neighbors reported the "family are quarrelling, parents continually drunk, use vile language and while well fed and kept, the environment is such that just as soon as the girls become self-supporting they leave home. Mr. Sikora is . . . abusive to his wife, insanely jealous, charges his wife with immorality constantly." Probation officer was called to house to put down a disturbance one night at 9 P. M. The mother when questioned admitted that an older daughter, now 18 years old, had had a "wild" career and then married. The next daughter left home because of complaints of her staying out late night. She had been in the House of the Good Shepherd, was not 17 years old and her mother knew nothing of her whereabouts. She asked the officer to go to see the married daughter and bring her home or at

least "look after her." On the strength of this report Frances was kept in the House of the Good Shepherd until June, 1915, and then released.

Good reports follow until, Jan. 31, 1916, "mother reports Frances left home New Year's. Was picked up by officer 5 days later. . . . The girl had been staying with a Mrs. Meyer and frequented a saloon at 35th and Ashland." When Frances was brought into court her mother was not present, though she had been notified to be there. Frances said her mother told her she would "never move a step again" for her. Frances would not confess where she had really been the 5 days away from home, even when her stories were all found false. She at first denied all intercourse with men, but when the physician found signs indicating long continued immorality she said she had been twice with Ben Smith, a hotel clerk who took her motor riding. She even admitted Smith was not his right name but would tell no more. She was sent back to the House of the Good Shepherd.

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

106. *Mary Puchała.* Mr. and Mrs. Puchała were born in Austrian Poland and married there. After the birth of one child, Mary, they emigrated to Chicago and had 3 more children. When Mary was 14 years old she was arrested on the charge of stealing some jewelry and a dress and waist, altogether worth $100. While employed as domestic she had entered a neighboring flat through the dining-room window and helped herself. When arrested she said her father and mother were dead. But it was found they were both alive. The mother said she was glad the police had gotten hold of Mary, who stole and refused to work. The probation officer stated that the home was very poor, the father would often not work and they had made Mary begin to work when 12 years old and give all her wages to them.

Mary had obtained her present position by going to Gad's Hill Center a month and a half before and representing herself as an orphan. She had tried to throw the neighbor off her track by going to her with a story of a "big noise" she had heard in the flat, but they had searched her and found the stolen things. Her employer also complained that Mary had taken clothing from

her and hidden it. Mary was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd, but after her mother's death in April, 1915, she was given some housework to do. On Dec. 17, 1915, she took $1 from her aunt and went away. She was sent to the Home for the Friendless. From there she wrote the probation officer complaining that the 2 girl friends with whom she had been staying refused to let her have her clothes.

On Jan. 4, 1916, work was found for Mary at $7 a week. She worked one-half day and then disappeared. She was located Jan. 10 and admitted remaining over night at a hotel four different nights with men. She didn't know their names. . . . 'I was drove away from home by my aunt. How could I stay there?'

"Q. to aunt: Did you drive Mary away from your home?

"A. Yes. She took $1 and I did not want her home.

"Officer: I found out something since then. When she came from the House of the Good Shepherd she worked at housework and took 2 rings there and silk stockings and underwear.

"Q. You hear, Mary? Why did you do that?

"A. Because I did not have no clothes."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

107. *Rose Swida.* Rose was taken out of school in 1912 at the age of 13 and sent to work. Her father was a laborer, 24 years in America. Her own mother was dead and her father married again. In 1913 she was seduced by the chief engineer (Irish) of a High School. He sent for her and gave her scrubbing work to do at $6 a week. The matter was reported by a woman living opposite who saw through field glasses that the man was embracing her while she was trying to work. Another woman saw her frequently sitting with him outside the building, talking and laughing familiarly. She had thought them father and daughter.

At the hearing it developed that Rose and her stepmother were fond of each other, but the neighbors thought the stepmother not altogether morally responsible. "April 14, 1914, Rose is pregnant. . . . This is the aftermath of her case against . . . High School engineer whose case, charge of rape, was dis-

missed by the Judge 'because of the man's age (54).' Rose still says that she has never been with any one but him, nor more than this one time. . . . Have been convinced that pressure had been brought to bear to influence them [Municipal Court]." A bastardy charge was also dismissed by the Municipal Court "on ground of disaccordance of detail between the girl's two testimonies." Some testimony against Rose seems to have been introduced also. Some boys swore to having had relations under a viaduct with her and another girl. Rose was very indignant and wished to prosecute the boys but nothing was done.

"Feb. 2, 1915 . . . [she] said that many people had advised her to shoot [the engineer]. I said, 'You would not do that. It's a fearful thing to kill a man.' She replied, 'See what he did to me! He might have better killed me.' . . . She does not go anywhere. . . . Says she cannot leave the babe at home with the stepmother to go to work [as stepmother does not feed it properly] and she cannot give the babe up as this constitutes her one joy in life. [Father works intermittently.] . . .

"March 26, 1915, police called up to say that Rose had given birth to boy babe and ambulance has taken her to hospital. She had asked them to notify me. . . . Visited Rose at hospital. Found her heartbroken. Claims one Charley Smith . . . is father of child. Said he promised to marry her and she saw a means of escape from her unhappiness at home. Has not seen him for 4 or 5 months. He may have left the city when he learned of her condition. Claimed it happened one Saturday night when I was away on my vacation . . . her father and stepmother had not suspected her condition until day babe was born and they were abusive. . . . Father does not want her to come home and says he won't have the baby in the house. Neighbors confirm her stepmother's story that Rose was never out late in the evening. Rose and the baby were taken to St. Vincent's. The matter was brought up in court.

In answer to the question of the court as to what he would do for Rose and her child, the father said: "She ought to be sent away somewhere. She was under the control of the Court and she still did this. What can I do? . . . It is hard for me to make a living. There are other children and I lost my job today. What shall I do? She ought to be put under some re-

straint. . . . It is her own child. Let somebody look after her child. . . . She ought to have sense to take care of her own and not get in this.

St. Vincent's would let her stay if she consented to the adoption of the older child. Rose would not agree to this but was willing that the baby be adopted. She agreed to go to the House of the Good Shepherd if she could see her children whenever possible. She wrote from there: "I would not give up Genevieve even if I was to be kild. I should repeat the same words, I would not give her up for lot of thousands of dollars. . . . You spoke to me in good words and I did not listen to you just went wrong. Now I realize what I done and I shall not do it any more. Please forgive me for all I have done. . . . From forgotten child, Rose Swida."

From the *Records of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.*

The sexual immorality of most of the girls here described is thus in most cases clearly a part of a generally unorganized life, and would be as "natural" as any commonplace action if it did not imply, at least in its beginnings, some revolt against existing inhibitions. We have even very little proof that these inhibitions are ever internal and not merely external. The Leśniak girl seems to manifest some moral compunction when she says in court: "I do not care what you do; I deserve it," and when she complains of an uncontrollable impulse. But she is in general characterized as mentally weak and seems to be easily swayed by the influence of the moment, and it is very doubtful whether her apparent moral feelings are real and lasting. They may have been suggested to her momentarily by the representatives of American institutions who talked to her. At any rate, they evidently are not very deep, judging from her behavior, and there is hardly any tragic consciousness of downfall in her. The tragic touch which indubitably exists in the Swida situation comes originally

not from the girl's sexual relations, but from her motherhood; whatever moral reflection there may be concerning her sexual acts can be traced to the direct influence of the probation officer, an idealistic woman very sympathetically interested in her charge.

On the contrary, the element of revolt against the drudgery and coercion of home life is very strong. Even if the home is not actually bad there is little in it to attract the girl, for the difference between her own education and the traditions of her parents produces an estrangement which prevents an adequate satisfaction of the desire for response, and in view of the traditional supremacy claimed by the older generation, there is no chance of obtaining the recognition which her vanity craves, developed as it is by the continual contact with outsiders. This craving is curiously manifested in the letters written home by Marien Stepanek and Mary Młynarczyk, the former boasting that she leads a "high life," is an actress, has expensive clothes and will bring a hundred dollars home, the latter asserting that she is married and has a nice home. Unsatisfied desire for recognition and the tendency to "square" past humiliation received at home form the clear background of these letters. The importance of unsatisfied desire for response is shown by the large proportion of cases of immorality in which the girl has a step-mother or step-father.

Sexual immorality may be an end in itself (satisfaction of the sexual instinct), or a means to other ends (amusements, clothes, freedom, etc.), or both. The first situation seems to be rather rare, for the sexual desire is seldom sufficiently conscious or strongly developed at the age at which most of these girls are brought into court. We have met a case or two where the girl

seemed in love with a man. Nettie Wieczorek's "thoughts and talk are of men." Perhaps there is some real sexual interest in Katie Leśniak's later relations with young boys, as compared with her first experiences with an old negro, and also in Frances Sikora's last recorded story with "Ben Smith," and in Rose Swida's second "fall." But these sexual interests seem to develop later. The first sexual relations are rather incidental, come in connection with other interests. In the Kurowska case the sexual intercourse is just part of a joy ride, probably one of many amusements of the kind; the Wieczorek girl, shiftless, untidy, incapable of permanent work, thinks it is "easier to make money that way"; Marien Stepanek treats it as a condition of her "high life," including restaurants, moving pictures, hotels and showy clothes, Katie Leśniak begins as a vagabond and sells her body just as she does occasional work or borrows money—in order to support herself from moment to moment on her vagabonding tours, sexual intercourse being only a means by which freedom from school and work is obtained; Mary Młynarczyk wishes to escape from the demands of her parents' home; Mary Puchała begins by stealing to satisfy her desire for pretty clothes and "good times," then has illicit relations for the same purposes; Frances Sikora has for some time undiscovered sexual incidents in her career of freedom and fun, occasionally interrupted by short periods of good behavior. And nothing can show better the small importance ascribed to illicit sexual intercourse than the plain story of the many relations of Annie Andrzejkowska.

The conclusion as to the significance of sexual immorality in girls of the second generation is perfectly obvious. Illicit sexual tendencies are simply a com-

ponent—sometimes predominant, oftener subordinate—of a powerful desire for new experience and for general excitement which under the given conditions cannot be satisfied in socially permitted ways. It depends in some measure on individual temperament whether in a given case this desire for new experience will be successfully counteracted by a desire for security which tends to make the girl stay in the beaten path and follow the rules laid down by society. But this depends also, perhaps in a still larger measure, on the question what attractions are offered by society to those who stay in the beaten path. And these attractions are certainly neither many nor strong for the daughter of a Polish immigrant. First school, which to her mind does not lead anywhere, is not a means to any definite end. Then dependent and meaningless housework at home or tiresome shopwork with no profit to herself. Later marriage and, after a few short new experiences, continuation of the same meaningless work from day to day without any new outlook for the future, with children as the only important genuine interest—and this has to be bought at the cost of pain, ceaseless toil, increased poverty and diminished chances for personal pleasure. There is little response at any period of her life from parents, husband or children, little recognition, for in a loose community recognition does not come as a reward of "sterling moral qualities" and "honest labor" but goes to all kinds of superficial brilliancy and show.

Perhaps the girl would settle down unrevoltingly to this steady life, however dull, if the apparent possibilities of an entirely different life, full of excitement, pleasure, luxury and showing-off were not continually displayed before her eyes in an American city. Shop windows, theaters, the press, street life with its display

of wealth, beauty and fashion, all this forms too striking a contrast to the monotony of the prospect which awaits her if she remains a "good girl." If she felt definitely and irremediably shut off from this "high life" by practically impassable class barriers, as a peasant girl in Europe feels, she might look at all this show of luxury as upon an interesting spectacle with no dream of playing a rôle in it herself. But even aside from the idea of democracy—which though it does not mean much to her politically, teaches her to think that the only social differences between people are differences of wealth —she feels that some small part at last of this gorgeousness actually is within her reach, and her imagination pictures to her indefinite possibilities of further advance in the future. Sooner or later, of course, she will be forced back into her destined channel by society, by the state, by economic conditions, will be forcibly "reformed" and settled, not into a satisfied, positively moral course of life but to a more or less dissatisfied acceptance of the necessary practical limitations of her desires and of the more or less superficial rules of *decorum*. But before her dreams are dispelled she tries to realize them as far as she can. We have here, of course, only one specification of the unrest which characterizes America and American women.

CONCLUSION

We have studied the Polish peasant in his home environment and followed him to this country. Throughout this study we have found numerous striking analogies between his behavior and that of people belonging to other societies—the American society not excepted—whose cultural traditions are entirely different. The attentive reader could not have failed to notice these analogies, particularly when they bore on his own familiar social milieu though we have usually intentionally refrained from pointing them out explicitly and have limited ourselves at most to informal suggestions. This was motivated by considerations of scientific prudence. We did not feel entitled to transfer definite conclusions from one society to other societies, to claim that the socio-psychological laws—or what seem to be laws—found in studying the Polish peasant are also applicable to the American business man, to the Jew, to the Italian peasant or even to the Polish country noble or bourgeois, without having previously investigated these societies at least as thoroughly as we have investigated the Polish peasant communities. Our work does not pretend to give any definitive and universally valid sociological truths, nor to constitute a permanent model of sociological research; it merely claims to be a monograph, as nearly complete as possible under the circumstances, of a limited social group at a certain period of its evolution, which may suggest studies of other groups, more detailed and more perfect methodically, thus helping the investigation of modern

living societies to rise above its present stage of journalistic impressionism, and preparing the ground for the determination of really exact general laws of human behavior. The analogies which we have mentioned are in this respect encouraging, for they allow us to presume that such laws are possible and that their determination will not meet any exceptional difficulties.

On the other hand, our study makes it very clear that a search for similarities in human behavior can lead to valuable and secure results only if it takes fully into account the important differences that exist between various societies, differences due chiefly to the widely varying lines of their past cultural evolution rather than to divergent biological tendencies and unequal natural abilities of their members. The latter standpoint should be invoked only after all purely sociological methods of explaining the variations in their behavior have been tried and failed. The Polish peasant is not and cannot be exactly the same kind of man as the native American, for his character has been moulded by his social milieu and his social milieu has a set of traditions, an organization, a form and standard of living very different in their concrete complexity from those which are familiar to the American reader. Any one whose attitudes have evolved under the influence of the rapidly changing American life, which is full of new experiences, any one trained to look toward unfamiliar emergencies and to meet them by his own initiative, who is accustomed and ready to be influenced in behavior as much, or more, by the indirect stimulation of the written or printed word as by direct human contact, any one for whom the impersonal political, legal, social and economic institutions, with their general and abstract methods of dealing with human

life, are as real in their practical significance as immediately responsive personalities, can neither understand the Polish peasant in Poland nor deal with him as "immigrant" in this country unless he realizes the full meaning of the following facts.

First, the peasant was adapted to the life of a permanent agricultural community, settled for many hundreds of years in the same locality and changing so slowly that each generation adapted itself to the changes with very little effort or abstract reflection. Secondly, the peasant was not accustomed to expect unfamiliar happenings in the course of his life within his community, and if they came relied upon his group, which not only gave him assistance, when necessary, in accordance with the principle of solidarity, but helped him regain his mental balance and recover the feeling that life in general was normal in spite of the unexpected disturbance. Further, the peasant drew all his social stimulations, checks and suggestions from direct social contact with his milieu, and the steadiness and efficiency of his life-organization depended on the continuity of his social intercourse with his own group. Finally he was until quite recently a member of a politically and culturally passive class, did not participate consciously, even in the slightest measure, in any of the impersonal institutions that ever existed in his country.

In view of all this it is not strange that in the different conditions which he finds in this country he becomes more or less disorganized. In fact it is surprising that there is yet so much normal life left and that as time goes on constructive forces assert themselves increasingly in Polish-American communities. This is due entirely and exclusively to the "social spirit" of the immigrant, to his tendency to form groups, to his tradi-

tional ability of social organization. This ability is put here to a more severe test than ever before. Scattered and isolated within a practically unknown, usually indifferent, often contemptuous, sometimes even hostile society, in poor and insecure economic conditions, with very insufficient leadership, and a partly pretentious, selfish, nationalistic and unrest formulation of ideals by this leadership, these small groups of people whose higher interests were indissolubly bound up with their old milieu and who, separated from this milieu, have lost the only real foundation of their cultural life, have already almost succeeded in uniting themselves into one cultural body and in creating institutions which are indubitably factors of progress. These institutions have not prevented a rapid demoralization of those who remain outside of their influence, the new system is neither as rich nor as efficient in controlling the individual as was the old organization, doomed to decay in the new conditions, but this task is beyond the powers of Polish-American society as isolated from American society.

Even if the Polish-American society should maintain in general that separation which its leaders have wished, the cultural level of a *"Polonia Americana"* would always remain lower than that of American society, since its best men are and always will be attracted by the wider and richer field of American civilization. But as to the Polish-American institutions already created, their destruction would mean the removal of the only barrier which now stands between the mass of Polish immigrants and complete wildness. The only method which can check demoralization, make of the immigrants—and particularly of their descendants—valuable and culturally productive members of the American society and imperceptibly, without violence,

lead to their real Americanization is to supplement the existing Polish-American institutions by others—many others—built on a similar foundation but in closer contact with American society.

It must be always remembered that very little can be achieved by dealing with the immigrant sporadically and individually by the "case method." The Polish immigrant is an essentially social being—not "man," not "woman," not "child," in the abstract, but a group member, to be dealt with *in groups*. The only question is how to form groups, and mixed groups including a large percentage of native Americans, with really important productive purposes. There is the enormous, almost untouched field of economic cooperation. A country-wide net of thousands, hundreds of thousands of small cooperative associations, with the active participation of various nationalities, coming together on a basis of real equality and united by serious common aims would do incomparably more for economic self-dependence, for the prevention of demoralization, for the development of active solidarity, for a genuine Americanization of the immigrant than anything that has ever been done to achieve these aims. It would, besides, contribute in a measure to the solution of many of the most difficult problems which American society itself is trying to solve at this moment.

The prevalent general social unrest and demoralization is due to the decay of the primary-group organization, which gave the individual a sense of responsibility and security because he *belonged to something*. This system has given way partly to the forces making for individual efficiency, and we have developed nothing to take its place—no organization which would restore the sense of social responsibility without limiting the ef-

ficiency of the individual. This new form is apparently destined to be the cooperative society, and all immigrant groups, among them perhaps preeminently the Poles, bring to this country precisely the attitudes upon which cooperative enterprises can be built.

PART IV

LIFE-RECORD OF AN IMMIGRANT

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the present volume is the application of the methods of social psychology to an evolving human personality.

In the methodological note prefacing volume I we have outlined the standpoint that a nomothetic social science is possible only if all social becoming is viewed as the product of a continual interaction of individual consciousness and objective social reality. In this connection the human personality is both a continually producing factor and a continually produced result of social evolution, and this double relation expresses itself in every elementary social fact; there can be for social science no change of social reality which is not the common effect of pre-existing social values and individual attitudes acting upon them, no change of individual consciousness which is not the common effect of pre-existing individual attitudes and social values acting upon them. When viewed as a factor of social evolution the human personality is a ground of the causal explanation of social happenings; when viewed as a product of social evolution it is causally explicable by social happenings. In the first case individual attitudes toward pre-existing social values serve to explain the appearance of new social values; in the second case social values acting upon pre-existing individual attitudes serve to explain the appearance of new individual attitudes.

The study of human personalities, both as factors and as products of social evolution, serves first of all the same purpose as the study of any other social data — the determination of social laws. A person-

ality is always a constitutive element of some social group; the values with which it has to deal are, were and will be common to many personalities, some of them common to all mankind, and the attitudes which it exhibits are also shared by many other individuals. And even if the values as viewed by a given individual, and the attitudes assumed by this individual present peculiarities distinguishing them to some extent from values given to and attitudes assumed by all other individuals, we can ignore these peculiarities for the purposes of scientific generalization, just as the natural scientist ignores the peculiarities which make each physical thing or happening in a sense unique. In analyzing the experiences and attitudes of an individual we always reach data and elementary facts which are not exclusively limited to this individual's personality but can be treated as mere instances of more or less general classes of data or facts, and can thus be used for the determination of laws of social becoming. Whether we draw our materials for sociological analysis from detailed life-records of concrete individuals or from the observation of mass-phenomena, the problems of sociological analysis are the same. But even when we are searching for abstract laws life-records of concrete personalities have a marked superiority over any other kind of materials. We are safe in saying that personal life-records, as complete as possible, constitute the *perfect* type of sociological material, and that if social science has to use other materials at all it is only because of the practical difficulty of obtaining at the moment a sufficient number of such records to cover the totality of sociological problems, and of the enormous amount of work demanded for an adequate analysis of all the personal materials necessary

to characterize the life of a social group. If we are forced to use mass-phenomena as material, or any kind of happenings taken without regard to the life-histories of the individuals who participate in them, it is a defect, not an advantage, of our present sociological method.

Indeed it is clear that even for the characterization of single social data — attitudes and values — personal life-records give us the most exact approach. An attitude as manifested in an isolated act is always subject to misinterpretation, but this danger diminishes in the very measure of our ability to connect this act with past acts of the same individual. A social institution can be fully understood only if we do not limit ourselves to the abstract study of its formal organization, but analyze the way in which it appears in the personal experience of various members of the group and follow the influence which it has upon their lives. And the superiority of life-records over every other kind of material for the purposes of sociological analysis appears with particular force when we pass from the characterization of single data to the determination of facts, for there is no safer and more efficient way of finding among the innumerable antecedents of a social happening the real causes of this happening than to analyze the past of the individuals through whose agency this happening occurred. The development of sociological investigation during the past fifteen or twenty years, particularly the growing emphasis, which under the pressure of practical needs, is being put upon special and actual empirical problems as opposed to the general speculations of the preceding period, leads to the growing realization that we must collect more complete sociological documents than we possess. And the more complete a sociological docu-

ment becomes the more it approaches a full personal life-record. The ultimate aim of social science, like that of every other science, is to reconcile the highest possible exactness and generality in its theoretic conclusions with the greatest possible concreteness of the object-matter upon which these conclusions bear. Or, in other words, to use as few general laws as possible for the explanation of as much concrete social life as possible. And since concrete social life is concrete only when taken together with the individual life which underlies social happenings, since the personal element is a constitutive factor of every social occurrence, social science cannot remain on the surface of social becoming, where certain schools wish to have it float, but must reach the actual human experiences and attitudes which constitute the full, live and active social reality beneath the formal organization of social institutions, or behind the statistically tabulated mass-phenomena which taken in themselves are nothing but symptoms of unknown causal processes and can serve only as provisional ground for sociological hypotheses.

But in order to be able to use adequately personal life-records for the purposes of nomothetic generalizations social science must have criteria permitting it to select at once from a mass of concrete human documents, those which are likely to be scientifically valuable for the solution of a given general problem. We cannot study the life-histories of all the individuals participating in a certain social happening, for then our task would be inexhaustible. We must limit ourselves, just as the natural scientist does, to a few *representative* cases whose thorough study will yield results as nearly applicable as possible to all other

cases concerned. But the problem of selecting representative cases is much less easy in social than in natural science because the greater complexity and variety which human personalities present as compared with natural things makes their classification more difficult. When the mineralogist has studied the chemical composition of a stone it is easy for him to ascertain to what other stones the results of his investigation will apply, for the class of which this stone was chosen as representative is distinguishable by certain superficial physical features, and the scientist can assume without too much risk that any stone presenting the same physical features belongs to the same class and has approximately the same chemical composition. But up to the present the sociologist lacks really efficient heuristic devices of this kind. When he has studied the process of the appearance of a certain attitude or a certain value in the life-history of one social personality he is taking a serious risk when he provisionally assumes that this case is representative of a certain general class — that the process is the same, for example, in all the individuals who belong to a certain community, nation, profession, religious denomination, etc. Of course any error which he commits can be corrected by further research, but the question is, how to diminish in advance the chances of such errors, how to find criteria which will permit us, after having investigated one human being, to tell more or less exactly to what class of human beings the results of this investigation are applicable.

Such criteria can be given only by a theory of human individuals as social personalities. The use of individual life-records as material for the determination of abstract social laws must be supplemented by a

sociological study of these individuals themselves in their entire personal evolution, as concrete components of the social world. The tendency of such a study is exactly opposite to that of a search for general laws. Its task is the *synthesis* of the concrete from its abstract elements, not the analysis of the concrete into abstract elements. If the ideal of nomothetic research is to analyze the whole conscious life going on in a society into elementary facts and to subordinate these to general laws, the ideal of the theory of social personalities is to reconstruct the entire process of every personal evolution from single facts, each of which should be perfectly explicable on the basis of a general law. And such a synthetic investigation, in addition to being an indispensable auxiliary of nomothetic sociological generalization, has also an important theoretic and practical interest of its own, as is indicated in the attention which has always been paid to biography and to questions of temperament and character. There has been, however, a striking lack of progress in these investigations; they still remain approximately on the level which they reached in antiquity. The reason of this stagnation is evident. Almost all the studies of temperament and character have been constructed on the ground of individual, not of social psychology, and since personal evolution can be understood only in connection with social life these theories were unable to take into adequate consideration the whole wealth of important problems bearing on personal evolution, and had to limit themselves to a mere abstract description and classification of statically considered formal types.

Before proceeding, therefore, to the investigation of the particular problems involved in the present

volume we must discuss the standpoint from which every synthetic study of a human individual as social personality should be made. This implies a complete revision of the problem of *type*, for the concept of type plays the same part in social synthesis as the concept of the causal fact plays in social analysis, the aim of the former being to find classes, just as the aim of the latter is to find laws. Our present discussion will be, of course, merely formal and methodological; we do not aim to establish in advance a complete classification of human personalities—this must be the result of long studies—but to show in what way such a classification can be reached. We shall be forced, indeed, to characterize several ideal types which social personalities tend to assume, but our characterization will be purely formal and based upon relations between the individual and his social environment whose essential features are the same in all societies, whatever may be the content of the personal and social life. Our classification will, therefore, claim to be only a starting-point for researches whose aim must consist in a synthetic characterization of human types precisely with regard to the content of the attitudes and values which constitute their social personalities.

The essential points, which cannot be here sufficiently emphasized, are that the social personality as a whole manifests itself only in the course of its total life and not at any particular moment of its life, and that its life is not a mere empirical manifestation of a timeless metaphysical essence, always the same, but is a continuous evolution in which nothing remains unchanged. This evolution often tends toward a stabilization as its ultimate limit, but never attains this limit completely; and even then it is not this

limit as such, but the very course of evolution tending to this limit, that constitutes the main object-matter of socio-psychological synthesis.

If we wish, therefore, to use the concept of type as applied to social personalities, we must, first of all, extend this concept to the process of personal evolution. Now this implies a special problem. A personal evolution taken in its totality is certainly a unique occurrence; no individual develops in the same way as any other individual. On the other hand, from the standpoint of nomothetic social science this total development should be entirely analyzable into elementary facts, each indefinitely repeatable and subordinated to a general law. But this possibility of subordinating single isolated facts of individual life to general laws of becoming is evidently not sufficient to justify any generalizations concerning personalities, for the combination of these elementary facts in the evolution of each individual may be so different from what it is in the life of others that no comparison of any two personalities is possible. We must, therefore, assume — and social observation certainly corroborates this assumption — that not only single attitudes and values, not only single elementary facts, but more or less complete combinations, series of facts, present a certain similarity from individual to individual. This similarity cannot be assumed to go as far as absolute identity; the identity is always only approximate. Nor is any such combination of facts universal; it is not a matter of a single abstract law, but of a concrete co-operation of many laws, and is therefore usually common to only a certain number of individuals. But the concept of type, unlike the concept of law, needs only an approximate identity of individual cases, and

a class is supposed to possess only a relative generality.

The application of sociological generalization to social personalities requires thus, first of all, the admission of what we may call *typical lines of genesis*.[1] A line of genesis is a series of facts through which a certain attitude is developed from some other attitude (or group of attitudes), a value from some other value (or group of values), when it does not develop directly, and the process cannot be treated as a single elementary fact. For example there is probably no social influence that could produce directly an attitude of appreciation of science from the parvenu's pride in his wealth, no intellectual attitude that could directly lead an untrained individual to produce a scientifically valid concept from the data of common-sense observation; but by a series of intermediary stages the parvenu can become a sincere protector of science, by a more or less long training in theoretic research a student learns to produce scientific values. In such a series every single link is a fact of the type: attitude — value — attitude, or: value — attitude — value, and as such, if properly analyzed, can always be explained by sociological law (or lead to the discovery of a sociological law), but the series as a whole cannot be subject to any law, for there are many possible ways in which an attitude can be developed out of another attitude, a value out of another value; all depends on the nature of the intermediary data. Thus, if we have as starting-point an attitude *a* and as result an attitude

[1] The existence of typical lines of genesis has a fundamental importance for problems concerning the general types of individual development in any particular field — intellectual, moral, religious, æsthetic, economic. It is, in fact, a conscious or unconscious basis of all special education and professional training.

[2] An acquaintance with the methodological note, Volume I, is assumed.

m, the evolution may have gone on in such a way that out of *a*, under the influence of a value *B*, is evolved the attitude *d;* out of *d*, under the influence of *J*, the attitude *k*, and *k*, under the influence of a value *N*, was changed into the attitude *m*. But it may have happened also that *a* was influenced not by *B*, but by *C*, and the result was a different attitude *e*, which again under the influence not of *F*, but of *G*, gave *i*, and *i*, when influenced by *L*, also produced *m*. And the same can be said of values. To take well-known examples, there is probably usually one and the same primary attitude — a particular form of the desire for excitement, which we shall analyze in a later volume — out of which habitual drinking develops, and yet there are many possible ways of becoming a drunkard. The history of inventions shows that many inventors working independently on the same practical problem may produce the same invention, but their procedure may be completely different. And of course it is hardly necessary to say that from a given attitude or value many different lines of evolution may start and reach quite different results, and that a given attitude or value may have been reached from many different starting points by different lines of evolution. Moreover in the development of a human personality there are many and various divergent lines of genesis, since at any moment of his life the individual not only presents many attitudes acquired during his past development and produces many values which he has learned to produce, but this acquired set of attitudes and abilities is more or less different from moment to moment. Viewed therefore from the standpoint of particular lines of genesis the human personality in its total evolution might appear as too complex to be the object-

matter of scientific generalization. But the theoretically limitless variety of lines of genesis is really limited in practice. There are only a few typical ways in which an attitude is developed out of a determined other attitude or a value out of a determined other value. More than this, when an attitude or a value becomes the starting-point of a line of evolution we can assume that there are only a few different results which this evolution may reach, and when an attitude or a value is given, we can assume that there are only a few different starting-points from which such a result might have been reached. As long as the attitudes of the individual are unsettled and unorganized, as in the child, a new attitude can be developed out of a pre-existing one in many ways, because the individual is open to many and various influences; there is in him little to interfere with a given influence. This gives, of course, many opportunities to educational endeavors tending to produce certain values; and for the same reason a determined influence exercised upon the child may open the way to almost any line of genesis and lead to any new ultimate results. On the contrary, when the individual has acquired a more or less rich stock of stabilized attitudes, a certain influence may not be accepted because in disagreement with this stock. Therefore the way in which a given new attitude can develop is limited, and it may be difficult, sometimes even practically impossible, to produce it because the necessary influences to which the individual would react in the desired way may not be available. Thus the stabilization of individual attitudes diminishes the probability that his future development will assume an unforeseen direction.

And there is a further limitation of the possible lines

of genesis in the stability and limited variety of external conditions. First of all there is a general negative limitation of external influences by the fact that the milieu in which the individual lives includes only a limited variety of values. But much more important is the positive limitation of evolution which society imposes upon the individual by putting him into a determined frame of organized activities which involves in advance a general succession of influences — early family education, beginning of a definite career with determined openings, marriage, etc. — establishes a regularity of periodical alternations of work and play, food and sleep, etc., and with the help of economic, legal and moral sanctions prescribes and excludes certain forms of behavior. The more uniform and steady this frame, the greater the relative parallelism of evolution between individuals; similar lines of genesis repeat themselves in many members of the group, for the individual cannot find around him influences which would make him take a course different from other members of the group in acquiring a new attitude. Of course this means also a limitation of the variety of possible attitudes or values that can develop from a given starting-point; given a certain material in the form of an individual disposition or of a social value, it is probable that the group will make of it something very definite, and the same in every case, particularly where the social framework is little varied and flexible.

Still more extensive uniformities of development are found in connection with temperament and character. Not only single attitudes or values but wide and organized groups of attitudes and groups of values are found developing in a similar way in many personalities and certain of these organized groups assume such

prevalence in personal life that the individual taken in his entire evolution may be approximately characterized by the prominence of a few such groups. *Temperament* and *character* are the concepts in which has been expressed the common-sense realization that there are always a few organized groups of attitudes in a personality which play a predominant part in its activity, so that for practical purposes any attitudes outside of those groups can be neglected as inconspicuously manifesting themselves in personal behavior. The concept of individual *life-organization* may be used to indicate the existence, within the sphere of experience of an individual, of a limited number of selected and organized groups of social values which play a predominant part in his life both as partial causes and partial effects of his more or less organized attitudes.

We must here investigate the methodological significance of these concepts and attempt to give them more exact and more productive meanings than those they have had in popular psychology and in half-literary reflection about human life. It must be remembered in particular that the fundamental problems of the synthesis of human personalities are not problems of a personal *status* but problems of personal *becoming*, that the ultimate question is not what temperaments and characters there are but what are the ways in which a definite character is developed out of a definite temperament, not what life-organizations exist but by what means a certain life-organization is developed. It is relatively easy to classify temperaments and characters, but this classification is entirely unproductive unless it is used as a mere preparation for the study of their evolution, where the aim is to determine human types as *dynamic* types, as types of development.

Similarly with regard to personal life-organization, we find in any society ready models of organization with which individuals are expected to comply; but the analysis of these models does not constitute a study of personalities — it is merely its starting-point. After learning what models the group proposes to its members, we must learn by what typical means those members gradually realize or fail to realize these models. In other words the concepts of temperament, character, life-organization, mark only the starting-point and the limit of the evolution which is the real object-matter of the study of human personalities. It becomes, therefore, a point of essential importance to frame definitions of temperament, character and life-organization which may be used in the study of personal evolution.

We may call temperament the fundamental original group of attitudes of the individual as existing independently of any social influences; we may call character the set of organized and fixed groups of attitudes developed by social influences operating upon the temperamental basis. The temperamental attitudes are essentially instinctive, that is, they express themselves in biological action but not in reflective consciousness; the attitudes of the character are intellectual, that is, they are given by conscious reflection. This does not mean that the temperamental attitude cannot be experienced; it usually is experienced when for some reason the activity is inhibited. But with the temperamental attitude there is no conscious connection between the separate actions in which it expresses itself; every single feeling and satisfaction (*e. g.*, hunger), is for the individual a separate entity; the living being does not generalize these feelings as

forming one series, one permanent attitude. On the contrary, every manifestation of a character-attitude is given to the subject as a single expression of a more or less general tendency; a helpful or harmful action is accompanied by a consciousness of sympathy or hate, that is, by a conscious tendency to the repetition (or remembrance) of actions with an analogous meaning; the attitude accompanying the actual production of some piece of work is given as one element of a series that may be willingness or unwillingness to do such work, desire to realize a plan, to earn money, etc. This consciousness need not be always explicit, but it must be implicitly present and become explicit from time to time if the attitude is to be defined as a character-attitude.

Correspondingly, the temperamental attitudes are not systematically organized and co-ordinated among themselves in the whole course of personal life but are only associated with each other by being repeatedly used together for the production of certain common results in certain conditions provided by the organism and its environment. If a certain group of temperamental attitudes reappears from case to case in such activities as the satisfaction of hunger or of the sexual appetite, it is not because these attitudes have been consciously subordinated to a predominant attitude, but because their association has habitually brought the desired result in the given conditions. And, on the other hand, there is no conscious tendency to establish harmony and to avoid contradictions between separate groups of temperamental attitudes manifested at various moments of individual life. A group of temperamental attitudes either finds its expression at a given moment by pushing others aside, or is pushed

aside by some other group and is not expressed at all. Thus, hunger and sexual desire, fear and anger manifest themselves independently of each other without any conscious attempt at co-ordination. In character, on the contrary, attitudes are more or less systematized; their continuity through many manifestations makes this indispensable. Thus, hunger or sexual desire becomes a permanent basis of a conscious and systematic organization of a large group of economic, social, hedonistic, intellectual, aesthetic attitudes, and this organization works continuously, independently of the actual association of these attitudes from case to case; the attitudes organized for the permanent satisfaction of hunger or sexual desire manifest themselves even while no hunger or sexual desire is actually felt and while the actual material conditions do not suggest them in any way. Moreover, between the system of attitudes subordinated to hunger and the system of attitudes subordinated to sexual desire, between a general policy of prudence having the attitude of fear as its basis and a general system of aggressive tendencies rooted ultimately in the attitude of anger, permanent relations are usually established, either by subordinating the conflicting attitudes to some more general attitude — desire for happiness, for social success, etc. — or by giving priority to one of them.

These differences between temperament and character find their expression on the objective side in matters of life-organization. But in order to understand this side of the question we must get rid of the whole schematic conception of the world assimilated from common-sense reflection and from science. We must put ourselves in the position of the subject who

tries to find his way in this world, and we must remember, first of all, that the environment by which he is influenced and to which he adapts himself, is *his* world, not the objective world of science — is nature and society as he sees them, not as the scientist sees them. The individual subject reacts only to his experience, and his experience is not everything that an absolutely objective observer might find in the portion of the world within the individual's reach, but only what the individual himself finds. And what he finds depends upon his practical attitudes toward his environment, the demands he makes upon it and his control over it, the wishes he seeks to satisfy and the way in which he tries to satisfy them. His world thus widens with the development of his demands and his means of control, and the process of this widening involves two essential phases — the introduction of new complexities of data into the sphere of his experience and the definition of new situations within those complexities.

The first phase is characterized by an essential vagueness. The situation is quite undetermined; even if there are already in the individual wishes which will give significance to the new data, they are not sufficiently determined with regard to these data, and the complexity is not ordered, values are not outlined, their relations are not established. In the second phase the situation becomes definite, the wish is crystallized and objectified, and the individual begins to control his new experience. Now, the sphere of experience in which new situations can be defined by the temperament alone does not include social life at all. It includes only internal organic processes and such external experiences as are directly connected with the satisfaction of organic needs and the avoidance of

physical danger. Of course this sphere is also continually extended, chiefly during the period between birth and maturity, and its extension, as we know from observation and from direct consciousness of such processes as the development and satisfaction of sexual instincts, has also the two periods of vague perception of a chaos of new data and gradual definition of new situations. But all the material with which the temperament deals has one essential limitation: it includes only natural objects, whose significance for the individual is determined by their sensual content. Meanwhile the social values are significant as much or more because of the meaning they have for other individuals or for the group. For example, a material object outside of social life and in relation to organic needs may be significant on account of its sensual qualities, as food, as shelter, as source of possible pain, etc. In social life it acquires through its meaning for others ideal qualities which make it an economic value (object of exchange), a source of vanity, a weapon in a fight for some other value, etc. A word outside of social life is a mere sound, perhaps helping to foresee possible danger or satisfaction; in social life it has a meaning, it points to experiences common to many individuals and known as common by all of them. A painting as natural object is a piece of canvas with colors, perhaps suggesting by association the things represented; in social life it has a new meaning; it stands for the ideas and emotions of the painter himself, the critics, the crowd of observers, etc. An individual of the other sex is naturally chiefly a body, object of physical satisfaction; socially it is also a conscious being with an experience of its own and a personality which has to be adapted to the subject's own personality or to which

the subject has to adapt himself. And so on. This is why social psychology, while rejecting the old conception of individual consciousness as closed receptacle or series of conscious data or happenings, cannot accept as its methodological basis the principles recently developed by the behavioristic school. The behavior of an individual as social personality is not scientifically reducible to sensually observable movements and cannot be explained on the ground of the direct experience of the observing psychologist; the movements (including words) must be interpreted in terms of intentions, desires, emotions, etc. — in a word, in terms of attitudes — and the explanation of any particular act of personal behavior must be sought on the ground of the experience of the behaving individual which the observer has indirectly to reconstruct by way of conclusions from what is directly given to him. We cannot neglect the meanings, the suggestions which objects have for the conscious individual, because it is these meanings which determine the individual's behavior; and we cannot explain these meanings as mere abbreviations of the individual's past acts of biological adaptation to his material environment — as manifestations of organic memory — because the meanings to which he reacts are not only those which material things have assumed for him as a result of his own past organic activities, but also those which these things have acquired long ago in society and which the individual is taught to understand during his whole education as conscious member of a social group.

The biological being and his behavior represent therefore nothing but the limit dividing natural from social life; the individual is an object-matter of social psychology only in so far as his activities are above

this limit, imply on his part a conscious realization of existing social meanings and require from the scientist an indirect reconstruction of his attitudes. Therefore this limit itself must be defined by social psychology in terms of attitudes, and the concept of temperamental attitudes serves precisely this purpose. An individual with nothing but his biological formation, or — in social terms — with nothing but his temperamental attitudes, is not yet a social personality, but is able to become one. In the face of the world of social meanings he stands powerless; he is not even conscious of the existence of this reality, and when the latter manifests itself to him in changes of the material reality upon which his instincts bear, he is quite lost and either passively submits to the unexpected, or aimlessly revolts. Such is the position of the animal or the infant in human society; and a similar phenomenon repeats itself on a smaller scale whenever an individual on a low level of civilization gets in touch with a higher civilized environment, a worldling with a body of specialists, a foreigner with an autochthonic society, etc. In fact, human beings for the most part never suspect the existence of innumerable meanings — scientific, artistic, moral, political, economic — and a field of social reality whose meanings the individual does not know, even if he can observe its sensual contents, is as much out of the reach of his practical experience as the other side of the moon.

In order to become a social personality in any domain the individual must therefore not only realize the existence of the social meanings which objects possess in this domain, but also learn how to adapt himself to the demands which society puts upon him from the standpoint of these meanings and how to control these

meanings for his personal purposes; and since meanings imply conscious thought, he must do this by conscious reflection, not by mere instinctive adaptations of reflexes. In order to satisfy the social demands put upon his personality he must reflectively organize his temperamental attitudes; in order to obtain the satisfaction of his own demands, he must develop intellectual methods for the control of social reality in place of the instinctive ways which are sufficient to control natural reality. And this effective reorganization of temperamental attitudes leads, as we have seen, to character, while the parallel development of intellectual methods of controlling social reality leads to a life-organization, which is nothing but the totality of these methods at work in the individual's social career.

The practical problem which the individual faces in constructing a life-organization has only in so far a similarity with the problem of biological control of the living being's natural environment as the solution of both implies a certain stabilization of individual experiences, the realization of a certain more or less permanent order within that sphere of reality which the individual controls. But the nature of this stability, of this permanent order, is essentially different in both cases — a difference which has been obliterated by the indistinct use of the term "habit" to indicate any uniformities of behavior. This term should be restricted to the biological field. A habit, inherited or acquired, is the tendency to repeat the same act in similar material conditions. The stabilization reached through habit involves no conscious, purposeful regulation of new experiences, but merely the tendency to find in new experiences old elements which will enable the living being to react to them in an old way. This tendency

is unreflective; reflection arises only when there is disappointment, when new experiences cannot be practically assimilated to the old ones. But this form of stability can work only when the reality to which the individual has to adjust is entirely constituted by sensually given contents and relations. It is evidently insufficient when he has to take social meanings into account, interpret his experience not exclusively in terms of his own needs and wishes, but also in terms of the traditions, customs, beliefs, aspirations of his social milieu. Thus the introduction of any stable order into experience requires continual reflection, for it is impossible even to realize whether a certain experience is socially new or old without consciously interpreting the given content — an object, a movement, a word — and realizing what social meaning it possesses. However stable a social milieu may be, its stability can never be compared with that of a physical milieu; social situations never spontaneously repeat themselves, every situation is more or less new, for every one includes new human activities differently combined. The individual does not find passively ready situations exactly similar to past situations; he must consciously define every situation as similar to certain past situations, if he wants to apply to it the same solution applied to those situations. And this is what society expects him to do when it requires of him a stable life-organization; it does not want him to react instinctively in the same way to the same material conditions, but to construct reflectively similar social situations even if material conditions vary. The uniformity of behavior it tends to impose upon the individual is not a uniformity of organic habits but of consciously followed *rules*. The individual, in order to control social reality

for his needs, must develop not series of uniform reactions, but general *schemes* of situations; his life-organization is a set of rules for definite situations, which may be even expressed in abstract formulas. Moral principles, legal prescription, economic forms, religious rites, social customs, etc., are examples of schemes.

The definiteness of attitudes attained in character and the corresponding schematization of social data in life-organization admit, however, a wide scale of gradation with regard to one point of fundamental importance, — the range of possibilities of further development remaining open to the individual after the stabilization. This depends on the nature of the attitudes involved in the character and of the schemes of life-organization, and also on the way in which both are unified and systematized. And here three typical cases can be distinguished.

The set of attitudes constituting the character may be such as practically to exclude the development of any new attitude in the given conditions of life, because the reflective attitudes of an individual have attained so great a fixity that he is accessible to only a certain class of influences — those constituting the most permanent part of his social milieu. The only possibilities of evolution then remaining open to the individual are the slow changes brought by age in himself and by time in his social milieu, or a change of conditions so radical as to destroy at once the values to whose influence he was adapted and presumably his own character. This is the type which has found its expression in literature as the "Philistine." It is opposed to the "Bohemian," whose possibilities of evolution are not closed, simply because his character remains unformed. Some of his temperamental attitudes are in their

primary form, others may have become intellectualized but remain unrelated to each other, do not constitute a stable and systematized set, and do not exclude any new attitude, so that the individual remains open to any and all influences. As opposed to both these types we find the third type of the individual whose character is settled and organized but involves the possibility and even the necessity of evolution, because the reflective attitudes constituting it include a tendency to change, regulated by plans of productive activity, and the individual remains open to such influences as will be in line of his preconceived development. This is the type of the creative individual.

A parallel distinction must be made with regard to the schemes of social situations constituting the life-organization. The ability to define every situation which the individual meets in his experience is not necessarily a proof of intellectual superiority; it may mean simply a limitation of claims and interests and a stability of external conditions which do not allow any radically new situations to be noticed, so that a few narrow schemes are sufficient to lead the individual through life, simply because he does not see problems on his way which demand new schemes. This type of schemes constitutes the common stock of social traditions in which every class of situation is defined in the same way once and forever. These schemes harmonize perfectly with the Philistine's character and therefore the Philistine is always a conformist, usually accepting social tradition in its most stable elements. Of course every important and unexpected change in the conditions of life results for such an individual in a disorganization of activity. As long as he can he still applies the old schemes, and up to a

certain point his old definition of new situations may be sufficient to allow him to satisfy his claims if the latter are low, although he cannot compete with those who have higher claims and more efficient schemes. But as soon as the results of his activity become unsuccessful even in his own eyes, he is entirely lost; the situation becomes for him completely vague and undetermined, he is ready to accept any definition that may be suggested to him and is unable to keep any permanent line of activity. This is the case with any conservative and intellectually limited member of a stable community, whatever may be his social class, when he finds himself transferred into another community or when his own group undergoes some rapid and sudden change.

Opposed to this type we find an undetermined variation of schemes in the life of all the numerous species of the Bohemian. The choice of the scheme by a Bohemian depends on his momentary standpoint, and this may be determined either by some outburst of a primary temperamental attitude or by some isolated character-attitude which makes him subject to some indiscriminately accepted influence. In either case inconsistency is the essential feature of his activity. But on the other hand he shows a degree of adaptability to new conditions quite in contrast with the Philistine, though his adaptability is only provisional and does not lead to a new systematic life-organization.

But adaptability to new situations and diversity of interest are even compatible with a consistency of activity superior to that which tradition can give if the individual builds his life-organization not upon the presumption of the immutability of his sphere of social values, but upon the tendency to modify and to enlarge

it according to some definite aims. These may be purely intellectual or æsthetic, and in this case the individual searches for new situations to be defined simply in order to widen and to perfect his knowledge or his æsthetic interpretation and appreciation; or his aims may be "practical," in any sense of the term — hedonistic, economical, political, moral, religious — and then the individual searches for new situations in order to widen the control of his environment, to adapt to his purposes a continually increasing sphere of social reality. This is the creative man.

The Philistine, the Bohemian and the creative man are the three fundamental forms of personal determination toward which social personalities tend in their evolution. None of these forms is ever completely and absolutely realized by a human individual in all lines of activity; there is no Philistine who lacks completely Bohemian tendencies, no Bohemian who is not a Philistine in certain respects, no creative man who is fully and exclusively creative and does not need some Philistine routine in certain lines to make creation in other lines practically possible, and some Bohemianism in order to be able to reject occasionally such fixed attitudes and social regulations as hinder his progress, even if he should be unable at the time to substitute for them any positive organization in the given line. But while pure Philistinism, pure Bohemianism and pure creativeness represent only ideal limits of personal evolution, the process of personal evolution grows to be more and more definite as it progresses, so that, while the form which a human personality will assume is not determined in advance, either by the individual's temperament or by his social milieu, his future becomes more and more determined by the very course of his

development; he approaches more and more to Philistinism, Bohemianism or creativeness and thereby his possibilities of becoming something else continually diminish.

These three general types — limits of personal evolution — include, of course, an indefinite number of variations, depending on the nature of the attitudes by which characters are constituted and on the schemes composing the life-organization of social individuals. If we wished therefore to classify human personalities on the ground of the limits of development to which they tend, our task would be very difficult, if not impossible, for we should have to take characters and life-organizations separately in all their varieties into account. In each of these three fundamental types similar characters may correspond to indefinitely varying life-organizations and similar life-organizations to indefinitely varying characters. But, as we have seen, the problem is to study characters and life-organizations not in their static abstract form, but in their dynamic concrete development. And both character and life-organization — the subjective and the objective side of the personality — develop together. For an attitude can become stabilized as a part of the reflective character only under the influence of a scheme of behavior, and *vice versa*, the construction or acceptance of a scheme demands that an attitude be stabilized as a part of character. Every process of personal evolution consists, therefore, in a complex evolutionary series in which social schemes, acting upon pre-existing attitudes, produce new attitudes in such a way that the latter represent a determination of the temperamental tendencies with regard to the social world, a realization in a conscious form of the character-possibilities which

the individual brings with him; and these new attitudes, with their intellectual continuity, acting upon pre-existing sets of social values in the sphere of individual experiences produce new values in such a way that every production of a value represents at the same time a definition of some vague situation, and this is a step toward the constitution of some consistent scheme of behavior. In the continual interaction between the individual and his environment we can say neither that the individual is the product of his milieu nor that he produces his milieu; or rather, we can say both. For the individual can indeed develop only under the influence of his environment, but on the other hand during his development he modifies this environment by defining situations and solving them according to his wishes and tendencies. His influence upon the environment may be scarcely noticeable socially, may have little importance for others, but it is important for himself, since, as we have said, the world in which he lives is not the world as society or the scientific observer sees it but as he sees it himself. In various cases we may find various degrees of dependence upon the environment, conditioned by the primary qualities of the individual and the type of social organization. The individual is relatively dependent upon society in his evolution, if he develops mainly such attitudes as lead to dependence, which is then due both to his temperamental dispositions and to the fact that the organization of society is such as to enforce by various means individual subjection; he is relatively independent if in his evolution he develops attitudes producing independence, which again results from certain primary tendencies determined by a social organization which favors individual spontaneity. And thus both dependence and

independence are gradual products of an evolution which is due originally to reciprocal interaction; the individual cannot become exclusively dependent upon society without the help of his own disposition, nor become independent of society without the help of social influences. The fundamental principles of personal evolution must be sought therefore both in the individual's own nature and in his social milieu.

We find, indeed, two universal traits manifested in all individual attitudes, instinctive or intellectual, which form the condition of both development and conservatism. In the reflex system of all the higher organisms are two powerful tendencies which in their most distinct and explicit form manifest themselves as curiosity and fear. Without curiosity, that is, an interest in new situations in general, the animal would not live; to neglect the new situation might mean either that he was about to be eaten or that he was missing his chance for food. And fear with its contrary tendency to avoid certain experiences for the sake of security is equally essential to life. To represent these two permanent tendencies as they become parts of character in the course of the social development of a personality we shall use the terms "*desire for new experience*" and '*desire for stability*." These two tendencies in every permanent attitude manifest themselves in the rythmical form which conscious life assumes in every line. When consciousness embraces only a short span of activities, the rhythm expresses itself in the alternation of single wishes or appetites with repose. The satisfaction of hunger or of sexual desire and the subsequent wish for uninterrupted calm are the most general examples. On a higher level these tendencies manifest themselves with regard to much more complex and

longer series of facts. The desire for stability extends to a whole period of regular alternations of activity and rest from which new experiences are relatively excluded; the desire for new experience finds its expression in the break of such a whole line of regulated activities. And the range and complexity of both stability and change may have many degrees. Thus, for example, stability may mean the possibility of a single series of satisfactions of hunger in a certain restaurant, of a week's relation with an individual of the other sex, of a few days' stay in one place during travel, of a certain kind of work in an office; or it may lie in the possibility of such an organization of money-affairs as gives the certainty of always getting food, of a permanent marriage-relation, settling permanently in one place, a life career, etc. And new experience may mean change of restaurant, change of the temporary sexual relation, change of the kind of work within the same office, the resuming of travel, the acquiring of wealth, getting a divorce, developing a Don Juan attitude toward women, change of career or speciality, development of amateur or sporting interests, etc.

On the individual side, then, alternation of the desire for new experience and of the desire for security is the fundamental principle of personal evolution, as including both the development of a character and of a life-organization. On the social side the essential point of this evolution lies in the fact that the individual living in society has to fit into a pre-existing social world, to take part in the hedonistic, economic, political, religious, moral, æsthetic, intellectual activities of the group. For these activities the group has objective *systems*, more or less complex sets of schemes, organized either by traditional association or with a conscious

regard to the greatest possible efficiency of the result, but with only a secondary, or even with no interest in the particular desires, abilities and experiences of the individuals who have to perform these activities. The latter feature of the social systems results, of course, from the fact that the systems have to regulate identically the activities of many individuals at once, and that they usually last longer than the period of activity of an individual, passing from generation to generation. The gradual establishment of a determined relation between these systems which constitute together the social organization of the civilized life of a group, and individual character and life-organization in the course of their progressive formation, is the central problem of the social control of personal evolution. And social control — which, when applied to personal evolution, may be called "social education" — manifests itself also in the duality of two opposite tendencies: the tendency to suppress in the course of personal evolution, any attitudes or values which are either directly in disharmony with the existing social organization or seem to be the starting-points of lines of genesis which are expected to lead to socially disharmonious consequences; and the tendency to develop by adequately influencing personal evolution features of character and schemes of situations required by the existing social systems.

There is, of course, no pre-existing harmony whatever between the individual and the social factors of personal evolution, and the fundamental tendencies of the individual are always in some disaccordance with the fundamental tendencies of social control. Personal evolution is always a struggle between the individual and society — a struggle for self-expression on the part

of the individual, for his subjection on the part of society — and it is in the total course of this struggle that the personality — not as a static "essence" but as a dynamic, continually evolving set of activities — manifests and constructs itself. The relative degree of the desire for new experience and the desire for stability necessary for and compatible with the progressive incorporation of a personality into a social organization is dependent on the nature of individual interests and of the social systems. Thus, different occupations allow for more or less change, as in the cases of the artist and the factory workman; and a many-sided dilletante needs and can obtain more new experiences than a specialist; single life usually makes more new experiences along certain lines possible and demands less stabilization than married life; political co-operation with the conservative part of a group brings less change than taking part in a revolutionary movement. And in modern society in general there is an increasing tendency to appreciate change, as compared with the appreciation of stability in the ancient and mediæval worlds. For every system within a given group and at a certain time there is a maximum and a minimum of change and of stability permissible and required. The widening of this range and the increase of the variety of systems are, of course, favorable to individual self-expression within the socially permitted limits. Thus, the whole process of development of the personality as ruled in various proportions by the desire for new experience and the desire for stability on the individual side, by the tendency to suppress and the tendency to develop personal possibilities on the social side, includes the following parallel and interdependent processes:

(1) Determination of the character on the ground of the temperament;

(2) Constitution of a life-organization which permits a more or less complete objective expression of the various attitudes included in the character;

(3) Adaptation of the character to social demands put upon the personality;

(4) Adaptation of individual life-organization to social organization.

1. We know already that the development of temperamental attitudes into character-attitudes can assume many different directions, so that, if the proper influences were exercised from the beginning, a wide range of characters, theoretically any possible character, might be evolved out of any temperament. But the directions which evolution must take in order to produce a determined attitude out of a pre-existing one become more and more limited with the fixation of character; in a systematically unified "consistent" character every fixed attitude would exclude the contrary one, and some degree of consistency appears as soon as the character begins to be formed. With the progressive evolution of the personality the means of developing a given character become therefore less and less numerous and it may be finally practically impossible to carry the development of certain attitudes to their end, for the process necessary to develop them might be so long and complicated as to be impracticable. Thus, it might be possible to produce a sweet and

even a meek character out of an irascible temperament by developing first, for example, a strong altruistic disposition, to which in turn the way might lead through the desire for social response. But if in the development of the personality other attitudes were gradually formed contrary to the desire for response or to altruism, such as desire for solitude, pride, etc., the original irascibility might be still subdued by other influences, but certainly it would be impossible to produce sweetness. Assuming now that we are determined to produce the latter, then we must be careful not to allow any temperamental possibilities to realize themselves which may be contrary either to this attitude itself or to any of the attitudes which the individual must evolve in order to attain this stage. The more opposition there is between the original temperamental attitude and the one that we want to develop, the longer the process, the more the intermediary stages to be passed, and the greater the number of necessary suppressions.

But in actual social life the mechanism of suppression is not used in this detailed way and the motives of suppression are not in the main those which we have outlined. The possible attitudes which the members of the group wish to suppress are usually those whose direct expression in action would, in the social opinion, be harmful, rather than those which are contrary to the development of other useful ones. The control exercised by the group is negative much more than positive, tends to destroy much more than to construct, for reasons which we shall investigate presently. And even when it wishes to construct, it often assumes, implicitly or explicitly, that when an undesirable attitude is suppressed, the contrary desirable one will develop. And, of course, if there is in individual temperament

a possibility of the desirable attitude, this supposition may be true. But the point is that by suppressing an attitude, whether for the sake of some other more desirable one or through fear of its undesirable manifestations, we suppress at the same time all the possible lines of a further evolution that may have started from the suppressed attitude and resulted in something very desirable. The earlier the suppression, the greater the number of possibilities destroyed and the greater the resulting limitation of the personality. Well-known examples are the suppression of the adventurous spirit and of the critical tendency in children.

The mechanism of suppression is double. A temperamental possibility not yet conscious is suppressed if given no opportunity to manifest itself in any situation, for only through such manifestations can it become explicit and be evolved into a character-attitude. This form of suppression is attained by an isolation of the individual from all experiences that may give stimulation to endeavors to define situations by the undesirable tendency. The suppression of sexual attitudes and of free thought in religious matters are good examples of this mechanism. The second course, used when an attitude is already manifested, in order to prevent its further development and stabilization, is suppression by negative sanction; a negative value — punishment or blame — is attached to the manifestation of the attitude, and by lack of manifestation the attitude cannot evolve. But both mechanisms are in fact only devices for postponing the development of the undesirable attitude until a character is fixed including the contrary attitudes, and it is only this fixation which does suppress the undesirable attitude definitively.

But suppression is not always a necessary consequence of the evolution of character from temperament. Attitudes need to be suppressed only when they are inadequately qualified and thus interfere with more desirable ones when meeting in the same field of social experience. For example, unqualified spirit of adventure and a tendency to regulated life, unqualified sexual desire and claims of social respectability, unqualified wish for pleasures and recognition of familial obligations are, indeed, more or less irreconcilable with each other. But one of the fundamental points of the development of character from temperament is precisely the qualification of attitudes with respect to definite social contents, and if this qualification begins in time and the attitudes are determined with sufficient precision, there may be no opposition between them at all and none of them needs to be socially harmful.

The principle that permits the harmonizing of opposite attitudes without impairing the consistency of character is, in general, distinction of applicability of attitudes. The situations involved must, of course, be classed in advance so that certain features of a given complex of values may be a sufficient criterion for the application of one attitude or another. Many criteria are given by social tradition; the conventionalization of certain attitudes in certain circumstances permits of their preservation together with others to which they are opposed. The criteria are of various kinds. They may consist, for example, in a time-limitation. Vacation is considered a time when some of the spirit of adventure suppressed during the year may be expressed. Or it may be a limitation in space, as when certain behavior is permitted at a certain place, like

the dropping of social forms and the relative freedom of relations between the sexes at bathing resorts. Sometimes the occasion is ceremonial, as in the hilarity of evening parties and the drinking at social meetings. On other occasions a certain attitude is assumed to be excluded from situations to which without the conventionalization it would apply. Thus, the sexual attitude is theoretically not applied to passages in the Bible bearing on sexual questions, or to an artist's model, or in medical studies and investigations and in legal works. More important cases of conventionalization are found when a whole line of organized activities, with the corresponding attitudes, is permitted under circumstances carefully circumscribed and usually designated by some social symbol. Thus, marriage is a conventionalization of the woman's — to some extent also the man's — system of sexual attitudes, besides being a familial organization. War is the conventionalization of murder, plundering and arson, diplomacy a conventionalization of cheating and treachery. Freedom of theoretic investigation has attained a social conventionalization in the physical sciences but not yet in human sciences — philosophy, sociology, history, history of literature, economics.

In every case the dividing line between the fields of applicability of two contrary attitudes can be drawn by or for the individual even if no general rules of division are laid down by society. The only difficulty is that every attitude if allowed to develop freely tends to an exclusive domination of the whole field of experience to which it can be applied. Of course this is not true of every attitude of every individual, but there is probably not a single attitude which does not in somebody tend to assume such an importance as to conflict

with others. The principle of right measure and harmony of virtues, developed by Greek ethics, expressed precisely the need of such a limitation of attitudes. But it is evident that with a proper limitation no attitude needs to be suppressed and all the temperamental possibilities can be allowed to develop without leading to internal contradictions and impairing the consistency of character. The principle through which any attitude can be made not only socially harmless but even useful, is *sublimation*. It consists in turning the attitude exclusively toward situations that have in them an element endowed with social sacredness. We cannot analyze the latter concept now; we shall do it another time. At present it is enough to point out that an object is socially sacred when it provokes in members of the group an attitude of reverence and when it can be profaned in the eyes of social opinion, by being connected with some other object. There are many degrees of social sacredness; an object that may appear as sacred in comparison with another may be itself a source of profanation of a third. Thus, business has a feature of sacredness which becomes manifest when it is interfered with by frivolous things like drinking or the company of women of the demi-monde; but its sacredness is not very high since it can easily appear as profane when it interferes with scientific or religious interests. And even so highly sacred an object as a scientific congress or a formal religious meeting may seem profane as compared with a particularly eager and difficult pursuit by the individual of the solution of a great theoretic problem, the ecstasy of a mystic, or the preservation of the society itself from destruction or devastation by an alien enemy. And of course the degree of sacredness attached to different objects varies

from group to group and from time to time, and some still current contrarieties, such as the fight for superiority of sacredness between art and morality, religion and science, patriotism and internationalism, show that in certain lines a general understanding even within a single group may be hardly possible at a given moment. But in spite of all these variations of sacredness there are, from this point of view, higher and lower forms possible for every attitude, dependent on the relative degree of sacredness of the situations which it defines. Thus, the spirit of adventure may manifest itself in a criminal's career, in a cow-boy's or trapper's life, in the activity of a detective, in geographical or ethnographical exploration; the desire for money, in stealing, gambling, "living by one's wits," commercial activity, great industrial organization; the sexual attitude may manifest itself in association with prostitutes, in relations, short but not devoid of individualization, with many girls and married women, in an ordinary marriage for the sake of the regulation of sexual life; in romantic love, in artistic creation, in religious mysticism. Even such attitudes as seem essentially harmful, as the desire of shedding blood, may become sublimated; the butcher's activity represents a lower degree of sublimation, surgery the highest.

To sublimate an attitude we must develop an appreciation of its higher forms, which then becomes a factor of evolution and eventually results in a depreciation of its lower manifestations. The feeling of social sacredness can arise in the individual only in close contact with a group which has definite standards of sacredness; more than any other feeling it needs a continual and permeating influence of social opinion and is likely to be lost without the support of the en-

vironment. But the social group does not always provide ready methods for the sublimation of all the attitudes which need this stimulation; its standards of sacredness are incomplete, often contradictory, and not extended to *all* the values to which they ought to be applied. The individual's own initiative must therefore supplement the social influences. When the feeling of social sacredness is once strongly developed with regard to a larger number of values the individual will be able to sublimate spontaneously social attitudes whose sublimation is not provided for by social tradition, by extending old standards of social sacredness to new values or by creating new standards. And as he needs social support to maintain his new valuations, he will try to convert his environment, to impart to others his reverence for things whose sacredness they have failed to recognize.

The principles of discrimination of situations to which contrary attitudes should be applied and of sublimation of socially forbidden attitudes allow a rich and consistent character to develop without suppressions from any source, temperamental or social. The individual spontaneously tries to preserve his temperamental attitudes, and as he can do this only by removing contradictions between attitudes contending for supremacy and by sublimating attitudes that can find no expression in his milieu, and since society never gives him all the ready conventions and the whole hierarchy of sacredness that he needs, he is naturally led to create new discriminations and new valuations, and becomes a creative type simply by fully developing all of his possibilities. The only task of social culture is to prepare him for this creation by teaching him the mechanism of discrimination and sublimation in general, and

not interfering with his efforts to preserve all that he is able to preserve of his individuality. It is the suppression that produces the two other fundamental characters, the Philistine and the Bohemian. If society is successful in repressing all the possibilities that seem directly or indirectly dangerous until a character is formed which excludes them once and forever, then the product tends to be an individual for whom there are no problems of self-development left, no internal contradictions to solve, no external oppositions to overcome — a limited, stable, self-satisfied Philistine. If, on the contrary, the suppression is unsuccessful and the rebellious attitudes break out before a sufficiently stable set of contrary attitudes is formed, the individual is unprepared to meet the problems that arise, unable to discriminate or to sublimate, and an inconsistent, non-conformist, Bohemian type develops, which in its highest form, as artist, thinker, religious reformer, social revolutionist, may even succeed in producing, but whose products will always lack the internal harmony and social importance of the true creative type.

2. The construction of a life-organization in conformity with individual character may go on in two typically different ways. There may be ready social schemes which are imposed upon the individual, or the latter may develop his schemes himself, in agreement or non-agreement with those prevailing in his social environment. In the first case the scheme is usually given to the individual in an abstract form or through concrete examples, and then he is taught to apply it to the various situations which he meets by chance or which are especially created for him. In the second case he works out himself a definition of every new

situation in conformity with his existing attitude, which grows in definiteness as the solved situation acts back upon it, and out of these definitions he gradually constructs a schematism.

Education gives us many examples of the first method. The inculcation of every moral norm, precept of behavior, logical rule, etc., follows this course. The formula or example is easily communicated; the difficulty begins with its application. It may happen that the individual has already defined situations spontaneously as the rule demands; then he accepts gladly the formulation of his own behavior which solves in advance the problem of reconciling this part of his life-organization with the social organization of the group. The well-known educational device is precisely to find among the individual's own actions such as are in accordance with the rule and then to state the rule as an induction from his own behavior. This is really an introduction of the second method, the one of spontaneous development, into the field of education. More frequently it happens that the individual has the attitude necessary to define situations in accordance with the rule, but the attitude lacks the determination that it needs to express itself in action, has not attained the consciousness of its social object enabling it to pass from the sphere of temperament into that of character. If then the individual has one or two situations defined for him it is enough to make him imitate this definition in the future and accept the scheme as a rule of behavior.

But the most common case is the one where the individual lacks the attitude which the social scheme demands. This is very general in the education of youth, where attitudes are developed progressively and the social group does not wait — and frequently

cannot wait — for their spontaneous development, but forces the process so as to fit young people promptly into a social framework and have as little trouble with them as possible. Another general cause of the frequent failure of the social schemes to find ready response in the individual is their uniformity and stiffness. The social schematism is not adapted to the variety of individuals but to the artificial production of a minimum of uniformity. And even when this is successful the attitudes tend to evolve, not only in single individuals but also in the whole group, and this evolution is continuous, while the schemes can be changed only discontinuously, and so they remain behind — occasionally run ahead of — the social reality which they tend to express. From all these causes comes the continual and in a large measure fruitless effort to adapt the content of social life to its form — to produce attitudes to fit the schemes, while the contrary and more important process must be left largely to the individuals themselves.

The adaptation of attitudes to schemes may be pursued by two methods. The representatives of the social environment can try to develop the attitude on the basis of some existing attitude by applying such social laws as may be known. This would be the normal and successful method, but though it is sometimes applied, its success is now quite accidental, because, as we have indicated in the methodological note to Volume I, social technique is at present in a purely empirical stage, for there are scarcely any social laws definitely demonstrated. The only domain in which some consistent success has been obtained by this method is theoretic instruction. There at least it is clearly recognized that it is vain to try to force the

individual to accept schemes, to define situations, to state and solve problems for which he has not yet the necessary preparation, and that new mental attitudes must be developed in a certain determined order and gradually. By the second and more usual method the individual is forced to define situations according to the imposed scheme, because to every situation coming under the scheme some sanction is added, some value which appeals to an existing attitude of the individual. But if the sanction is a more or less successful device in suppressing temporarily the manifestation of undesirable attitudes until character is formed, it proves quite unsuccessful in developing desirable ones. The situation to which the sanction is added is quite different from what it would have been without the sanction; the scheme accepted is really not the scheme that society wanted to impose, but a different one, consisting fundamentally in an adaptation to the sanction, and the individual develops not the attitude demanded, but another one, a modification of the attitude provoked by the sanction. Thus — to take a familiar type of cases — by inducing the individual to comply with a moral norm through the fear of punishment or the hope of reward the idea of punishment or reward is added to every situation which demands the application of the moral norm. Then the situation is not the moral situation as such, but the moral situation *plus* the idea of punishment or reward; the scheme is not a moral scheme, but a scheme of prudence, a solution of the problem of avoiding punishment or of meriting reward; the attitude developed is not the moral attitude, but the fear of punishment or the hope of reward qualified by the given moral part of the situation.

When the individual constructs his life-organization

himself instead of having it imposed upon him by society, his problem always consists, as we have already seen, in the determination of the vague. Any new situation is always vague and its definition demands not only intellectual analysis of the objective data but determination of the attitude itself, which becomes explicit and distinct only by manifesting itself in action. The definition of the new situation is therefore possible only if a new corresponding attitude can directly arise out of some preceding one, as its qualification or modification in view of the new values, and this determination of the attitude is in turn possible only if the new situation can be defined on the ground of some analogy with known situations — as an old problem viewed from a new standpoint. This explains why an entirely new situation which has no analogies in the past experience of the individual remains practically undefined even if it is understood theoretically; the individual may know all the values that are there, he may know how others define such a situation, and still all this remains practically meaningless to him. But when the scheme has once been formed it becomes itself a great help in developing new attitudes and defining situations in a new way. As long as the scheme is not there the new elements appearing in individual character and experience are not sufficiently noticed. There is still a lingering of the past, a conscious or unconscious effort to interpret the new in terms of the old, to consider the recently formed type of behavior as a mere variation of the pre-existing type. The constitution of a new scheme at once makes conscious the evolution that has been accomplished — sometimes even makes the subject exaggerate its importance. In its light the recent changes appear as

examples of a new general line of behavior, acquire an objectivity that they did not possess, for the scheme can be communicated to others, compared with social rules of behavior and can even become a social rule of behavior — for such is the source of every social reform.

The factor making the individual perceive and define new situations is always his own, conscious or subconscious, desire for new experience. There is no external power capable of forcing him to work out a new definition. Even the influence of natural or social sanctions, of punishment following an unsuccessful definition, presupposes some active effort on the part of the individual tending to define the situation in view of the punishment. Even the mere defense against an aggression disturbing a state of security would be impossible without a latent power making the individual face the new situation instead of running away. The usual doctrine that new ways of behavior, new definitions, appear as a result of adaptation to new external conditions is based upon a quite inadequate conception of adaptation. The common idea is that adaptation marks a certain fixed limit to which the individual has to approach, because as long as he has not reached it he is misadapted, and various calamities force him to adapt himself. But where is such a limit? It must be different for various individuals. Napoleon was adapted to the conditions of French life after the revolution, and so was any one of his guards; the honest and solid real estate owner is as well adapted to the conditions of city life as is the successful pick-pocket. And it must change for every individual; the errand-boy who becomes a millionaire is no less adapted to his environment during his youth than in his later life. If adaptation means anything, it can be only a har-

monious relation between individual claims and individual control of the environment; the harmony can be perfect whatever the range of claims and of control. But then the concept of readaptation to a changed environment loses its seeming precision. By an analogy with biological theories, the meaning that is given to readaptation in sociology is usually this, that the individual attains in the new conditions a range of control and claims relatively equal to those he had in the old conditions. This equality is not particularly difficult to determine in biology where for every organism a certain minimum can be fixed and the living being seldom goes far beyond this minimum. But how shall we fix a minimum of claims and control in social life? And without this the meaning of equality of range of adaptation becomes very unclear.

The real point is not adaptation as a state reached at a certain moment, but the process of the widening or narrowing of the sphere of adaptation. And this depends essentially upon the individual himself, not upon his environment. If the individual is satisfied with what he can get out of the given conditions he will not try to set and solve new problems, to see more in the situations he meets than he used to see or to find in his environment a greater complexity of situations than he used to find. The dissatisfaction which the individual feels with what he can get out of given conditions arises frequently, indeed, when an external change makes it impossible to get the same results with the same efforts, but even then the individual may as well resign the results as increase his efforts. The course he selects depends on the prevalence of the desire for new experience over the desire for stability, the first pushing him to find new methods and to widen

the sphere of activity in order to preserve the old claims, the second tending to preserve the old form and range of activity in spite of the changed conditions and to be satisfied with the results that can be obtained in this way. But in modern human society dissatisfaction with the given is far more frequently expressed as desire for the new, and even external changes in the given conditions are often only an unconscious or conscious pretext to satisfy this desire by justifying the individual in leaving these conditions for others. A typical example is emigration. Thus, in Poland the conditions of the peasants' life are now much better, in spite of the rapid increase of population with which the growth of cities does not keep pace, than they were fifty years ago. But the subjective tendencies are not the same. A desire for economic progress has arisen, the opening of new fields for the satisfaction of this desire provokes a latent dissatisfaction with the old life, and the slightest change for the worse, which could be remedied with a little effort, is often enough to make the peasant start to America.

With the formation of schemes it is different. A new scheme which the individual finds to express his new way of defining situations is not the result of the desire for new experience, but, on the contrary, the result of the desire for stability. Behavior that is not schematized, not generalized, but is or seems to be different from moment to moment and in disaccordance with the previously recognized rules calls after a time for recognition and justification, provokes a desire for a settlement. Moreover there are always plans to be made for the future requiring a conscious stabilization of the individual's own activity. And thus, even independently of social demands which make the individual

search for security in determined systems and which we shall study presently, the individual, after a longer or shorter period during which new forms of behavior are developed, wants to fix his acquisition in a stable formula. And when such a moment comes, if the individual is unable to create his own scheme, he is ready to accept any one that is given to him and expresses more or less adequately his new way of defining situations. This explains such striking cases as the sudden "conversion" of individuals whose intellectual level is much above the doctrine to which they are converted, the influence that people of a limited intellectual power but of strong convictions can occasionally exercise over much more profound, but doubting personalities, and the incomprehensible social success of self-satisfied mediocrities during periods of intellectual unrest. Anything may become preferable to mental uncertainty.

Although there seems to be little difference between the schemes spontaneously created or selected by the individual and the schemes imposed by society, in the sense that both correspond to the way in which the individual actually does define situations, the different processes of development lead to the formation of quite opposite life-organizations. It is clear that if the individual learns to adapt his attitudes to the schemes given him he will always be dependent upon society and its ready schemes, and if society succeeds in imposing upon him a complete life-organization and in adapting his character to this, no further development will be possible for him unless his environment works out some new scheme; but even then it will be difficult for him to adapt himself to this new scheme in the degree that his life-organization and character have become stabilized.

Or if he is temperamentally inclined to change he will pass from one form of behavior to another according to the schemes that actually happen to come in his way. A Philistine or Bohemian life-organization is thus the necessary result of this process in which schemes are imposed and attitudes are made to fit them. Bolshevism is really nothing but the disorganization of a society that was organized exclusively for Philistinism. On the contrary the individual who has learned to work out new schemes spontaneously will not be stopped in his evolution by the non-existence of a ready scheme nor disorganized at periods of social crisis, but will be able to construct progressively better schemes to suit his spontaneous evolution. His desire for stability itself will lead him not to a limitation of his desire for new experience in conformity with a fixed, externally-given scheme, but to the elaboration of schemes that will be wide and dynamic enough to permit a development of behavior within their limits; we shall study presently the nature of these schemes. Thus an organization of life in view of creation is the result of the spontaneity of the process in which the individual elaborates schemes to fit his developing attitudes.

3. We pass now to the social aspect of the problem of personal evolution. We have seen that the social group tends to fit the individual perfectly into the existing organization and to produce a definite character as rapidly as possible. This character must also be stable, so that no surprises need be anticipated from its future development; simple, so that any member of the group, however limited his mental capacities, can understand it at once; presenting a perfect unity, in spite of the multiplicity of individual activities; based

on attitudes common to all members and socially desirable, so that each member shall appreciate it positively. In other words, in its demands upon personal character society aims to stop individual evolution as early as possible, to limit the complexity of each personality as much as is compatible with the variety of interests which it is required to possess, to exclude all real or apparent irrationality of its manifestations in different fields of social civilization, to reduce the differences between personalities to a minimum compatible with the social division of classes and professions.

The tendency of society to produce such characters in its members is most efficient when the social environment is a primary group in which all his activities are enclosed. In such a group, as, for instance, a peasant community, all the individual interests are supposed to be subordinated to the predominant social interest, because all the values — hedonistic, economic, intellectual, æsthetic — which are within the reach of the individual are included in the stock of civilization of his primary group and controlled by it. Every cultural problem reaches the individual only through the mediacy of this group, which, because of the immediate character of the relations between its members, is for each member the primary and fundamental complex of values; all other values are continually referred to this complex and draw their positive or negative character directly from this reference. The continual tendency of social education in such a group is to have each individual appreciate every object from the standpoint of the attitude of the group toward this object. Every situation is first of all treated as a social situation and only secondarily as an economic, religious, sexual, æsthetic intellectual one.

The adaptation of the individual to the primary group requires, therefore, that all his attitudes be subordinated to those by which the group itself becomes for him a criterion of all values. These fundamental social attitudes are the *desire for response*, corresponding to the family system in the primary group-organization, and the *desire for recognition*, corresponding to the traditionally standardized systems of social values upon which the social opinion of the community bases its appreciations. The desire for response is the tendency to obtain a direct positive personal reaction to an action whose object is another individual; the desire for recognition is the tendency to obtain a direct or indirect positive appreciation of any action, whatever may be its object. The desire for response is the common socio-psychological element of all those attitudes by which an individual tends to adapt himself to the attitudes of other individuals — family affection, friendship, sexual love, humility, personal subordination and imitation, flattery, admirative attachment of inferior to superior, etc. Of course each of the attitudes indicated by these terms is usually more or less compound and contains other elements besides the desire for response. Those other elements may range with regard to their social bearing from the most altruistic and self-sacrificing love of another personality, becoming almost independent of the response actually obtained, to the most calculating and egotistic tendency to use the responses of the other personality as mere instruments for the attainment of social ends; and yet the desire for response as such and independently of its further consequences is hardly ever absent even in the most radical examples of these contradictory attitudes. It is clearly an egotistic attitude and yet it

contains a minimum of altruistic considerations. Its egotistic side makes it the most general and on the average the strongest of all those attitudes by which harmony is maintained and dissension avoided between the members of a group; it may be qualified, therefore, as representing the lowest possible, and yet precisely, therefore, in the large mass of mankind, the most efficient positive type of *emotional morality*.

The desire for recognition is the common element of all those attitudes by which the individual tends to impose the positive appreciation of his personality upon the group by adapting his activities to the social standards of valuation recognized by the group. It is found, more or less connected with other attitudes, in showing-off, pride, honor, feeling of self-righteousness, protection of inferiors, snobbishness, cabotinism, vanity, ambition, etc. It is the most common and most elementary, and probably the strongest factor pushing the individual to realize the highest demands which the group puts upon personal conduct, and, therefore, constitutes probably the primary source of *rational morality*.

These two fundamental social attitudes supplement each other, in normal conditions, in producing the general basis for a unified character, such as is needed in and demanded by the primary group. If they sometimes conflict — as when the desire for recognition impels the individual to ignore the attitudes of his family when its standing in the community is low — the existence of a conflict usually shows a certain disorganization of the primary group itself; as long as the latter is consistent and strong the two fundamental social attitudes are more apt to strengthen each other than to conflict; for instance, family solidarity in the peasant community is one of the grounds of recogni-

tion, and a high recognition shown to a member by the community may produce in the relatives of this member a readiness to respond to him proportionate to the degree in which they are influenced by social opinion.

It is clear that an individual dominated by these attitudes, if he stays permanently within a primary group, can develop the very kind of character which society requires. His personality will be relatively stabilized at an early period — a good example is the precocious maturity of young people of the peasant class — his character will be relatively simple, because primarily constituted by attitudes on the ground of which he can get response and recognition of many members of the group; *i. e.*, by the most average and commonplace attitudes; it will present few, if any, important conflicts, for conflicts appear when the individual has many incompatible interests, whereas here all interests are subordinated to the social interest; finally, it will be positively appreciated by the whole group, since all the members of the latter possess and want to possess in a large measure similar tendencies.

But such a stabilization and unification of character on the ground of the desires for response and recognition becomes more and more rare with the progress of civilization. Even in the still existing primary groups it tends to diminish as members of these groups get in contact with the external world. Every attempt of a member of such a group to define his situations from the standpoint of his hedonistic, economic, religious, intellectual, instead of his social attitudes, is in fact a break in his character, and such attempts become more and more frequent as, through extra-communal

experiences, the individual finds before him situations that are not connected with the primary group — for example, when in the city he has the opportunity of drinking without any ceremonial occasion, when he earns money by hired labor instead of working on the family farm, when he can have a sexual experience without passing through the system of familial courtship, when he learns anything alone by reading and not in common with the whole village from a news-bearer, etc. But since the educational factors of his new environment which might replace those of the old are not at first given him, and he is unable to develop a character by his own efforts, such new experiences destroy the old unity of character without constructing a new one, and we witness partial disorganization from which only gradually new types emerge — the economic climber, the student, etc. And then the problem assumes a new form.

A complex modern society is no longer in all its parts in immediate touch with its members. It is composed, indeed, of small groups whose members are in personal interrelations; but none of these groups can enclose all the interests of the individual, because each one has only a limited and specialized field. Therefore individual character can be no longer unified upon the basis of the general desires for response and recognition, for even if these desires always remain fundamental for social relations, they must be differently qualified in different groups. The kind of response and recognition the individual gets in his family, in his church, in his professional group, in his political party, among his companions in pleasure, varies within very wide limits. It is based now upon the special activities which constitute the object of interest of every special

group. Therefore the ground of the unity of character must now be sought in attitudes corresponding to these activities; the character of the social personality can no longer be unified by a reduction of all special attitudes to a general social basis but by an organization of these attitudes themselves.

But the difficulty is that each limited and specialized social group tends to impose upon every member a specific character corresponding to its particular line of common interests, wants him to be mainly, if not exclusively, a family member, a religious person, a professional, a political party member, a sportsman, a drunkard, etc., and expects his other attitudes to be subordinated to one particular kind of attitude. The individual cannot satisfy completely the claims of any of these groups, and he may either yield to the old social claim that he should possess an early, fixed, stable and simple character upon which society can count, and satisfy completely the claims of a specialized group, or he may reject all claims together. In the first case he can attain a unity of character only at the cost of a narrowness of interests such as no member of a primary group, peasant or savage, ever knows. Examples of this are found among the professional types. Certain occupations, such as military service, school-teaching, the ministry, administrative service in a strongly developed bureaucracy, small shopkeeping, farming, housekeeping, tend to influence character in a measure sufficiently strong to produce types which in their fundamental features are similar in all societies. Occupational groups tend more and more to exclude from the sphere of their interests anything that is not directly connected with their "business," and an individual whose character is formed by a modern profes-

sional group is the narrowest type of Philistine the world has ever seen, particularly if the profession itself does not afford much opportunity for development.[1]

But even so, the narrowness of the occupational type has probably not yet attained the extreme limit it is able to reach — and would reach if evolution went on undisturbed in the same direction as in the last two centuries — because social tradition still preserves some of the remnants of the old primary group conditions, in which the individual is supposed to share all the interests of his social group, and the latter includes a large variety of interests. An occupational group of the type of a mediæval guild, though not satisfying all individual interests as completely as a peasant community, appealed nevertheless to many interests besides the professional ones; it controlled individual character rather tyrannically, imposed a very definite complex of attitudes, but the complex was much less narrow than, for instance, the one which in recent times was imposed upon a Prussian army officer. In the past the occupational group put both negative and positive demands as to what character and interests its members should possess so as to uphold the standing of the group within the larger society of which it was a part by taking a definite standpoint toward the most important social problems, even those which did not belong in the special domain of the group's profession. But this type of occupational group, which seemed to

[1] The exclusive pursuit of certain hedonistic (as distinguished from æsthetic) interests, represented by the gastronomer and seducer, tends, indeed, to produce narrow characters, and men of this type are, in point of fact, often Philistine in their general dispositions, but because of the difficulty of finding groups in which these interests are exclusively pursued, and because of the social condemnation attached to them, they are usually pushed into Bohemianism.

be intermediary between the old primary group and the modern forms of social organization, is clearly decaying everywhere, in spite of the occasional efforts to revive it.

But precisely because of the growing specialization of occupational groups, cases of character formed exclusively by adaptation to one occupational group are becoming less and less frequent. The modern individual usually belongs to different groups, each of which undertakes to organize a certain kind of his attitudes. But it remains true that the way in which these various complexes of attitudes are combined usually shows a complete lack of organization. An individual of this type is a completely different man in his shop, in his family, with his boon companions, preserving his balance by distributing his interests between different social groups, until it is impossible to understand how such a multiplicity of disconnected, often radically conflicting characters, can co-exist in what seems to be one personality. This is a new style Philistinism — the Philistinism of the dissociated personality, amounting to a sort of stabilized Bohemianism. And a striking feature of modern society, showing how little reflective attention is paid to the problem of developing organized and rich human personalities, is the fact that society does not notice this chaotic and mechanical stabilization of the character of its member, provided he shows himself properly adapted to the minimum demands of each of the special groups to which he belongs, and does not give an undue prevalence to one of his particular characters at the expense of others. The weakness of this Philistinism, in spite of the seeming broadness of interests which the Philistine exhibits, shows it-

self at periods of social crisis when old special groups break down. Each such breakdown brings a complete disorganization of the corresponding attitudes. A striking recent example is the sudden decay of intellectual life in American colleges and universities during the present war; all those members whose intellectual attitudes were organized in an exclusive adaptation to the routine of the institution and to the common educational pursuits of their limited intellectual milieu lost temporarily all ability to do productive work as soon as this routine was interrupted and the common pursuits dropped or diminished in vitality — unless they found in war work a milieu with intense common interests of another kind to which they were forced to adapt themselves. A wider and more complex example of a disorganization of individual characters resulting from a dissolution of common standards and pursuits in special groups is the often described and emphasized "lack of character" of the Russian middle and higher classes since the old social interests lost their influence on individuals. We may even make a more general supposition: The "moral unrest" so deeply penetrating all western societies, the growing vagueness and indecision of personalities, the almost complete disappearance of the "strong and steady character" of old times, in short, the rapid and general increase of Bohemianism and Bolshevism in all societies, is an effect of the fact that not only the early primary group controlling all interests of its members on the general social basis, not only the occupational group of the mediæval type controlling most of the interests of its members on a professional basis, but even the special modern group dividing with many others the task of organizing permanently the attitudes of each of its

members, is more and more losing ground. The pace of social evolution has become so rapid that special groups are ceasing to be permanent and stable enough to organize and maintain organized complexes of attitudes of their members which correspond to their common pursuits. In other words, society is gradually losing all its old machinery for the determination and stabilization of individual characters.

But under these conditions it is both illogical and impractical to continue to treat the formation of stable characters as the chief aim of social education. Our pedagogical and ethical concepts and methods correspond to a stage of civilization when individual attitudes were sufficiently stabilized at an age between sixteen and twenty-five to permit practical reflection and social control to ignore their subsequent evolution as insignificant. It was then all right to identify social maturity and stabilization of character, to assign to both a term approximately coincident with physical maturity, and to consider the period of change preceding stabilization as a mere preparation for the latter. But when the limit of an even approximate fixation of attitudes is pushed further and further, when the individual continues to evolve psychologically long after having reached biological maturity and social productivity, the social importance of the period during which he is changing increases at the expense of the period during which he remains approximately stable. For a modern civilized personality the fixation of character begins to identify itself more and more not with the attainment of maturity, but with old age; it no longer expresses the establishment of full civilized life but corresponds with retirement from active civilized life, to a growing passivity and limitation of

social interests. The center of pedagogical and ethical attention must, therefore, be entirely shifted; not attainment of stability, but organization of the very process of personal evolution for its own sake should be the conscious task of social control. At the present moment society not only lacks any methods by which it could actually and continuously organize the change of attitudes of its members, but it is only beginning (in our experimental schools) to search consistently for methods of education by which the individual can be trained in his youth to organize his later evolution spontaneously and without social help. At present the individual who succeeds in producing for himself such a dynamic organization has to do it by his own devices, is forced to invent for himself all the methods of self-education which he needs without profiting by the past experiences of others, and must consider himself lucky if his environment does not interfere with him too efficiently by trying to impose upon him a stable character.

4. The chief social problem arising with reference to the relation between individual life-organization and social organization is the reconciliation of the stability of social systems with the efficiency of individual activities, and the most significant feature of social evolution in this line is the growing difficulty of maintaining a stable social organization in the face of the increasing importance which individual efficiency assumes in all domains of cultural life.

In early societies we find individual efficiency entirely subordinated to the demand for social stability. All the social schemes of the group are connected, are parts of one whole, one large complex of social tradition,

and any innovation is considered a break not only of the one particular scheme which it modifies, but of this entire complex. There is, of course, no objective rational ground whatever for taking the traditional schemes *en bloc*, no finalistic connection between the corresponding activities; the real results of a change of practical methods in a certain line may have little or no bearing on the results of other traditional forms of behavior. Thus, a modification introduced into some social ceremony has nothing to do objectively with the technique of hunting or warfare, a new technical device in constructing houses has no direct effect upon the political organization of the group, etc. But the common bond between all these schemes lies in the character of sacredness which all of them possess in the eyes of the group as parts of the same traditional stock whose unity is ultimately founded on the unity and continuity of the group itself. The individual must make each and all of these schemes his own in order to be a full member of the group. If for the formation of his character the important point is that all his interests are satisfied within the group and therefore are supposed to be founded on his social interest, the essential thing about his life-organization is that he is supposed to share in all the interests of his group and to adopt all social schemes as schemes of his personal behavior. There may be some differentiation between individuals as to the relative importance which certain particular interests assume in their lives, but no specialization in the sense of an absorption by some particular interests to the exclusion of others. Each member of a primary group is by a gradual initiation introduced into all the domains which compose the civilization of the group and is as all-sided in his activities as the

stage of civilization which his group has reached permits him to be.

But this all-sidedness is attained at the cost of efficiency. There is a maximum of efficiency in each line which no member of the group can transgress, not because — as is the case on a higher level of culture — a higher efficiency in one particular line would impair his activities in other lines in which he is also expected to be active, but because in each particular line the domination of traditional schemes excludes not only the creation of new and better working schemes, but limits even the possibility of extending old methods to new classes of problems. The only increase of efficiency which is allowed and encouraged is the more and more perfect solution of traditional problems — an increase whose results are well exemplified in the perfection of primitive art and technique, in elaborate religious rituals, in the reliability of information which much of primitive knowledge shows, in the perfect rational order presented by many complex early systems of social and political organization, etc. Under these conditions, spontaneous social evolution is possible only by an agglomeration of small changes which are not noticed at once but modify from generation to generation the stock of traditions while leaving the illusion of its identity. When, on the contrary, the primary group is brought rapidly into contact with the outside world with its new and rival schemes, the entire old organization is apt to break down at once, precisely because all the old schemes were interconnected in social consciousness; and the individual whose life-organization was based on the organization of his primary group is apt also to become completely disorganized in the new conditions, for the rejection of a

few traditional schemes brings with it a general negative attitude toward the entire stock of traditions which he has been used to revere, whereas he is not prepared for the task of reorganizing his life on a new basis. This occurs very frequently with the European peasant who emigrates and we have given in our first two volumes examples showing that the peasants themselves realize the effect which the rejection of certain elements of this stock has on the total personal complex of schemes.

But with the growing social differentiation and the increasing wealth and rationality of social values, the complex of traditional schemes constituting the civilization of a group becomes subdivided into several more or less independent complexes. The individual can no longer be expected to make all these complexes his own; he must specialize. There arises also between the more or less specialized groups representing different more or less systematic complexes of schemes a conscious or half-conscious struggle for the supremacy of the respective complexes or systems in social life, and it happens that a certain system succeeds in gaining a limited and temporary supremacy. Thus, among the ancient Hebrews, in some European countries during and after the Reformation, and in the early American colonies, certain religious systems predominated over all other cultural complexes; in Russia and Prussia, up to the present war, a similarly dominant role was assumed by the state; in Poland and Bohemia during the nineteenth century the concept of nationality, determined mainly by language, historial tradition and the feeling of solidarity, constituted the chief ground of social organization and was supposed to dominate individual life-organization; in societies with

a powerful economic development like modern England and America the leading part is played by industrial and commercial schemes. The family system was until lately supposed to be the exclusive foundation of individual life-organization for women. During the present war, military interests have almost everywhere taken the center of attention and imposed far-reaching modifications of the life-organization on all the members of western societies.

But it is clear from the above examples that no special social complex, however wide, rich and consistent, can regulate all the activities which are going on in the group; the predominance of a complex is not only limited in time and space, but always incomplete and relative. Moreover each of the broad complexes which we designate by the terms "religion," "state," "nationality," "industry," "science," "art," etc., splits into many smaller ones and specialization and struggle continue between these. The prevalent condition of our civilization in the past and perhaps in the present can thus be characterized as that of a plurality of rival complexes of schemes each regulating in a definite traditional way certain activities and each contending with others for supremacy within a given group. The antagonism between social stability and individual efficiency is under these circumstances further complicated by the conflicting demands put upon the individual by these different complexes, each of which tends to organize personal life exclusively in view of its own purposes.

Whenever there are many rival complexes claiming individual attention the group representing each complex not only allows for but even encourages a certain amount of creation, of new developments, within the

limits of the traditional schemes, for a complex of schemes which excluded new experiences as it does in the primary group would be unable to maintain itself in its implicit or explicit contest with other complexes. Therefore the conservative groups which support any existing schematism want it to be alive, to be as adaptable to the changing conditions of life as is compatible with the existence of the traditional schemes. The amount of efficiency which a scheme makes possible varies, of course, with the nature of the scheme itself, with the rigidity with which the group keeps the mere form, with the rapidity of the social process. And thus society demands from the individual productivity in the line of his career; in morality it is seldom satisfied with passive acceptance of the norms, with their limitation to old and known actions, but usually wants their application to new facts coming under their definition; in custom it is glad to see every extension of tradition; in science or art it greets with satisfaction every new work done in accordance with the traditional system; in religion it meets with joy every revival which proves that the old emotions can stir some modern souls, every theoretic application of dogma which proves that the old conceptions can satisfy some modern intellects; in family life everything is welcome that can enliven the content without changing the form of relation between husband and wife, parents and children; in politics, in law, in economic organization, every reform increasing the efficiency of the existing system without modifying it in the slightest is highly appreciated.

The fact that most if not all social schemes are incorporated in more or less comprehensive and systematic complexes helps to maintain the feeling of

their immutability. The unity of many special traditional complexes is still almost as firmly established in modern civilized society as is the unity of its total stock of traditions in a savage primary group. The breakdown of any scheme belonging to a traditional complex seems to imperil the complex itself. And the individual who might easily reject a single scheme will hesitate before rejecting the whole complex. How consciously and masterfully incorporation of the most insignificant schemes into a great system is often made is manifested by such examples as religion and legal state-control. In the Roman Catholic Church disaccordance with the apparently most insignificant detail of the system of beliefs or an infraction of any rule of behavior is supposed to produce estrangement from the congregation, because it involves in social consciousness a break with the whole system; the individual must either admit that he is in error, recant and recognize the scheme — at least in the form of a confession and penance — or consider himself outside the church. In the same way, by breaking any law or ordinance of the state the individual is considered a rebel against the whole system of legal state-control and loses in fact his rights as member of the group, since he may become the object of any violence decreed as punishment for this break; the punishment becomes thus a forcible recognition of the broken scheme. The same method, with only less consistency and less power to enforce obedience, is followed in morality, in class-organization, even in customs, as when one break of social etiquette is sufficient to disqualify a person as member of polite society, or one act opposed to traditional morals sufficient to make all "well-behaved"

members of a group disclaim every connection with the offending member.

But such a traditional fixation of special complexes of schemes within which efficiency is required with the condition that all schemes remain recognized does not correspond at all with the spontaneous tendencies of individuals. First of all, the scheme represents for the evolving individual either the minimum of stability which he reaches after a period of changing active experiences, or the minimum of new active experiences which he reaches after a period of passive security. In other words, as long as the individual evolves, an activity regulated by the scheme and efficient within the limits of this regulation does not represent a definite level; it corresponds always only to an intermediary stage, either of progression from the passive acceptance of socially imposed situations toward a creative activity free from all subordination to schemes, or of regression in the opposite direction. The individual may indeed oscillate, so to speak, from relative passivity to relative creativeness without going far enough in the first direction to become entirely inefficient, and without becoming so efficient as to have to reject the scheme; the less radical these oscillations, the more the individual's conduct approaches the average prescribed by the scheme. Such an individual represents then a social model of behavior in the given sphere; he is the moderately productive conservative, the famous *juste milieu* type. Frequently, however, the individual goes on with a progressively intense and efficient activity, tries continually to find and to define new situations; his efficiency becomes then increasingly dangerous to the scheme, because even if activity begins in perfect conformity with the scheme, the accumulating novelty of

experience sooner or later makes the scheme appear insufficient. There are innumerable examples of individuals who began creative activity with the firm intention of keeping within the limits of the traditional schematism and ended by rejecting it altogether. The history of morality, of science, of political and social reform, and particularly of religious heresies is full of such biographies. And therefore the social group which is the bearer of a traditional complex is mistrustful of the individual who is too creative, particularly as the majority is usually composed of personalities whose evolution tends to the opposite limit — to the purely passive acceptance of the formal elements of tradition and the repetition of old activities bordering on habit. In normal times this passivity may be scorned by the active part of the group, but at moments of crisis we find the group condemning all "imprudent" innovations and falling back upon the most abject Philistinism as upon the only absolutely unshakable basis of security.

The second difficulty concerning the adaptation of individual life-organization to the social complexes is the fact that while a complex has to be accepted or rejected in its entirety, since the group does not permit the individual to accept some schemes and to reject others, the individual in his spontaneous development tends to make a selection of schemes from various complexes, thus cutting across social classifications of schemes, and often including in his dynamic life-organization successively, or even simultaneously, elements which from the traditional standpoint may seem contradictory. This difficulty is increased by the fact that many — perhaps most — social complexes are not freely chosen by the individual, but their acceptance

is either expected to follow from a position that the individual occupies in the group from birth — as member of a certain class, a certain race, as male or female, handsome or homely, etc. — or from a position which is imposed on him in his early youth through a certain moral code, religion or form of education, or, finally, from a position which he is forced to take in order to satisfy his elementary needs — for example, marriage or choice of a profession. There are complexes prescribed for the son and the daughter, for the bachelor and the married man, for the girl, the wife and the mother, for the society person and the member of a lower class, for the adherent of a religious creed and the atheist, for the professional in any line, for the city and the country inhabitant, for the householder, the tenant of an apartment and the roomer, for the person who eats at home, in a boarding house or in a restaurant, for the pedestrian, the car-passenger and the owner of an automobile, etc. The individual who has a complex imposed upon him or accepts it voluntarily is expected to show the prescribed amount of efficiency — neither more nor less — in all the activities regulated by the schemes belonging to the complex, and is not expected to perform any activities demanded by a rival complex, or to invent any new schemes which may seem to disagree with the accepted ones. More than this, he is often required to abstain from activities which, even if they do not contradict directly the existing schematism, may take his time and energy from the performance of the prescribed activities.

It is obvious that this type of social organization disregards entirely the personal conditions of efficiency. The organization of schemes in a traditionally fixed complex represents usually a degree of methodical per-

fection sufficient to obtain from individuals an average amount of efficiency, making each individual contribute in some measure to the maintenance of the existing social status, so that an activity organized in accordance with the complex is indubitably more productive socially than an unorganized one. But no socially fixed complex of schemes in whatever line — economic, political, moral, scientific, æsthetic, religious — can obtain from any individual the highest amount of efficiency of which he is capable, not only because it prohibits creation beyond the limits traced by the schemes, but also because it ignores both the differences of personal endowment which make one individual more capable of performing certain activities than others and the variations of personal evolution which make the individual more efficient in a certain line at one period of his life than at another. The organization of activities demanded by a social complex is both impersonal and changeless, whereas an organization which would fulfill the conditions of the highest individual efficiency would have to be personal and changing.

An unavoidable consequence of the now prevalent social organization is that the immense majority of individuals is forced either into Philistinism or Bohemianism. An individual who accepts any social system in its completeness, with all the schemes involved, is necessarily drifting toward routine and hypocrisy. A part of the system may satisfy his personal needs for a time, particularly as long as he is gradually assimilating and applying certain of its schemes, but the rest of the system will not correspond to his predominant aspirations and may be even opposed to them. If the development of life-organization goes on spontaneously, the individual is gradually led

to realize the importance for his chief aims of even activities which originally did not appeal to him — his efficiency in the line of his main interest gradually spreads to many side lines — whereas if a life-organization is socially imposed, the personally uninteresting elements of the social complex cannot become personally attractive by being gradually connected with the interesting ones in the course of personal evolution, since this evolution is limited. As a consequence we find the original inefficiency along uninteresting side lines influencing even those activities in which the individual was actually interested at some period of his life, and the whole productivity in the given field drops below the minimum required by the group. In order to remain socially adapted, to avoid active criticism of the group, the individual has then to display in words interests which he does not possess and to invent all kinds of devices in order to conceal his lack of efficiency. This tendency to hypocrisy and pretense is greatly facilitated in such cases by the fact that the majority of the group is in a similar situation and is not only willing to accept any plausible pretension designed to cover individual inefficiency but even often develops a standardized set of "conventional lies" to be used for this purpose, which every one knows to be lies but tacitly agrees to treat as true.

If, on the contrary, the individual either refuses to accept certain of the schemes included in a social complex or develops some positive form of behavior contradicting in the eyes of society some of the schemes of the complex, he is forced to reject the complex in its entirety, and becomes thus, voluntarily or not, a rebel. His situation is then rather difficult, for society has not trained him to develop a life-organization spon-

taneously and the social organization of the type outlined above opposes innumerable obstacles to such a development. With rare exceptions, he can do nothing but adopt some other ready system instead of the rejected one. But then the same problem repeats itself, and every successive attempt at complete adaptation to a new system after rebellion is usually more difficult than the preceding ones, both because the personal demands of the individual become better and better defined in opposition to social regulation and because each particular rebellion undermines the prestige of social systems in general. The usual consequence of rebellion is thus Bohemianism, a permanent tendency to pass from one system to another, attracted at first by the personally interesting sides of a system and soon repelled by the personally uninteresting ones. The result is again unproductivity.

Under such conditions the appearance of a really efficient, creative personality is actually a very exceptional social happening, for it needs a very high personal ability and persistence to develop a dynamic individual organization for efficiency instead of adopting a static social organization for stability when social education has exclusively the second purpose in view, and only by a rare concurrence of circumstances individuals who have this high ability of developing without proper educational help happen to be left in peace to pursue their own self-made lines. And it is no wonder that the scarcity of creative individuals has led to the concept of the genius, and high efficiency is still treated as a prodigy.

But the direction which social evolution has been gradually assuming in modern times seems to show that though the conditions outlined above are still predom-

inant in civilized society they cannot last long; a different type of social organization is developing which begins to put higher demands on individual efficiency than on individual conformism. First of all, progressing specialization is continually subdividing the old social complexes into more and more narrow systems which can no longer constitute a sufficient basis for individual life-organization in any field. Thus, a modern scientist, business-man, technician, when forced by social division of labor to work in a limited and special line, does not find in this line an organization of even all the intellectual, economic and technical activities which he can and wishes to perform. And on the other hand, there is a continually growing field of common values and common activities over and above the special systems, a political, economic, intellectual, æsthetic "universe of discourse," in which all the members of a modern society more or less participate; this field is incomparably smaller, in proportion to the totality of the civilization of the group, than it was in an early primary group or in the upper class of an ancient city-state, but it is much wider than it was, for instance, during the middle ages, and it is certainly wide enough to make every specialized individual realize the narrowness of his specialty and to open before him wide horizons of possible new experiences. Thence the increasing tendency of modern society to "vagabondage" in all forms — changes of residence, of profession, of political views, of religion, the decay of the family system as economic, hedonistic and educational institution, Bolshevism in politics and economics. And when vagabondage is in fact impossible, substitutes are sought which satisfy this tendency at least in imagination. This is the chief rôle of the popu-

lar literature of adventure, of moving pictures, of day-dreams, even, in a large measure, of alcoholism. The task of imposing any particular social systems as definitive frames of individual life-organization is rapidly becoming too difficult for modern society.

And further, the demand for efficiency in every particular line is rapidly growing; efficiency begins to be appreciated even at the cost of conformity. This most important evolution seems to be brought by a radical change of relations between different social complexes, different lines of social activity. Mere specialization of social activity begins to be consciously supplemented by a growing organization of specialized lines. Struggle between social complexes is gradually supplanted by co-operation; the field of application of each complex is more and more frequently defined by distinction from rather than by opposition to other complexes. This evolution is almost completed in the economic field, is rapidly progressing in the fields of science, and is beginning to penetrate everywhere. Thus, the modern state is a highly developed system of the old style, claiming supremacy over other systems, but even there the idea that the state is only an instrument of the national life is being recognized and proclaimed. And when internal struggles lose their traditional form of physical conflict the chief reason for the internal supremacy of the state over other domains of the cultural life of a nation will be gone. Now, wherever co-operation between systems takes the place of struggle, the demand for conformity loses its power in the very measure in which each group engaged in special activities accepts as ultimate aim of these activities not the preservation of a traditional complex against all external influences, but a contribution to the

general development of civilization. At the same time co-operation requires that certain results be reached independently of the question whether they are reached by traditional methods or by new ones; calls for efficiency come to every line of social activity from other lines, and the more frequent and insistent they become the more necessary it is to leave to every individual as much freedom as is compatible with efficient co-operation. In certain lines we find, indeed, the division of labor resulting in a separation between inventive and organizing activities on the one hand and mechanical activities on the other hand, but the best sign of the changed social attitudes is that this separation is not accepted calmly by social consciousness but has become one of the great social problems to be solved by conscious efforts.

It is clear that these new characters of modern social evolution require an entirely new standpoint with reference to individual life-organization. The individual must be trained not for conformity, but for efficiency, not for stability, but for creative evolution. And we cannot wait until new educational methods are developed by the slow and groping way of unorganized and unreflective empirical trials. We must realize that social education in the past, viewed from the standpoint of the human personality, has always been a failure and that whatever social progress and whatever personal development has ever been achieved was due to the spontaneous constructive power of individuals who succeeded, not thanks to social help but in spite of social hindrances. The best that society has ever done for its members was to put at their disposal materials for creative development by preserving values produced by the past. The task of future society will

be not only to remove obstacles preventing spontaneous personal development but to give positive help, to furnish every individual with proper methods for spontaneous personal development, to teach him how to become not a static character and a conformist, but a dynamic, continually growing and continually creative personality. And such methods can be found only by socio-psychological studies of human individuals.

The present volume represents an attempt to analyze and to reconstruct a personal life-record from the standpoint outlined above and by the methods of social psychology as determined in the methodological note prefacing Vol. I of this work. The material of our study is the autobiography of a Polish immigrant, written at our request three years ago. We hardly need to emphasize that the interest of this autobiography is exclusively scientific, not historical; the personality of the author is entirely insignificant from the point of view of the cultural development of Polish society, since he is a typical representative of the culturally passive mass which, under the present conditions and at the present stage of social evolution, constitutes in every civilized society the enormous majority of the population and whose only rôle seems to be to maintain, by innumerable and indefinitely repeated routine activities, a certain minimum of civilization in mankind at large, without being able to increase this minimum otherwise than by slowly assimilating and reproducing, very partially and inadequately, a few of the new cultural values produced by a small minority of creators and inventors. But precisely for this reason a record of this type can claim a great scientific and practical importance — greater perhaps than that of

a creative man; for only the study of the commonplace man can make us understand why there are commonplace men. It will make us realize also that the greatest defect of our entire civilization has been precisely the existence of a culturally passive mass, that every noncreative personality is an educational failure. It will show the sources of such failures and thus open the way for a more successful social education in the future. It will be the deepest and the most efficient criticism of our social organization as inherited from the past. And such a criticism is most necessary at the present moment, when we are facing the greatest historical change that has ever taken place — a general democratization of the world. The growing recognition that democracy is the only order compatible with our highest humanitarian ideals must be accompanied by a growing understanding that the removal of political obstacles is only the first step toward this order, that what we call democracy has been mainly ochlocracy, and will be until the culturally passive mass becomes a thing of the past.

The author of our autobiographical record, whose life is an alternation of periods during which he drifts into Bohemianism with periods of Philistinization, and shows a gradual increase of Philistine tendencies in the total curve of its evolution, exhibits thus both of these social failures and is typical not only for the study of each of them separately, but also for that of their combination, since many Bohemians sooner or later begin to tend toward Philistinism and there are hardly any Philistines who never showed Bohemian tendencies. Of course the type of Władek Wiszniewski is determined in its social content by its social milieu; we cannot understand it adequately without a certain

knowledge of Polish society in general, and of the special section of Polish society to which this type belongs. Therefore our socio-psychological analysis presupposes an acquaintance with the materials and notes of Volumes I and II, which give an insight into the traditional social attitudes and values found in the peasant and lower city classes of Polish society. On the other hand, Władek's life-record throws a certain light on the evolution which is going on in the lower stratum of Polish society. Władek and his family are of peasant origin and often in touch with peasants, but no longer belong to a peasant community. Some of Władek's relatives and Władek himself live in towns and mix there with the lower city class — small merchants and handworkers — but the family is not originally a part of any of the old lower town-communities, which were formerly as close and traditional groups as the peasants of a farmer-community. No definite social place can be assigned to the Wiszniewskis in the old class-system; in the new class-system they certainly belong to the intermediary class between the unskilled workmen and the lower-middle class. A few members of the family succeed in getting into the lower-middle class. But Władek never had any opportunity of getting in touch with people of the higher-middle class — men with university education — and still less with people of the upper classes — the aristocracy of birth, wealth or mind. A few incidental meetings can hardly count. This is an important point, showing that he could not get by direct personal relations any intellectual, moral or æsthetic standards higher than those of his class.

The light which the study of Władek's life-record throws upon the evolution of his social milieu is thus necessarily one-sided. It shows the disorganizing effect

which the passage from an old to a new form of social organization has upon an individual *if not consciously and rationally directed.* In our fourth volume we shall study the other side of this evolution and show the positive and constructive results which can be attained by a planful and conscious reorganizing activity. In this respect, as in many others, Polish society has a particular interest for the sociologist, because as a consequence of its exceptional political conditions during the last one hundred and twenty years it has lacked certain elements of a normal social life and has developed other elements to a degree seldom found in normal conditions. Thus, the lack of a national state-system giving a permanent and stable frame-work for certain social activities and ready means of control has forced the nation to develop reflectively purely social methods of voluntary organization by which social evolution could be controlled and has compelled it to put a greater emphasis than elsewhere upon individual efficiency, since the preservation and development of national culture depended much more on efficiency of personal activities than on social tradition, whose main foundations were destroyed. In so far as these new methods have been developed and applied the results have proved very valuable, and the passage of the lower classes from the old to the new social organization is effected without individual disorganization. But the abnormal political conditions have hampered the application of the new methods, so that at the beginning of the present war only a certain part of the lower classes had been rationally reorganized on the new basis; a large part still preserves, as we have seen in the first two volumes, the old primary group organization, while the rest has already broken with the old

forms of social life without being able to construct any new personal life-organization. Władek — for reasons which his life-record will show — belongs to the latter group.

But while our present study is limited not only to a certain society, but also to a certain class of this society and a certain epoch in the evolution of this class, this study should give us results applicable to many societies, many classes and many epochs. The original object-matter of every science is constituted by particular data existing in a certain place, at a certain time, in certain special conditions, and it is the very task of science to reach, by a proper analysis of these data, generally applicable conclusions. And the degree of reliability of these general conclusions is directly dependent on the carefulness with which each datum has been studied in its concrete particularity. The same, of course, holds true of the study of human personality. Every individual whose personal evolution we wish to use as material of social psychology must be first taken and understood in connection with his particular social milieu before we try to find in him features of a general human interest. When we remember this methodological rule, we shall not fail to see in Władek's personal evolution, however much it depends on the particular social conditions in which he evolved, numerous elements whose significance reaches far beyond his milieu and his time. We have indicated some of these elements in the conclusion of this volume, but the limits of the work did not permit us to develop all the general socio-psychological hypotheses which the material suggested to us, and we have certainly failed to see the general meaning of many facts. Our readers will be able to draw

many inferences which we have not explicitly pointed out.

We must add a few remarks about the document itself. Władek was first induced to write his autobiography by a promise of money, but ambition, literary interest and interest in his own life probably became at once the main motives. He wrote with an astonishing rapidity. The original manuscript is almost twice the size of the text which we are printing and was ready in less than three months.[1] This fact can be properly appreciated only if we remember how difficult is the technique of composing and writing for people of his class. Władek seems to possess some real literary talent; the contrast is striking between the poor external form of the original — little punctuation, very bad spelling, numerous faults of Polish style — and the vivid, well composed, picturesque content. No additions whatever were made by us, except in brackets.

The sincerity of the autobiography is unmistakable. Its source is the self-complacency of the author, who naively accepted the suggestion of the editors, thought everything about him as interesting to others as it was to himself and did not distinguish at all between scientific and immediate interest. There are, of course, cases of one-sided presentation of happenings and people, but we have usually indicated these in the notes. We do not discover any voluntary omissions in comparing his story with the letters from his family. We add at the end some extracts from these letters,

[1] The compression to which we have subjected the document does not seem to have impaired its value for scientific purposes. The general character of the details omitted is indicated by the résumé in brackets.

showing the light in which he appeared to his family. He does not seem to have intentionally lied. He did not know our standards, and any coloring or omissions can hardly hinder our understanding of his personality. There is another source of inexactness: he evidently does not notice certain sides of things. We have located two of these defects. He often does not see details in other people's attitudes that are unfavorable to his vanity, and his memory frequently shows a kind of negative hedonistic selection, recording rather the unpleasant than the pleasant details in certain epochs of his life. But both defects are very significant for the understanding of his character. We must also mention that the same attitude of naive immediate interest in his past life which is the source of his sincerity manifests itself in a curious variation of the mood of the autobiography in accordance with the situation described. There is little consistency of standpoint. He changes his standpoints during his description as he changed them during his life; for example, his momentary attitude toward any member of his family is dependent on just the phase of his relation with him that he happens to recall.

If the reader wishes properly to appreciate this autobiography as literary work as well as sociological document, he must remember that it was written by a man whose educational opportunities were much below the average in America. His systematic instruction stopped on the level of a primary country school which under Russian domination included hardly anything more than reading and writing in Polish and Russian and some arithmetic. Later his wandering life never permitted him to get in touch with the private organizations for self-education which were scattered all over

Poland for the purpose of supplementing the deficiencies of governmental education, because these organizations had to be kept secret. Thus, except for his occasional meetings with more instructed individuals, he had neither adequate external incentive nor proper advice for systematic self-education. His reading was poorly selected, chaotic and quantitatively insufficient. Taking all this into account, it seems quite possible that if born and educated in different conditions, Władek could have become a prominent literary man, in spite or perhaps even because of his many morally deficient attitudes, which then would have become sublimated by being turned into the channels of æsthetic productivity.

LIFE-RECORD OF AN IMMIGRANT

My native village was Lubotyń, in the province of Kalisz. This locality may unquestionably be called a beautiful landscape. The village itself had nothing charming about it. It was composed of ten houses, rather decently arranged for such a small village. There was an old-style brick church on the top of a hill, and further to the east was the priest's house, with its front to the highway leading through the village. To the south spread out a beautiful orchard belonging to the priest, and further to the west was the organist's house, where the organist himself and the church-beadle lived; along its right wing was another road leading to the cemetery, about half a wiorsta [1 wiorsta = 3,000 feet], and then into the wide world. On the other side of this road was the school-building — old, wooden, but rather neat, the garden which surrounded it on three sides dotted with flower-beds. Beyond the school were three other houses which attracted little attention. They belonged to the manor. In the first lived two fishermen and the shepherd; in the second, four drivers; in the third, the land-steward, the cattle-keeper and the watchman. A few steps westward from the third house was the manorial farm-yard, also facing the highway. Its buildings were arranged in a square. Beyond the farm-yard was the manorial land. All these except the church and the priest's house were on the left side of the highway, when going from the west.

On the right side, facing the end of the farm-yard, was a small wooden chapel, and in it, carved roughly, a statue of St. Thecla. To the east of the chapel spread out the manor-garden, also arranged in a square, but divided by a road along which the manorial cattle were driven to the water. At the south side of the garden was a big lake, six wiorsta long and one wiorsta and a half wide, spreading out from west to east. In the middle of the garden stood the manor-house. It was old and wooden, but at the front of the house a beautiful alley of lime-trees led to the highway; at the rear were pretty flower-beds reaching to the lake; on the right and on the left was an orchard. Near the east side of the garden stood the forge, with its front also turned toward the highway; behind it lived two manor-servants. Near the forge was a footpath by which the people of the village went

to the lake for water. The path was rather narrow — two could scarcely pass — and very steep, so that it was difficult to ascend when wet or frozen, for the village was upon a hill. On the other side of the footpath was the tavern,— old, enormous, built of unburned bricks. On its east side stood a big horse-stable, with one side turned toward the tavern, the other toward the church.[1]

Such was my native village. Now I must write a little about its environment; that is, about the splendid landscape which I mentioned above. On the south side we see the lake, in which the rays of the sun are reflected as in a mirror. As far as the eye can reach the lake is overgrown with dense reeds, out of which the song of the crested lark is heard from early morning until night. Upon the lake divers are swimming, above it 'apwings hover; on the shore we see some women washing linen, and around them a crowd of naked children bathing under the eye of their mothers.

On the other side of the lake was a thick and rather large forest, where mushrooms, strawberries, blackberries grew abundantly, which we often went in a boat to pick. On the north side, scarcely one wiorsta from the village, was a wood which had the greatest importance for me, for many nuts grew there, which I often went to gather. On the west side was a forest about three wiorsta away, but I went to it seldom. On the east side was a fourth forest. about one wiorsta distant, where plenty of mushrooms grew.

And thus Lubotyń was surrounded with forests on all sides; precisely these forests and the lake made my village so beautiful.

[1] Władek's home was a typical manorial village, and its social character differs completely from that of a peasant village. The latter is a community of equals, in spite of differences of wealth, with a large amount of autonomy in internal matters. There is religious dependence upon the priest, a remnant of respect for the noble, fear of the official, but the influence of the community is incomparably stronger than any external influences. In the manorial village all the inhabitants are more or less dependent upon the manor-owner, and there is the most minute social hierarchy from the manor-owner down, in the order of priest, steward, teacher, tavern-keeper, organist, butler, teamster, blacksmith, carpenter, shepherds, etc., and finally, the common laborers. There is no real community, no unique and consistent social opinion, no permanence of tradition; servility, desire to climb, with little opportunity to climb. In Volume I (Sekowski series) we have characterized this milieu. Although Władek's parents were not really manor-servants they fitted perfectly into this environment.

The forest on the south side came quite near to the lake; only a few yards of meadow separated them. This meadow extended in a narrow ribbon almost up to the village. It began again beyond the manor-garden and spread out as far as the forest on the west side. I had also much joy from it. I gathered the forget-me-nots which grew abundantly; I liked to put them around a plate. I strewed some sand on the bottom of the plate and thus, when watered often, they blossomed at home for a long time. But this was not all that adorned Lubotyń. I must add that in the triangle between the church and the tavern was a pond, and around it a meadow from which the tavern-keeper gathered hay. This triangle contained six morgs of land. The pond made the village still more beautiful, for on summer evenings it was pleasant to listen to the croaking of frogs, that were not silent until late in the night. And to this must be added the song of the nightingale that made its nest every year in the manorial garden.[1]

Before I begin to write about myself, I must say who my parents were. In his youth my father was a blacksmith. He did this handiwork up to the time he was called to the army, where he remained for seven and a half years.[2] When he returned he got the post of land-constable in the small town of Władysławów, in the district of Konin. There he got married. He was constable for fifteen years and made a small fortune.[3] He opened a grocery-shop and succeeded well enough, so he closed the shop and rented the tavern in Lubotyń, where I grew up, and not only I, but my five brothers and four sisters. Two of my brothers, Aleksy and Stanisław, were born in Władysławów, as well as two sisters, Florentyna and Marya. The rest of us came into the world in Lubotyń. I was the third among the boys, but before Stanisław and me came the two older sisters, then after me came Paweł, then Ludwik, then the sisters Zofia and Stefania, and the youngest,

[1] To a boy of Władek's class nature in Poland can have hardly any positive educational influence; it does not, as in wilder countries, force the development of energy and enterprise, and the enjoyment of its æsthetic side by Władek is evidently artificial, developed later under the influence of reading.

[2] He served so long because he was a peasant. Władek prefers not to speak of his peasant origin.

[3] For the way in which this fortune was made, see Władek's account of his own career as constable.

Roman. At the epoch of my life which I begin to describe, Aleksy was already a small clerk in the court of Turek, my sisters Florentyna and Marya had finished school, Stanisław and I were going to school, and the younger sisters in turn, one after another, pastured the geese. My father had the right to keep 150 geese, four cows, and as many ducks, hens and pigs as he liked. The cows were in the manorial stable and the manorial cattle-keeper pastured them; the pigs also went together with the manorial pigs to the field. My parents had almost 200 geese every year, and many ducks and hens; in a word, we had all kinds of farm-stock. We had, moreover, one morg of orchard and three morgs of field. My father paid 350 roubles of rent a year for all this. All this paid very well, however, for my father soon put a small capital aside. But I will write later about this; now I come back to the description of myself.

I begin my description with the first day that I went to school. I was exactly six years old when my father took me by the hand and led me to the school, a few yards distant from our house. When the teacher learned what brought us to him he gave me a book and my examination began. Here I must mention that I knew already all the Polish and Russian letters well, for my older brothers and sisters had taught them to me at home. The teacher gave me a book, first a Polish, then a Russian one; I knew how to read well, so he patted my head and told me to sit down on the first, that is, preparatory bench. I sat down and began to look around the class-room. The teacher spoke for a while with my father, then they separated, and my studies began. At ten o'clock on the same day, during recess, some boys came to me and gave me a few knocks, which made me cry. When the teacher came I was still crying. He asked me what was the matter. I answered, half-crying, that the boys had beaten me. He laughed, patted me again on the head and said that it would not happen again. And it was true; they did not laugh at me, nor beat me any more. This made me bolder and gave me courage to learn. And so one day after another passed. The teacher was still a young man, and as he had only an old mother living

with him, he came often enough to visit us. As he knew me well he treated me tolerably. My brother Stanisław helped me. He had been going to school for two years and learned very well; the teacher praised him, and my father promised him that he should be a priest if he continued to study well. Stanisław and I loved each other, so I never had any difficulty with my lessons. School began in November and ended in April, and the rest of the year was vacation. Then there was a merry life! Sometimes I went fishing with a hook, sometimes to the forest in search of birds, or to pick mushrooms or berries. In a word, I was free.

But my narrative begins with the winter. I spent the time free from learning in skating upon the ice with wooden skates. Even the teacher praised me to my father because I skated so well for such a small boy. The teacher himself liked skating very much, and more than once he took me by the hand and skated to the other side of the lake.[1] Once at noon he allowed us to skate; everybody had to bring a bit of firewood from the other side of the lake. All of us went, boys and girls, and there were more than a hundred children. We went as we could, some on skates, others sliding on their heels, the girls with us. I came to the forest first, and in order to please the teacher I took a piece from a wood-pile, tied a rope to it and drew it over the ice. Everybody else brought a piece of wood, some larger, some smaller. As a reward the teacher made a good fire in the stove the next day and I received a pigeon for having done so well, because I liked pigeons enormously.[2] I had about thirty of them, and I used every grosz which I succeeded in stealing from my father's drawer, in buying pigeons.

So one day after another passed in going to school, and by spring I already knew how to read well and I could write a little. In the spring, when the school was closed, a worse work came for me, for I had to pasture geese, taking turns with my brother.

[1] Władek always mentions every trifling satisfaction of vanity experienced through the appreciation of his superiors. He makes no mention of his relations to other children in school, and nowhere shows a marked tendency to gain recognition through excellence among his equals. In a six-year-old boy the general demand for recognition could have taken either direction, depending on the environment. In an American boy it would have taken a direction opposite to that shown by Władek.

[2] A frequent interest with peasant boys. *Cf.* Volume I: 762.

One day he pastured them till noon and I pastured them in the afternoon; the next day I pastured in the morning and Stanisław in the afternoon. On Sunday we did not pasture at all; father gave ten grosz to the manorial goose-boy to keep them the whole day, and we had the Sunday free.[1] But we were not allowed to go away from home until five o'clock in the afternoon.

Here I must mention that my father was a very God-fearing man. As far as I remember he never omitted any divine service. So he educated us also very religiously. Every morning we had to kneel down all together and say the prayer. And father sat near us and saw to it that we did not hurry too much, and that we pronounced the words of the prayer distinctly. After the prayer each child had to kiss father and mother [on the hand] for good-morning. But God forbid that any of us should eat anything before the prayer! If any of us ever ate anything he did not get breakfast, and he had to kneel while the others ate. When father allowed him to rise he had also to thank our parents for the punishment and promise not to do it any more. This happened most frequently with me, for I was very greedy, and had to kneel often. The evening prayer had to be said in the same way, except that those who had been to confession had to say particular prayers as penance. After the prayer we had again, each separately, to kiss our parents' hands for good-night; and in the same way after every meal. On Sunday we had to pray from our prayer-books after breakfast, every one from his own; for as soon as any of us knew how to read a little he received a small prayer-book as gift. And God forbid that any of us should

[1] Pasturing geese, hogs or cattle is the first stage of the gradual process by which the peasant boy develops the working attitude. The primary tendencies of the child are toward play and vagabondage, and pasturing represents the elementary degree of the organization of his activity. From this half-vagabondage the boy passes to productive work without the intermediary stage of apprenticeship, without passing through any special period devoted exclusively to education, to the acquisition of working habits and methods. The necessary attitudes are developed slowly and gradually by a traditional process of incorporation of the individual into the social scheme of activity, and not by a conscious effort to develop first of all the individual as such. It is evident that the traditional method can bring adequate results as long as the individual remains within his group and within the sphere of the traditional interests and occupations; and because it does frequently bring all the socially desirable results we can almost justify the attitude of the old-fashioned peasants who think school instruction unnecessary for their children.

fail to keep it in good order! When we sat around the table, we were not allowed to talk at all, for father prayed, sitting apart from us on a chair, and said the "crown" [a determined series of paters and aves].[1] I disliked this Sunday prayer very much because I could not go outdoors, look at the pigeons nor chase them awhile with the other boys. So I used a trick. When I saw through the window that the pigeons were flying, I asked father for permission to go to the privy. When father gave me permission I went straight to the pigeons, and more than once the prayer was over by the time I got back. I always buttoned my trousers while entering the room and father said: "Well, you have been rather long at the privy." And he said nothing more.[2] Thus I succeeded in cheating my father many times, but once when I went out the same way my father spied me and saw that I did not need to go at all, and I got such a beating that I remembered it for ten years. For my father seldom beat us, but when he once began he beat and beat without measure, and

[1] By the family prayers, still customary among the peasants and sometimes among the higher country classes, a particular religious attitude is grafted by means of a rite upon the familial attitude of obedience, and not upon any pre-existing attitudes towards the problems which religion claims to solve. What is developed is not a belief or an emotion, but the habit of performing the rite, and this being a product of the attitude of obedience acquires an obligatory character independent of properly religious considerations. It may, therefore, last by a kind of moral automatism even when religious emotions or beliefs have disappeared.

[2] This typifies very well the effects of the endeavor to develop new attitudes by external authority appealing to fear and based on physical sanction. The wish opposed by authority produces at first deceit, as a practical solution of the situation. If the wish were counterbalanced instead by another positive wish, if the pressure were internal instead of external, we should have a moral conflict that could be solved only in the moral way, by an organization of attitudes. In the course of time the external pressure may indeed become internal; the fear of social authority may be changed into an objectless, indetermined fear of yielding to the wish, and we then have that feeling of obligation of which we have just spoken as characterizing the performance of religious rites. The attitude thus acquired is a typical Philistine attitude, incapable of any spontaneous development and becoming more and more mechanical. At the same time the original method of solving a situation by deceit is not lost but continues to be applied in every case where a wish is opposed by authority and the fear of authority has not been changed into the feeling of obligation. Possibly Władek learns not to lie to his father, but he preserves the method of deceit during the whole of his life in all its social relations.

mother succeeded only with difficulty in appeasing him. The way our father beat us was this: he put my head — if it was I who was punished — between his legs so that the hind part protruded, and then beat with whatever he found under his hand, wood or iron.[1] Therefore none of us loved father. He could never boast of the love of his children. But nobody dared disobey father, even in a trifle, or answer him back, or above all things, lie to him. He loathed lying so much that he could almost have killed for a lying word; I experienced it myself.

In a word, our father was not generous toward any of his children except our oldest brother, Aleksy. Father loved him a great deal and always said, "My dear son Oleś" [Aleksy].[2] Father loved him particularly, so he said, because when my brother was seventeen years old, and a clerk in the district court, he came home once for the holidays, and a blind man came at that time to our father's house asking for alms. When he had received something he requested father to see that he was taken to the other side of the town, and father then ordered his oldest son to take the poor man by the hand and lead him. He did it at once and afterwards the whole town pointed to him as an example for their sons and congratulated our father on having such a good son. Our father loved him for this, and also for earning something himself, for our father was very avaricious. One of his greatest pleasures was to count the money after closing the shop.[3] My mother

[1] The beating of children is sanctioned by public opinion, but in this case we find two anomalies — the lack of measure in the father and the lack of affection in the children. They are explicable by the isolation of the marriage-group from the rest of the family. The father acts without familial control under the influence of passion, and the children bear a grudge for a punishment which they do not recognize as merited by any break of the socially established norms but provoked merely as a result of their transgression of their father's will. In general, the traditional attitude of head of a single marriage-group representing the authority of the whole family is changed in Władek's father into a more or less personal despotism.

[2] We do not explain the pet names and variants (*e.g.*, Stach, Stas, Stasio = Stanisław, Florcia = Florentyna, Kazia = Kazimiera, Helcia = Helena, Mania = Marya) when the context or resemblance seems sufficient.

[3] The love of money develops here instead of land-hunger; the attitude of economic advance has not yet reached the stage where a continuous progress is required and money treated merely as an instrument. Property in the form of money is here an end in itself, as in peasant life property in the form of land.

abused him much for this [trait] and thence small misunderstandings sometimes arose. There was never any real quarrel between our parents.

My mother had a more generous disposition, and cared more for the instruction of her children, and this displeased my father greatly, particularly when it came to paying for the instruction. He would not give a cent and was like to say: "Let them go to serve [hire themselves out], earn some money themselves, and then learn." But my mother found a way even so, for she had her own money from the sale of geese, hens and ducks, and she sometimes took a little from the drawer [in the shop]. She put money aside separately for linen, for my sisters' hats, for clothes, for paying the seamstress who made the dresses, and for instruction. My oldest sister was taught how to sew, and mother had to pay 25 roubles a trimester for her instruction, and as there were four such trimesters she had to pay a whole hundred roubles. This she had to save in different ways calculating how to adjust the accounts. But she always succeeded somehow.[1]

We were always dressed cleanly and neatly, and everybody envied us. It was the habit of my parents to dress us twice a year, on Christmas and on Easter. We then had everything new from head to foot — on Christmas, boots, overcoats, caps and suits; on Easter, hats, shoes and summer-suits. It was always so as long as I was at home, and about this my parents did not quarrel. When we were dressed like this and went to church with our parents people stopped and looked at us, saying: "Where does their father get money for all this?"[2] We entered the church

[1] We saw in Part I that the woman has more in view the needs of the individual members of the family while the man cares more for the material existence of the group as a whole. As long as the basis of this existence is the farm, exclusive interest in the maintenance and increase of the familial fortune is perfectly justifiable and efficient, for thereby the children have their future assured. But in the present case the old Wiszniewski keeps the old attitude when it is completely misadapted to the actual conditions. There is no familial property which could assure the future of the children, and in his small trade he can never hope to put aside enough to endow them. The only way to assure their existence is to give them a sufficient instruction and push them into a middle-class career. He does this, indeed, but unwillingly and incompletely, as will appear.

[2] The peasant secures recognition mainly through immobile property; when this is impossible, as in the present case, the attitude attaches itself to secondary kinds of ownership, such as dress.

through the sacristy, for the priest also had respect for my parents. My brother Stanisław already assisted at the mass. I helped him sometimes, although I did not yet know the *ministrantura* very well. So I did it only when other boys did not come. My brother assisted as the "oldest" [the boy who poured the wine into the priest's chalice was called the "oldest"], and people wondered at such a small boy assisting and doing it so nicely. Only on Sundays the other boys assisted, while on working-days my brother assisted alone. The priest paid him 6 grosz [3 copecks]. When a service was performed for a [religious] fraternity, the priest gave him a złoty [15 copecks], and when the mass was bought by somebody this person had to give him something also, and even if a strange priest said mass our priest had him give my brother a few grosz. So my brother Stanisław collected much money. The boys fought among themselves, for everybody wanted to assist, but the priest did not like any one but my brother. My father often told him to put money aside, and he would become a priest. My brother thought seriously about it, but it turned out otherwise.

As I mentioned already, we went to church through the sacristy, but the priest did not allow everybody to do this. No one passed through the sacristy but the nobility of the neighboring manors, a few of the more prominent farmers, and my parents. My mother had her own chair on which she sat during the service. No other people were allowed to have chairs. On this account many were angry with the priest, but he did not care at all.[1] In short, my parents had respect and consideration from people, who considered them rich; and really, my parents did behave like well-to-do people. Twice a year they arranged parties, once at the end of the old year, and again at the beginning of April [after Easter]. But for me the one at the end of the old year was more agreeable. When the guests began to come in sleighs, each [harness] covered with bells, I drove a little way with each, and I used to pull a few hairs from the tail of every white horse to make snares for finches. There were always no less than twenty pairs of guests. Most of them were from Sompolno, a town situated seven wiorsta from Lubotyń. Then there were a few of the richer farmers, those who had borrowed money from my

[1] Even the church helps to develop the consciousness of social hierarchy and the desire for recognition.

parents. There were six of them. Each one owed my parents 200 roubles and paid interest at 8%. Each of these had a daughter or a son who considered it an honor to be in friendly relations with my sisters. Although my oldest sister was then only sixteen years old there were many who wanted to match her with their boys. Stanisław and I were very well off, for we always robbed my sister of her various sweetmeats. If it had not been for mother father would have got his daughter married regardless of her youth, because these were rich boys. But my mother was positively opposed to it, and she had her way. The party began at eight o'clock in the evening. There were three musicians; one played a fiddle, another a bass-violin, and the third a clarinet. It was, to be sure, a village band, but they knew how to play better pieces, for instance, a contredanse, a mazourka, a lancier and many pretty waltzes, polkas, obereks, etc. They were very highly appreciated in the country. My parents did not pay them anything, for they were pleased to play in our house, for such fine people, as they said. Thanks to it they had more success at weddings, for [people said]: "If they know how to play in the tavern-keeper's house, they will know how to play here." The beer and brandy did not cost my father much, for he had his own; the cakes were baked by my mother and sister with the help of the maid, the hens and ducks were also our own, and so such a party was rather cheap for my parents. Every one of the guests gave a party like ours, and my parents went, on the average, somewhere every third Sunday. No wedding, no baptism festival dispensed with my parents. In a word, they were universally respected.[1]

[1] The position of Władek's parents was such that falling below the level of the intermediary class and rising to the middle class were equally possible for the children. The sphere of their relations was not a coherent social group like the peasant community, the bourgeoisie of a town, the nobility of a province, but a loose-acquaintance circle, meeting only at entertainments. Such a circle gives no determined social frame to the individual's life; on the general background of more or less primary social tendencies it can merely develop showing-off attitudes and desire for socially-shared pleasures, no idea of serious social responsibilities. Thus Władek's social instincts developed into definite tendencies under the influence of three different forms of social organization — a small family (marriage-group) of a rather despotic patriarchal type, a hierarchy of small groups and individuals in the manor village, a loose acquaintance-group meeting only at social entertainments.

I may add a little about solemn days, such as Christmas, Easter, mother's and father's name-days. First I will write about the Easter holidays. Any one who entered my parents' room on Good Saturday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, saw a table covered with a beautiful cloth, and on it the *święcone* [food to be consecrated]; *placeks*, *babas*, *mazureks* [different kinds of cakes], veal, ham, sausage, eggs, cheese, butter, horse-radish, vinegar, pepper and salt. In the middle of the table was a swine's head adorned with frosting, and holding in its mouth a painted egg. Nearby stood another small table, and on it our small *babas*. On one side of the room stood some chairs, and on them the *święcone* of poorer people, who brought it to our house to be consecrated. The priest did not go from home to home, for he was very old and this tired him; he ordered them to bring their *święcone* to us, so that he could consecrate it all at once. Usually at about five in the afternoon the priest drove up in a buckboard and father went to meet him and bring him in. When he came in every one of us children greeted him by kissing his hand; he talked a little with everybody and wished us a merry "Alleluiah." After the consecration, our parents treated him to wine and he left. The strange women took their *święcone*, thanked our parents and went away. Mother then locked the door. On Easter morning father awakened everybody for the "Resurrection," except sister Florcia [who had to do the housework]. The "Resurrection" was usually at six in the morning. When we got back from church breakfast was ready and we all sat down, young and old, at a prettily decorated table. Everybody was nicely and cleanly dressed. After breakfast my father opened the room where the *święcone* was and we were allowed to enjoy our small *babas*. Meanwhile father cut a piece of every part of the *święcone* for each of us and we began to eat it. But first father divided the egg with all of us. He did it with great solemnity, and we received it still more solemnly. I have never seen the holidays celebrated with greater solemnity than in my parents' home. We were forbidden to go anywhere the first day [of the Easter holidays] except to church, and father received nobody on this day. Only on the second day [called *dyngus* day] we were allowed to go visiting, and many people came to our house to throw water on my sisters, but young people never dared to do this to my mother. A few older men such as the teacher, the

organist, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the farm-manager, also came in the morning to throw water and to drink a little. When they got somewhat merry they put fresh water into the bottles which each carried in his pocket and went further, from us to the teacher, to the organist, and so on, to everybody in turn, until they got well drunk. When they had enough, they went home. My mother disliked it greatly, because they poured so much water around the room that she had to put it in order again. After vespers young people, a few boys and girls, came to see us and amused themselves until late in the night, for the next day was also a holiday. It was customary to celebrate three holidays.

But Christmas had more importance for us, because every child was presented with a gift, measured according to our parents' love. Our parents did not love us all equally and so the gifts were not equal. I and sister Marya always received the worst, though I don't know even now how I merited this. As to my sister, our parents said that she was very disobedient and bad-mouthed [impudent]. But as far as I remember, I never made my parents angry [by impudence] and I even loved my mother a great deal. And so my "little star" was always the worst. I often wept because of this. The best "little star" was given to brother Stanisław or to sister Florentyna. Although my brother was only two years older than I he always received a gift three times more valuable than mine. My opinion is that he was worse than I, but he always knew how to flatter our parents, and in this way he got their favor. Whenever he incited me to some mischief or some trick and our parents asked who did it, he always put the blame on me and he was believed, while our parents never believed me in spite of all my explanations and excuses. Because of this we called Stanisław "father's doll."[1] Often before Christmas Florcia and Stasio bought toys to hang on the Christmas-tree, for mother frequently said that they had good taste. The

[1] Certainly exaggerated, but Stach must have had not only the "social instinct" which we find in Władek but a tendency to regulated and "nice" behavior which enabled him to profit more from given social conditions. The favoritism of the parents, acting upon Władek's desire for response, provokes a strong degree of envy which occasionally becomes a tendency to climb and to equal Stas, as we shall see later. At present Władek's attitude toward his family as a whole is a composite of grudge, some affection, and much vanity over its success.

night before Christmas eve, mother, Florcia and Stasiò did not sleep at all, but decorated the tree. They did not show it to us until Christmas eve, after the supper. In my parents' home the supper began always with the first star in the sky. We then sat down at the table, everybody had his own plate [apparently all the children usually ate from one large plate], and there were always eleven courses. There should always be some hay under the table [usually under the tablecloth], a rather big heap, so that every cow could have a little of it. When we were seated at the table father and mother divided the wafer, and after that everybody in turn wished our parents [a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year] as well as he could. Next father said a prayer before the meal, and we all repeated it after him. Mother waited on the table, for the maid had to sit at the table with us, and she was not allowed to rise to do anything during the supper. She always had a small plate under the table and she stole a little of every dish for the dog, but secretly lest father should see her, for he would have been angry. After supper we gave this food to the dog, and the boy who was to marry my sister was supposed to come from the direction in which the dog ran after he had eaten it. Father forbade our doing it, but we always succeeded in spite of him. The greatest joy for us was to watch the candles burning on the tree during supper. Moreover we were curious to find out what everybody was going to receive from our parents. After supper, which father also finished with a prayer, he ordered Stanisław to bring the packages from under the tree. On every package was written who was to receive it. These gifts were distributed by mother. When everybody had received his own and given thanks, father brought in a basket of apples and another of nuts and divided them according to our ages; the older ones got more, the younger ones less. When we had received everything, every one unfolded his package to see what he had received. Then we began to play with nuts, "pair and impair." Our parents played with us. I always won the most, for I knew how to cheat.[1]

The name-days of our father and mother were no less solemn for us. For a month before every one of us had plenty of work. First he had to learn some verses by heart and then he had to get

[1] Early manifestation of a trait which is later quite characteristic — getting small profits by tricks. (*Cf.* p. 1934 and note.)

these verses written on a nicely painted piece of paper. Every one who knew how to write had to copy them himself, and the older ones wrote for those who could not write. When the day came every one, big and little, arose early and dressed himself nicely in his Sunday clothes. After the prayer we stood in file, the oldest first, the youngest last. Every one held in his hand his paper with the verses he was to say, nicely bound with ribbon, and everybody was in a more than solemn mood. And thus we stood behind the door. Each entered our parents' sleeping-room in turn, kissed their hands and began to say his verses. Father and mother intentionally slept longer on this day, so that we might find them still in bed. Even the youngest brother, who did not know how to pronounce and who could not learn, went with Florcia. She said the verses, and he repeated them after her, for he would not give in; but had to say his wishes like the older ones. Then father or mother, the one whose name-day it was, kissed every one of us on the brow, patted our heads, thanked us, and when they arose, gave us candies, nuts and various sweetmeats. There was no school on this day. In a word, we had a family-holiday, and so it was every year until we left home.

Now I must write a little about my brothers and sisters and how much we loved one another. As I said above, I loved Stach best, but he loved me less than I loved him, of which fact I have had proofs. From my childhood I have loved my whole family strongly and I was nicknamed [illegible word]. As to my parents, I loved my mother more, for she was more indulgent and forbearing. The older brothers and sisters did not care much for me at that time, so I shall write nothing about them now; I can write about them later. In general I did not notice much love between the older children at that time. Every one of them tried to be superior to the others. I did not like it, and therefore, I was not much liked by them. Although I very seldom played any tricks, I was always considered guilty and I cried much because of this. My mother and father almost never gave me such caresses as they gave my brothers and sisters. So I often fled to solitude. I liked tc dig a hole in the rye somewhere, hide myself in it and dream alone. It often happened that when my turn came to pasture the geese in the afternoon I remained long after everybody had driven everything from the field, having intentionally driven my geese into some hiding-place in order

that they might not find me.[1] Sometimes one of the older children or mother came to look for me. If it was mother I showed myself soon for, as I said, I loved my mother more than my life. Sometimes, when mother brought afternoon lunch to me in the field she told me to put my head upon her knees, and then, O my God! it was one of the happiest days of my life. Then her fingers went through my hair as if they sought something, but as there was nothing to seek, for my head was always clean, it was from love only. Then I thought that my mother loved me at least a little. This affected me strongly and I was ready to kill myself for a single warmer embrace from my mother. But my brothers and sisters, who did not care much for it, received more and I was very jealous. I always brought my mother a nosegay of field-flowers, or a few water-lilies, which grew in some of the ponds, or peas in pods, or a pear; if I ever received two, the better one was surely destined for my mother.[2] But all this did not help; I was always good for nothing, there was always some reason for rebuking me and pushing me away from her. In spite of this I always loved my mother, and the bigger I grew the more I loved her. I did not love my father even half as much as her; in every situation mother was the better. When I drove the geese into the field she always gave me something [to eat].

In such an environment I spent almost eight years. In the eighth year of my life there came a change. A new teacher came with his family, a Mr. D. He had three sons and three daughters. The oldest [daughter] was called Pelagia, the second Kazimiera, the youngest Helena. The oldest boy was Józef, the second Bronisław, the youngest Jan. Immediately afterwards a new organist came, a young boy who was to become my brother-in-law in the future. I did not like him, for he was very brutal. He spent much time at our house and flirted with Florcia, although

[1] When the social tendency is met by a lack of response it leads to a desire for solitude, which gives the opportunity of substituting dreams for reality and supplying in imagination the desired reactions. This love of solitude is an attitude which may easily become one of the factors of vagabondage.

[2] There may have been in his relation to his mother something of the unconscious Freudian "Oedipus complex."

she was a year older than he. Mr. C. liked liquor very much, and it was rare that he was not drunk. Therefore my mother disliked him strongly, and said that pears would grow upon a willow before he would get my sister. But it happened otherwise. He never went to Mr. D. [the teacher] although the oldest girl there was also marriageable. But I became a great friend of the teacher's children. Bronisław was of my age and Kazimiera was a year younger, so we played with one another a great deal. And they liked me very much; they said I was merry. Our parents and older sisters were also great friends. They [Mr. and Mrs. D.] sat in our house more than in their own. Mrs. D. was very hospitable and open-hearted and they took turns with us in giving parties; one Sunday there was a party in their house, and the next Sunday one in ours. In this way they spent everything and finally suffered misery.[1] They wanted to buy from us on credit. In the beginning our parents gave them some credit but later they refused to give any more, because the D.'s had no money to pay them. And then they did not have much to eat. But they were very conceited, particularly the teacher himself. It was difficult to get a pleasant look from him, for he always glared like a bandit. The school-children were, therefore, very much afraid of him.[2] The priest did not like the D. children, because they stole fruit from the garden; they threw stones into beautiful trees and damaged them a great deal, and the priest caught them doing this more than once. Besides, they sometimes caught the priest's pigeons with snares. But I was greatly favored by the priest. When the fruit was ripe the priest took me by the hand and led me to the garden. He asked me how many pockets I had. I counted and told him and he filled all my pockets and my hat and even my handkerchief with fruit. And when I brought him papers or bread he gave me as much fruit as I could carry. He always gave me 10 grosz and told me to study hard

[1] Just before the fall of Poland the aristocracy amused itself as never before or after, and the tradition of entertainment influenced the lower classes. But this attitude never influenced Władek. He seldom treats, even in later life. During his apprenticeship and wandering he associated mainly with people who could more easily treat him, and their action found a favorable ground in his essential egotism.

[2] We find elsewhere (*Gazeta Swiąteczna*) in a letter from a peasant corroboration of this opinion of the teacher.

and he would help me to become a druggist. And when I began to serve at mass — it was in summer when there was no school — I sometimes spent the whole day in his house. At harvest-time he told me to come to him after mass whenever I was free from pasturing geese, of course with my parents' permission. When I came, he gave me a whip and ordered me to drive the horses, while he held the reins. He also took me to dinner at his house. In the evening he gave me 2 złoty and said: "Here are your wages." And so it was every day. When everything had been brought in from the field, he told me to pick apples and pears, and later, nuts, and I always received 2 złoty, even if I was with him only one hour. Once he took me to the barn, gave me a flail, took another himself, and we began to thresh. After a few strokes the priest ordered me to whistle. I was unable to do it, for I was very tired, and this made him laugh.[1]

The teacher's sons envied me greatly these favors from the priest, and they played every possible trick on him. They were never nicely dressed, their clothes were always torn, their shirts could be seen from behind [through their breeches] and sometimes even the naked flesh showed through. They were not at all like the sons of a teacher, but rather like goose-boys, and everybody laughed at them. The girls were always dressed better and cleaner. Here I must mention that the blacksmith also had three boys. We were very good friends with the oldest. We three, I, the teacher's son and the blacksmith's son, were always together. . . . My brother Stanisław did not keep company with us much; he was more occupied with his studies.

In such an environment and with such friendships I spent my life until I was twelve years old. During the last two years there were many changes in the home of my parents. First, my oldest brother, Aleksy, got the position of commune-secretary of Wysokie, nine wiorsta from Lubotyń. As he was still a bachelor he consulted our parents and they decided that Stanisław should be educated to be a teacher. He agreed to it and went away with Aleksy. Brother Aleksy sent him to a private teacher in Kramsk,

[1] The habit of expecting more from the favor of others than from his own work, which we shall notice later in Władek, was certainly developed under the influence of such relations as this one, just as servility develops at an early age in the children of manor-servants favored by the family of the manor-owner.

who was to prepare him for the teachers' seminary. I was the oldest [son] at home after he left. I now served at mass alone and I was very proud of this. My relations with the priest became still more friendly and I did not pasture geese any more, for my parents did not keep many of them. They no longer kept a tavern because a [governmental] liquor-monopoly was established and there was no liquor-shop in Lubotyń. The trade [in the store] was no longer as good as before, and our conditions became greatly changed. My parents were therefore glad to get rid of us; they were also glad that I already earned enough for my clothes. They no longer kept a maid, in order to reduce expenses. I was already in the third division, and my brother Paweł was admitted to the second division, and he also learned well. In the summer we usually loafed around together, for the blacksmith's son was already working in the forge, and Józef, the teacher's son, had gone to Turek as a baker's apprentice. I alone was still free to dispose of my time as I wished. I began to keep more company with the farmers' [peasants'] boys, and I was seldom at home, for I always went with them to pick berries in the summer and mushrooms and nuts in the autumn. But these companions of mine always elected me their elder, and when we went nut-gathering I had to stand guard while they gathered the nuts, for the forest-keeper did not allow it. They had to give me half of what they gathered, and as I was not lazy I gathered as many as I could myself. Once about ten of us went for nuts as usual, and I acted as their chief for half the nuts they should gather. . . . When every one had a lot of nuts in his shirt (I had the most because I went farther into the thicket) I saw the forest-keeper. He had his back turned toward me and his gun on his shoulder. I turned and whistled loudly. It was the signal for flight. But he heard my whistle also, left the gun in the thicket and began to chase us. The boys, seeing the terror behind them, threw all their nuts away. I also ran a few steps, and then I hid myself in a hole. He ran past without noticing me, for he was very angry. He did not pursue my companions very long and came back without having caught anybody. When he returned to the forest I left my hiding place and went slowly along the tracks of my companions, gathering the nuts on the way, and there were so many of them that I did not have room enough, but I tied my trousers around my ankles with a string and slipped

them in under my belt. When I got home I put them into a hole in the ground where I already had some two gallons. I kept them in the earth in order to make them a nice yellow and to keep them safe, and nobody knew about them except myself and Paweł.[1]

The summer days passed rapidly with such distractions. As I wrote above, the teacher's daughter [Kazimiera] and I loved each other much and I spent whole evenings with their family when the teacher was at our house playing sixty-six with my father. They were both passionately fond of this game, and when one or the other wanted to win back what he had lost they sometimes played until morning. They played for counters, never for money, but nevertheless they quarreled a great deal during the game, for my father was very quarrelsome at cards, no matter whom he played with or what for. I could be free in his [the teacher's] house when he was not at home, but when he was there we had to sit quiet, or else he would swear vehemently. I did not like him at all; not only I, but his own family, his wife and children, almost hated him. When he was in the room we went to the kitchen and there we played or told stories. I could tell more stories, for I read many books, and often the whole family, except the teacher himself, sat around me while I talked. But I liked to be begged and when I was in the middle of some

[1] A new example of the cunning which Władek shows in many acts of his life. It is an interesting point that this cunning is shown only incidentally and does not develop into an intelligent pursuit of a career. This fact may perhaps be accounted for by the peasant traditions upon which Władek's parents and himself are still greatly dependent. The career of the peasant is ready for him; cunning, intellectual development, spirit of enterprise, technical preparation, etc., are merely additional factors of success, but not conditions of existence. An incidental display of cunning is therefore the usual form in which the peasant's practical intelligence shows itself, but the strong and thorough organization of peasant life keeps this display within the limits of a certain honesty, while the security of existence of every individual hinders it from developing into a consistent life-policy. When the steady social and economic organization is taken away we should expect this cunning either to degenerate into a tendency to live by one's wits or to become sublimated into a talent for business enterprise. But Władek's social conformism, without preventing him from occasional crookedness, prevents his making of this a means of living, while his lack of economic ideals does not permit him to reach the level of a business man.

story I rose and pretended to be going away. They would not let me go, and I was then perfectly satisfied.[1]

Once — it was during the carnival — Mr. and Mrs. D. went to a party at a farmer's house. They took Helcia and Janek with them. Pelcia, Kazia and Bronek were left at home and they came to my parents' house and stayed until ten. Then they asked my parents to allow me to go and stay overnight with them at their house. When we got there Pelcia made tea and we then went to sleep. I and both sisters slept in the bedroom, and Bronis in the kitchen. They were not ashamed of me nor I of them, for they did not even put out the lamp when undressing. I could not sleep for a long time, I don't know why. When I had lain for about two hours, suddenly Miss Pelagia arose from her bed and called a few times in a low voice, "Kazia." But the other was evidently fast asleep. Miss Pelagia then came to my bed, touched me and asked whether I was asleep. Of course I was not asleep, but I pretended to be and, as if awakened, I asked her, "What do you want?" Then she told me to move nearer the wall. When I did so and made room for her she lay down at my side and began foolishing with me. In the beginning I was very much ashamed, but slowly I grew bolder and played with her as if she were my equal. And so we foolished nearly the whole night. Only toward morning she left my bed and lay down near her sister. We remained so for an hour perhaps, and then we began to get up. I shall probably never forget that night in the course of which I enjoyed so much love, for if she had not taught me about it, I should have had no idea at all at such a tender age. But this learning had bad consequences for me, because I always wanted to play in the same manner. And once I got a good beating from my sister Marya when I arose in the night, crept into her bed and tried to play. She awoke, saw what was going on, gave me some strong boxes on the ear and drove me out of her bed. It is well that the matter ended thus and that she did not say anything to our parents, for I should certainly have got a beating that I should have remembered for my whole life. Evidently she was ashamed herself, for she never reproached me on account of it. Seeing that I should not get any benefit from my sisters, I went to Miss Pelagia again. Whenever there was any chance we started to play at once. It hap-

[1] Early development of technique for securing response.

pened once that we did not play for about a month and I longed very much. So I wrote Miss Pelagia a letter, which I gave her myself, asking her to come to the cemetery in the evening, and saying that if she did not come I would tell everybody. I wrote in this way so as to frighten her, and it was profitable, for she came everywhere when I asked her, although she was eighteen and I only twelve.[1] But as she kissed me many times and begged me [not to tell] I did not let it be noticed either in their home or in ours.

This lasted for more than two years, until I went to apprenticeship, but toward the end of this time I grew tired of that older sister and desired Kazia.[2] But I could in no way seduce the latter. Once I urged her to go rowing on the lake with me, and to this she willingly agreed. I stole a package of good tobacco from my father and gave it to the fisherman for letting me take his boat. He willingly granted my request, knowing that I could row pretty well. We agreed that she would go beyond the priest's garden and wait for me there and she did so. When we had rowed out to the middle of the lake I started to do it with her, but she stood up and said: "So you brought me out only to seduce me! If you touch me again I will jump into the lake." I thought she would do it, so I did not dare to urge her any further, but I said to myself that I would not forgive her this [would carry out my plan], only a little later. With this idea I brought her ashore and then to their house. When I met Miss Pelagia in the cemetery the next evening she asked me at once why I had taken Kazia from home. "You certainly wanted to foolish with her,"

[1] The blackmailing attitude developed in a child. Given the boy's sexual desire, and the social situation — the girl's initial action, the norms of social opinion, the girl's dependence on social opinion — and Władek's behavior follows quite naturally. This type of attitude plays a much greater rôle in social life than is usually assumed, and deserves study, in the sublimated forms of "pressure" and "influence."

[2] This and the episode with his sister show how spontaneous is the desire for new experience in the sexual line. The limitation of sexual intercourse to one person demands a social organization of the whole relation, either in the form of a socially sanctioned bond (marriage), or in the form of a system of common habits gradually formed (cohabitation) or in the form of a concentration of ideas and emotions not exclusively sexual around the other personality (romantic love). That is to say, monogamous regulation of the sexual impulse must come from other sources than the sexual impulse itself.

she said. "Well, did you succeed?" Pushed to the wall, I confessed everything to her from beginning to end, for I was afraid to estrange her also.

Perhaps the reader will wonder how my father allowed me to go on such expeditions. To tell the truth, he undoubtedly would have given me a good beating and forbidden it had he known, but happily for me he did not even guess, for his character at this time had become greatly changed. He was more occupied with himself, and he was seldom at home. He was trying to get a license from the government for a beer-shop which he wanted to open in Sompolno. And he got the license, but not until two years after the closing of the tavern; during this time he kept a grocery store. Nothing important happened in my parents' home in these two years. Stach, who took an examination for the teachers' seminary, did not pass and had to go to be examined again the following year. During this time he was cook and servant for Aleksy. Next year, Aleksy took him to Łeczyca where he stayed four months with an instructor at the seminary, who boarded the students. Any student who boarded with him was sure to pass the examination, but he had to pay 100 roubles in advance. When our father paid this money Stach passed his examination very well. He was to stay in this seminary for three years and then get a license as governmental teacher, which he later did. During the time Stanisław prepared for the seminary in Łeczyca I was cook for Aleksy. Soon after Stach passed his examination Aleksy married a Miss J. from Kleczewo — he being then twenty-six years old — and I came back to Lubotyń.

While all this was happening to my friends and my family I finished my fourteenth year. My parents had told me sometime before to choose an apprenticeship that I liked.[1] But I could not find one. Meanwhile my father got the license to keep a beer-shop in Sompolno, and in my fourteenth year my parents moved there. I left all my acquaintances and friends in Lubotyń,

[1] This freedom of choice is simply a sign that his parents were not much interested in his future and did not count upon him as a support of the family, as they did in the case of Stach, whose career is carefully planned.

even my "betrothed," for so Kazia was [jestingly] called. I had not been in Sompolno very long, scarcely seven months, when Aleksy came to our house one day and said he had an apprenticeship for me in a barber-shop in Konin. I was to go with him at once to his house and from there to Konin. So, taking only a few things with me, I left rather late in the evening with Aleksy, after a tender enough farewell and a sermonizing from my parents. Three days later I was in Konin, in the shop of Mr. Remisz, for that was the barber's name. He asked me at once, in the presence of Aleksy, whether I wanted to learn, and when I said yes [it was settled that] I should remain with him for four weeks on trial, and that a contract should then be concluded. In the beginning I did not like it at all, for we went to sleep at midnight and at six o'clock in the morning I had to be upon my feet. I was not the only apprentice; there were three other boys, but older than I. They already knew how to shave, while I had to stand at the door, let the customers in and out, and sometimes brush the clothes of a more important one. Every morning I had to go to the bakery and purchase one złoty's worth of rolls. Each of us had one roll and a bit of bread besides. Once I went to fetch the rolls, and when I counted them I found one too many and ate it. But when the landlady arose and began to count she called me from the shop and said she was one roll short, and she asked me if I had not eaten it. Of course I did not confess, but I went to the bakery and told them they had given me one roll too few. They said nothing and gave me another roll. And so I was not found out, but I had a warning to count better in the future. Everything would have been well enough if they had given us more to eat, but when they called us to dinner there was as little served as if we had been small children, and when I arose after dinner I was hungrier than when I sat down. After these dinners I was ready to eat a pound of sausage. Once I said so aloud [before other boys] and it led to my making a wager with one of the boys. I said I would eat a whole pound of sausage and 6 grosz worth of rolls, and the wager was that if I did it, he was to pay for them, and if I did not I had to pay. We bought all this, but alas! I was oblighed to leave perhaps one-eighth of the sausage and half a roll, and I lost the wager, *i. e.*, I had to pay for what I ate. I had some money, for every day I earned a little when I brushed a customer. In such conditions I spent four weeks, after which

my brother and father came to settle the contract, but they could come to no agreement. The boss wanted a contract with the following conditions: I was to stay and learn four years; he was to be allowed to give me corporal punishment if I merited it, and in the event of my flight father was to pay him for every day I had spent with him. Aleksy and my father were displeased with this, and so the agreement was not concluded. They gave him one week for reflection. After a week I got a letter ordering me to ask the boss whether he would not yield. It was written in the following way: "Tell him that if he agrees not to inflict corporal punishment on you, your father will come and sign the contract." He was present when I read the letter, and I had hardly finished when he reached out his hand and asked me to show him what my parents had written. When he read the letter he became terribly angry, because it was written, "Tell him," instead of "tell your Mr. Superior" [or "tell Mr. Remisz"]. So he gave the letter back to me and ordered me to be gone. I went to search for a coach, but I could not find one until the next day. Some drivers came to the governmental store for spirits and I went back with one of them. But when I got home — O my God! My father almost wanted to kill me for having run away, and he would never believe that he himself was the cause of my being driven away. In later days he always reproached me with having run away, and for this I almost hated him. He would not be persuaded; he knew that it was true, but he would not humiliate himself [by acknowledging that he was wrong].

I did not remain long at home, for soon a surgeon's assistant, Mr. Poradziński from Izbica, came to take me and I went with him. I was dissatisfied from the first moment there. He was a good man, but she! Well, I have never in my life seen another such. And what made me most angry was that when I drank water she washed the glass with soap for an hour afterward, and when she intended to go to church on Sunday she ordered me to shine her shoes on the Monday before and on every day during the whole week, although the shoes remained quietly upon a foot-stool in the room. And then I had to sleep on a sofa so narrow that every night I fell off more than once. Therefore I did not stay more than two weeks. When she ordered me again to repeat the same story with her shoes, I refused, took my clothes

and went home.[1] My father did not vociferate as much [this time] because he knew what a shrew this Mrs. P. was.

Then I spent almost a whole winter at home, for again the condition of my parents changed. After we had lived a year in Sompolno, the beer business being poor, father took the store in Lubotyń again, without giving up the beer-shop. So we had two businesses, in Lubotyń and in Sompolno. Mother went to Lubotyń and took all the children, except sister Marya, who stayed with father in the beer-shop. I went with mother. Before leaving Sompolno I had got acquainted with a boy who had been for two years a baker's apprentice in Sompolno. He urged me to learn to be a baker, and I decided I would, but the baker, Mr. Degurski, would not take me until spring. We left Sompolno on New Year, so I had still three months free. I made the trip to Lubotyń joyfully, for many pleasures awaited me there and my friends rejoiced no less than I. My parents and Mr. D. soon got angry with each other, but not for long. The cause of the anger was my parents' refusal to give them any more credit; they owed us more than 40 roubles and they wanted to buy still more, while my parents could not sell any more. But soon they came to an understanding. They gave us a sewing-machine for 25 roubles, my father took a pig for 15 roubles and the anger then subsided. It made no difference to us children if our parents quarreled; we lived in perfect harmony and I now tried to renew my love-relation with Miss Pelagia, but I enjoyed this much desired love only once and then in a very difficult way. As soon as I was settled in Lubotyń, I wrote Miss P. the following letter: "Dear Miss Pelagia: I must confess that I have longed for you very much during the whole year, and I have thought only of you. I hope that you have longed for me too, for you certainly had nobody to play with. So I beg you very much to write me where we can meet. I shall await your answer with longing. Please hand me your answer in the same way as before, and I believe that you won't refuse me for the sake of our common enjoyment. I remain yours, W. W."

But alas! I waited in vain a whole week and got no news at all. We usually passed all our letters to each other from hand to

[1] The attitude of self-esteem implies a certain expectation of social recognition, and this evidently pre-existed in the boy and changed to offended dignity on meeting so radical and unmerited a rebuke.

hand. I was tired of waiting and I wrote her another letter and said that if she did not answer I would betray her. I must have frightened her seriously for I did not need to wait long for an answer, only not by letter, but by words. On the third day we had an opportunity to speak. She began to abuse me a great deal and she said, almost with tears, that if she had known I would be so importunate she would have preferred not to begin at all. Moreover that I always frightened her by threatening to tell everybody. "You are unbearable, my Władek,"— for she called me by name [as a much younger boy]. "Stop boring me with your love, my dear. I have a betrothed. I shall soon marry perhaps, so cease to bore me with your letters once for all; even now, I don't read them but throw them into the fire." I felt cold and hot during this speech. I did not know how to answer, so I got up and walked away in order to reflect what to do further. Although I strained my stupid mind I could form no plan and I reached home without a single idea and in a very bad humor. My mother noticed it and asked what was the matter with me and whether I was not sick. I answered that it was nothing and so the matter ended. But fortune managed to do what I could not. On the third Sunday after our conversation several boys and girls came to Mr. D.'s house. Of course I was there. I went there as often as if nothing had happened, and occupied myself with Kazia, although my mind was turned toward Miss P. When many young people had gathered — besides us children, there were some guests more than twenty years old, among them Mr. Franciszek N., whom Miss P. had called her betrothed — we resolved to play forfeits. We played different ways, and when there were enough forfeits we elected judges to inflict punishment upon all who had incurred forfeits. When my turn came I was condemned "to carry sweet cherries about," that is, to kiss everybody. When the girls heard the judgment they began to fly and to hide about the entire house. I paid the greatest attention to where Miss P. went to hide. She was among those who went upstairs to the garret. I followed her and saw where she hid; two other girls besides her went upstairs. In the garret was some hay for the cow that Mr. D. kept. When I went upstairs I first found Miss Antonina W., the daughter of a miller. I shall tell more about her later. Then I found Kazia. When I had kissed them both — they did not defend themselves much — they went

downstairs and I pretended to search for Miss P. I knew very well where she was hidden and when I found her I began to kiss her with greater boldness because I had kissed her more than once before. But I was not satisfied with kissing only; I demanded more. In the beginning she refused even to listen; she said she would call and everybody would come. I said let her call; *I* would not be ashamed. When I continued to kiss and implore her she saw there was no escape from me, and fearing this search might seem too long, she finally yielded. But first she made me promise that it would not happen again, and that I would cease to importune her. I was obliged to swear to it, and she urged me to hasten because she was very much afraid that somebody might come upstairs. When we had foolished enough I went down first and entered the room, saying that I could not find Miss P. Other girls and that betrothed of hers went to search for her. They soon found her and brought her down, quite covered with hay.

Such was my last enjoyment with Miss P., for I had sworn to leave her alone, and I kept my oath, turning my love toward Kazia. But I had no love-relations at all with her, although we were already called a pair of betrothed. And so the rest of those three months passed without any important incident. It was time to go to my apprenticeship and I began to prepare myself for it. First I had to go to confession. I made my first confession when eleven years old. Mr. C. [the organist] prepared me, but he did not have to teach me the catechism at all, for I had learned it at school. Thus I was admitted to confession without any difficulty, which rejoiced the priest. He told me that I was already a man, since I had been to confession. All of the children who were at home had to go to confession four times a year. . . . My first confession was not celebrated very solemnly, so I won't describe it.

Up to the time I started preparing for this apprenticeship I had been to confession at least ten times. I must say that I did not like to go to our priest, for he never asked about any sins in particular and I had to do all the talking myself. When I finished my story he gave me absolution and the confession was over. But once, during a parish festival when I was confessing to another priest, he investigated thoroughly, he reminded me [about different sins], he abused me and was almost ready to beat

me at the confessional chair. This I called a [real] confession and I approached it with great terror.[1] Before every confession my father gave me a whole heap of moral preaching until I was weary of listening. He talked this way not only to me but to every one of his children, even to Aleksy, although he was of age and married. From this anger often arose between my father and Aleksy. Once father was in his house and noticed that he ate his breakfast without having said the prayer. Father very unceremoniously reproached him, which made Aleksy very angry with father. He did not love father any more than the other children did, for father was ungenerous and brutal toward his children, even when they were grown up.

Although I was still almost a child, I did not like this paternal moral preaching much either, but I listened because I had to. It was the same with this confession before the apprenticeship. Father ordered me to tell the priest everything, even things I did not consider sinful. But I told only things which I considered sinful myself. For example, when I stole anything from my parents I did not consider it a sin and did not tell it, although father had ordered me to tell and I had promised. Then I had one more sin upon my conscience — disobedience. I always considered disobedience a sin and I could not understand how it was possible not to listen to one's parents. I listened not only to them but also to my older brothers and sisters, and if they ordered me to do anything I did it, not only from fear but also from conviction that I was doing right. Neither my parents nor my older brothers and sisters ever complained of me in this respect.[2]

When I had finished the confession and my clothes were ready and nothing remained but going to the apprenticeship, suddenly my mother changed her mind. She no longer wanted me to go

[1] This appreciation of religious terror — the tragic "terror" of Aristotle — is typically peasant, though of course universal on a certain level of development.

[2] The obedience here is the result of the desire for response, but Władek claims moral merit on this account, as he always does when his behavior happens to be in accord with the social norm, even when its source is quite other than the feeling of duty — a typical Philistine attitude. His claim is also a proof that in the process of dissolution of the old familial solidarity obedience is the most persistent of all the attitudes. The bond of affection which substitutes itself in other cases for the primitive solidarity is a socially new attitude, not belonging, like obedience, to the traditional complex.

to learn to be a baker, but to remain at home for some time and learn the butcher's trade from my father. When I grew stronger I could go to town and learn how to make a greater variety of products, for my father only knew how to make sausages, pudding-sausages and *podgardlanki*, though in winter we killed a hog almost every week. Mother really wanted me to take my father's place at home in the future. But I did not want even to listen to this and I continually asked for an apprenticeship.[1]

At last, toward the end of March, the day came when I was to go to Sompolno. I was to go afoot, while my father was to bring me my box when they came to Sompolno to shop. It was Monday. I arose as early as possible. I went to the church, assisted at mass, and then went to the priest to bid him goodbye. The priest filled my pockets with nuts and gave me half a rouble for the journey, but he did not refer to the druggist again nor to his promise [to help me to become one]. He advised me to listen to my new father and to be always polite to him, for then I should become a respectable man. I thanked him for the good advice and left. On the way I called on the D.'s to bid them goodbye. There I got a really hearty farewell, for I had grown as accustomed to them as to my own parents, and they to me. We knew one another for so long a time, I went to school there for so many years that it is not strange we loved one another. Mrs. D. kissed me more warmly than her own son [he was also a baker's apprentice] and said: "Who will be a better baker and who will finish first, you or my Józio?" I shook hands with Kazia and wanted to kiss her, but she refused. I kissed Helcia and Janek and merely bowed to Miss P. Bronisław was not at home, for he had gone to the forest to get fire-wood. Mr. D. was at the school-house. Mrs. D. asked me to come to Lubotyń often and visit her. "For you are my son-in-law, Władzio," she said. I kissed her hand once more and, almost in tears, I left this hospitable house where I had enjoyed so much pleasure and entertainment.[2] Then I

[1] Desire for new experience.

[2] His relation with the D. family always remained more free, even if less close, than that with his own. Indeed the attitudes of personal friend-

went straight home. I did not go to the blacksmith's house for we had quarreled with his son about some pigeons. After breakfast I bade my parents goodbye. My father gave me his hand to kiss and said we should see each other in a few days. But when I went to kiss my mother's hand, instead of giving me the hand to kiss, she struck me in the face — for the first time in my life. Dear reader, you can imagine what an impression this must have made on me! If I had been struck by lightning it would certainly have been less astonishing than getting a box on the ear from my mother at such an important moment. And for what? I don't know myself why my mother acted so meanly. After this I did not try to kiss her hand again, but without bidding goodbye to my brothers and sisters, I left the house. When I reached the school-house the teacher was standing on the threshold, so I bade him goodbye also. He patted me on the head and advised me to be polite and obedient. I thanked him and went on. During the entire journey I cried without being able to stop because of the farewell my mother had given me. I tried to think how I could have deserved it. For a moment I hated the whole world and all the people in it. I who loved my mother so much and who would have been glad to be always with her, I thought badly even of her at that moment. I could not conceive that she did it without a reason, and at last I came to the conclusion that mother did it because I refused to learn to be a butcher, as she had planned. This could have been the only reason she gave me the ear-box.[1] But going along the road I

ship and affection cannot express themselves with sufficient freedom in the family because the traditional norms of obedience and the feeling of responsibility give the whole relation a character of seriousness and constraint. This character is not felt so much in the primary peasant family, where the respective attitudes are habitual. In Władek's case the familial connection is already felt as an unpleasant duty and may disappear if the contrary attitudes find favorable conditions of development.

[1] The boy's refusal to stay at home is not a sufficient explanation of the anger, and we are unable to offer one. We have seen American mothers behave in a similar way, and we suspect the Freudian complex. (*Cf.* p. 1930, note.) Cases of seemingly incomprehensible acts performed suddenly without any noticeable process of preparation and without an apparent reason are frequently met, especially in people with a relatively low degree of culture. The incomprehensible character of these acts for us is due in a large measure to the existence of attitudes which are not ours, but in a large measure also to a more general cause which we have mentioned in the introduction — the

resolved that I would hold out in the apprenticeship however hard it might be and later establish a bakery, so that my parents could live with me in their old age, although I was then, in their eyes, the worst of all their children.[1]

Animated with this hope, I hastened my steps in order to reach the end of my journey sooner, and at three o'clock I was already in Mr. Degurski's home, without having seen my sister Marya, who was then in the beer-shop with my brother Paweł. I resolved that I would go home as seldom as possible. So Marya and Paweł did not know that I was already in Sompolno, but I intended to go to see them the next day. When I entered the bakery, I was received with joy. Mrs. Deg. gave me a good and plentiful dinner, very different from the dinners we received in Konin. The boss was not at home at that moment. After the dinner, which I ate in the kitchen, I went to the bakery to see the other boy. His name was Janek. He too was glad I had come. Janek was seventeen, three years older than I, and he was to be emancipated [become a free journeyman] on August 10th of the following year, and of this he was very proud and glad. He was the elder, and I was obliged to listen to him in everything relating to the work. When we had shaken hands he led me to an alcove where I undressed in order to help him carry in firewood for the oven. When we had brought wood enough Janek put it all into the oven and began to prepare the dough for bread and rolls. He prepared it and I looked on. When the boss came I greeted him, and he said: "Well, you are here, and already in the apron? I thought you did not want any baker's work." "Oh, yes, I do. I want to be a baker. And my mother made this apron." "All right, all right, if you are willing and obedient, you will become a man. And listen to Janek, for he is the elder." Then he told Janek to awaken him when it was time to put the rolls into the oven, and left. Janek said he was going to sleep when he had finished preparing the dough, and he told me to do the same. I lay down beside him

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vagueness with which situations are given to the uncultivated mind. The situation may remain vague for a long time until suddenly some new element added to it — sometimes a quite insignificant one — makes it clear for the subject, who then defines it as suddenly.

[1] This is not affection or generosity but the wish to even up — the desire for response and recognition expressed in a day-dream.

on the bed which stood in the bakery. We were to sleep three hours while the dough was rising. Janek fell asleep at once, but I could not close my eyes, for I was thinking continually how I should become a journeyman, earn some money, then marry Kazia, and take my parents to my home in their old age.[1] Dreaming so about my future, I remained awake the whole three hours. At eleven I roused Janek, who kneaded the dough. We slept for two hours more and then arose to work. Janek made the fire and ordered me to cover the planks with towels for the rolls. When there was a good fire we began to make the rolls; that is, Janek made them and I put them on the planks. There were not many on this day, only eight planks full. When he had made the rolls he told me to carry them outdoors and he began to make the bread. I weighed the dough and he made the loaves. When everything was ready Janek roused the boss, who did not put the rolls into the oven, but ordered Janek to clean the oven and to put them in himself. He said that in the future we two were to do the work and he told me to learn quickly. When we finished it was about eight in the morning. I went with the boss to the bakery shop. He counted the rolls, put them into a basket and gave them to me to carry around the town to two restaurants and six stores. When I got back it was ten o'clock. Then I had to go to the draw-well six times for water, which I carried on a bearing-wood. The well was so deep that it was difficult to draw the water, the buckets were large and it was a long way to carry them. Next I had to sweep the bakery and fetch firewood, and only then I was free. I had to carry in about a sixteenth of a cubic *sążeń* [a cubic sążeń contains about 216 cubic feet] and this carrying was also hard. When I finished doing all this it was one o'clock. I ate dinner, dressed and went to call on sister Marya. I gave her father's messages, drank a glass of beer, and returned to the bakery. Janek was already at work. I spent about two weeks working in this way. Then my father came — he was there once before when he brought my box — and asked me how I liked it. I said it was not bad, but complained that the work was rather hard. Father did not stop to listen to my last words, and went upstairs to talk to the boss about the conditions of my apprenticeship. I was not called upstairs at all.

[1] His day-dreams always remain what they are here — vanity-dreams, with a rather secondary and insignificant sexual element.

After about three hours my father and the boss came to the bakery and explained their conditions to me. I was to learn for three years by serving; that is, doing everything I was ordered. Mr. Degurski was to teach me the baker's work and after three years to emancipate me at his own cost. After they explained this to me they went away and I was left alone, for Janek was not there. Father's action displeased me, for he left me there under hard conditions though he still had plenty of money and could have made things easier for me. For example, he could have bought my clothes and then the boss would not have forced me to carry water, which was beyond my strength. But what did father care for this? He would not do it of himself, but if somebody had paid him well he would have sold me outright. I reflected, however, that God would probably help me to hold out. And then I went to sleep, for it was rather late for me.

My master's character, as I knew it, was not good. He spent the whole day in the tavern, and when he came back late at night and his wife grumbled at him, he beat her with a stick. I heard with my own ears what happened once when he came home drunk. His wife showed him a picture of St. Mary Magdalene, saying: "See with what anger she looks on your drunkenness! Have some regard, if not for me, then at least for our children!" But he, in his drunkenness, became infuriated and cried: "Go to cholera, together with your Mary Magdalene!" And I heard him throw the image on the floor. She fled to another room and shut the door. He struck the door with all his strength with the stick which he always carried with him, but she did not open it. He threw himself on the sofa, and then it was quiet, for he slept. Scenes like this occurred frequently when Mr. D. was drunk, and he was drunk two or three times a week.

In the third quarter of my first year in Mr. D.'s bakery, things grew worse with me. There was more baking in the winter, and Janek did not want to make the dough any more, so I had to work inside the bakery as well as outside. I was tired out with bringing water and carrying rolls around the town. I had to bring water not six, but eight times every day, and still oftener before market on Sunday and on the two week-days on which they had markets. When they washed I had to stay in the kitchen all day and fetch water for them. When it snowed I had to clear the sidewalks. Perhaps I should have been able to

do all this work if Janek had not worried me with his extraordinary demands. He made me shine his shoes, prepare water for washing his hands and face, and brush his clothes. When he overslept at night he beat me, and when he spoiled anything he beat me, saying it was my fault that he spoiled it. He sometimes deliberately prevented me from going to sleep during the whole day [and night] even for a single hour, for he told me to watch the dough and rouse him when it was ready.[1] It was really impossible to bear all this, sc I resolved to beg my parents to find some way out.

One Sunday I did my work as speedily as possible and asked my master for permission to go to Lubotyń for one night. Mr. D. gave me the permission, telling me to return the next day at four. I wanted to buy some rolls for 20 grosz to take home to my family, but Mr. D. would not accept any money, and gave me all I asked for. I had been to the beer-shop the day before and learned that my father was in Lubotyń, so I went straight there without stopping at the beer-shop. I could have settled this matter in Sompolno, for father was there more often than in Lubotyń, but I wanted to speak with father and mother together. By the time I had greeted everybody at home and given them the rolls, my mother knew that I came with bad news and she began to question me. So I told them everything. My parents listened to my story and asked me what I wanted to do. I answered that I wished father would go to Mr D. and ask him to stop making me carry water and to make Janek treat me better, and if Mr. D. refused I would go elsewhere to finish my apprenticeship. I had not yet finished speaking when my sister Florentyna began to abuse me saying: "You lazy fellow, you are accustomed to running away from apprenticeship and you like it. Father, get a stick and give him a few good whacks. Then he will go back and not complain. What kind of an idea is this that such a whelp should govern his parents?" After this strong argument from sister Florcia, I had nothing to say, but sat in a corner and cried.[2] In the evening I went to Mr. D.'s house to complain to them. When Mrs. D. learned everything she advised me to

[1] Bullying is a handworker tradition, designed to preserve the hierarchical attitudes.

[2] The sister takes the standpoint of the claims of the family as against the individual, and since the family as a whole has superior rights to the

leave Mr. Degurski and go to Kalisz where Józef was an apprentice. They began to tell me how well off he was there; he never carried any water nor wood, he got 3 roubles a week, for he was paid 6 grosz for every sack of flour he baked, and on Friday he baked bread for the Jewish Sabbath and earned about 2 roubles more. This tale pleased me very much and I wanted to go to Kalisz also. I could easily get the money, but how could I get the passport? Without a passport I could not go, and without father's permission they would not give me a passport. Finally I resolved to take the first opportunity and go at any price. It was 105 wiorsta to Kalisz. Kazia gave me Józef's address. I then bade them goodbye and went home, for it was late. The next day after dinner I went back to Sompolno . . . and set about my usual work. Before a week passed my father came, abused Janek well and then went upstairs to Mr. Degurski. I don't know what their conversation was but the result was that Janek began to tease me still more. One morning four weeks after the occurrences just described, I had finished carrying the rolls around the town and had just returned to the bakery when Mr. D. entered, holding in his hands three crescents and two rolls, which he had found in the pocket of my Sunday suit. Mr. D. called me a thief, said that he did not expect me to steal, and when I began to swear that I knew nothing about them and did not steal any rolls, Mr. D. struck me several times on the ear in great anger. I was guiltless and this made me desperate. I knew that Janek must have put the rolls there in order to destroy my master's confidence in me. But what could I do? How could I prove it? There was no way and my only resource was to revenge myself upon Janek. But how? I resolved to break one of his legs some time when he was asleep. I would take a piece of wood — there was plenty in the bakery — strike him with all my strength on the legs, and then run away. I began to work out my plans. I received a letter from Józef in which he wrote me to come to Kalisz, as his master would receive me at any time I was all ready to go except for the passport. But fate decreed differently.

One Sunday a restaurant-keeper sent a piece of pork to be

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individual there is little place for pity, as in general wherever there is an opposition between individual interest and group interest.

baked, but as he was never willing to pay 10 grosz for it Janek went walking that morning instead of baking the pork. He wanted to teach the man to pay. But things happened otherwise. When this restaurant-keeper sent for his pork at noon the maid brought it to him as it was, uncooked, and at that moment Mr. Degurski was in the restaurant. He had great consideration for the restaurant-keeper, who took bread from him, and as he was somewhat ashamed and still more angry because the restaurant-keeper began to scoff, he came running to the bakery to beat Janek. Happily, the latter was not there. Mr. D. did not say a word to me, for it was none of my business. He swore savagely a score of times and returned to the restaurant. In the evening Janek returned but before I had time to tell him everything Mr. D. came in and began to beat him, raining blows on him from above wherever he could reach him. Janek knelt down, begged, implored, but without avail. When the master got tired of torturing the defenseless boy, he went out. He had beaten him so much that although I did not like Janek I pitied him.[1] Janek lay down and did not work that night at all, but I awakened Mr. D. A few days after this beating typhoid fever developed in Janek. His head was swollen as big as a bucket, his hair fell out, and in a word, he became dangerously sick. And he had nobody to care for him, no doctor, nor medicine, nor suitable food. He just lay in the bakery upon a hard bed, and I alone gave him water and changed his linen, from pity. For six weeks he lay senseless and did not rise from his bed. Nobody even came to visit him or asked about him. Such is the lot of an apprentice boy! His parents are glad that they have sent their son away from home and given him to some drunkard like Mr. D. who instead of making a man of him and inculcating good principles in him takes his health and strength away once and forever. And the boy does not dare to complain to his parents, for they will not listen to him.[2] And what else could befall me?

[1] This vicarious satisfaction of vengeance has an evident importance for the process of the legalization of vengeance, as we shall illustrate in later volumes.

[2] According to tradition the master was to be the "second father" of the apprentice and had full paternal authority over him under the control of the guild, as the father's authority was under control of the family. When

I was now still more determined to leave Mr. D. as soon as possible and I went to see my parents once more, begging them to change my apprenticeship, but it was like throwing peas against the wall. They even refused to listen. So I was obliged to take things into my own hands. When I returned to the bakery Janek began to get about a little. I forgot about vengeance and thought only about myself. I went to the butcher who lived in the same house and borrowed a butcher's knife to cut one of my fingers off. I thought that if I became sick I should have to go home and while my hand was getting healed there would be time enough to search for another apprenticeship. In order to carry out my stupid plan I took the knife to the woodshed and shut the door. I found a bit of wood as thick as my finger and I tried the knife to see if it was sharp enough. When I had cut the wood, I put my finger in its place and raised the knife in order to let it fall on the finger. But at the last moment my courage left me.[1] Tears gushed from my eyes. I laid the knife aside and began to think once more about my parents who were so cruel and merciless toward me their son. They could do much for one son, why would they do nothing for the other? My brother Stanisław was admitted to the teachers' seminary in Łeczyca almost a year ago and my parents were expecting him home soon for vacation. Stanisław's admission cost about 200 roubles, his clothes, books, etc., about another hundred, and they had to send him money every month for board, rent and other expenses. My parents did not have much money now, for they lost about 600 roubles on the first beer-shop, and besides the expenses of my brother there was sister Florentyna's dowry. The latter was to marry the organist, Mr. C., in spite of my mother's protestations, for mother yielded at last and permitted them to marry. Sister was to

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the control is lost the authority is still there and leads to a tyranny to which tradition still gives an appearance of justification. Formerly the master had an interest in caring for the welfare of the apprentice, because social opinion credited him with the future success of the latter, but now no attention is paid to this matter.

[1] The essential fact is: painful situation — desire for social help — voluntary self-infliction or pretense of suffering, to attract pity. Typical for a weak person who tries to escape an unpleasant situation or induce a pleasant one by relying on social interference instead of his own activity, and prevalent in hysterical women.

receive 200 roubles for her dowry and she did indeed receive them. Thus within a short time, less than three years, my parents lost more than a thousand roubles. Moreover, the trade at Lubotyń was not as profitable as formerly, when there was a tavern, and my parents lost money almost every year in this business. So they put all their hope on Stanisław's getting a job when he finished school and taking them to live with him.

Our parents had got rid of Paweł three months before this, sending him to Łódź as a grocer's apprentice. He was to learn for four years. The grocer was obliged to clothe him and to send him to a business school. Paweł praised the place, but was indignant at our parents for having sent him very poorly equipped to the grocer. Father gave him only one rouble for all the expenses of the journey, though it was about seventy wiorsta and he went by coach. But our parents did not seem to mind this at all, for they were evidently glad to get rid of their children as soon as possible. They were deaf to my requests, for they were afraid I might come home and eat their bread and do nothing.[1] But I did not think of this at all; I only wished to get better conditions in order to learn as rapidly as possible and to work for money, not to sit at home.

All this came to my mind while preparing to cut my finger off. But I lacked courage. I returned the knife to the butcher and resolved to run away at the first opportunity. I did not wait very long. A few weeks later mother and sister Florentyna came to buy something for sister, whose wedding with C. was to be celebrated in a few days. They came to invite me. Mr. D. said I could go. On the day before the wedding I took my aprons and a few small things and left with the intention of never returning to this bakery, and so it was. I was in Lubotyń before evening. I had nothing to do at home, so I went to see Kazia, who was to be my partner [at the wedding]. I won't describe the wedding except to say that it was merry and decent. I liked particularly the "Veni Creator," for it was sung by ten good organists with the accompaniment of the whole organ. I was going to leave in the evening and I got a little money from sister Marya by

[1] In the primary agricultural group the child is an asset (*cf.* Jablkowski series, Vol. I), but in the isolated marriage group he becomes an economic burden. Child labor has furnished one solution of the problem for the immigrant group in America.

begging for it. Brother Aleksy and his wife left after dinner and Stanisław remained. Stanisław looked very nice in his school uniform, and this made him and our parents very proud.

As soon as brother Aleksy left I began to prepare for my journey, though I did not know yet where to go. I knew that I would not return to Mr. Degurski but I had no definite plans. I left at three o'clock and father was to return to the beer shop two hours later. I had prepared a small bundle and hidden it in the stable, where I found it after bidding them goodbye at home. I took it and started on an aimless journey.[1] Nobody knew my intention except the teacher's family. But I did not go to see them nor the priest. When I had walked for about two wiorsta I saw a hayrick standing near the road. Without much reflection I dug myself into the hay and slept. When I awoke it was night. I went on to Sompolno alone, not knowing what to do. When I came to the town it was dark everywhere. I went directly to the Jewish bakery, for a Polish journeyman whom I knew worked there. I climbed the fence around the courtyard, as the door was closed. When I got in the journeyman asked me what I was doing. I told him everything. He neither persuaded nor dissuaded me from my intentions but told me to lie down on the oven, and when his rolls were baked he gave me some. I filled my pockets with them and the next morning before sunrise I left the bakery and Sompolno, going in the direction of Kalisz. About eight wiorsta from Sompolno was the village of Lubstowo, where an organist whom I knew lived. When I reached Lubstowo it was about eight o'clock in the morning

[1] In this first vagabonding excursion, as in many of the later ones, the objective reason is not sufficient to explain the action. There is evidently in the boy a pre-existing disposition to change and a desire for adventure which under the influence of any external factor becomes the vagabonding attitude. The aimlessness of the excursion is an interesting point. When the individual's life is organized from the outside and he has to adapt himself passively to the ready social frame, he needs little distant or conscious purpose. And the individual does not seem to feel uncomfortable on this account, does not realize the lack of plans even if he feels his helplessness. Such cases are frequent in social work.

and I resolved to call on him. The organist was very astonished at my arrival and asked what was the cause of my visit. I told him that I was going to get my passport [from the commune office] in Sosnowiec for I had an apprenticeship in Turek. "How can that be true?" asked the organist. "No longer ago than the day before yesterday I was talking to your father and he told me that you were learning in Sompolno with Mr. Degurski. And today, such a big change! You lie, you have certainly run away and now you don't know yourself where you are going." Finally he told his wife to give me some breakfast and went to the church. I did not wait for his return but went on as soon as I finished breakfast. And now I decided that I really would go to the commune office, as the secretary, who was a good friend of my parents, would perhaps give me the passport. With this idea I hurried in order to be there before the evening, as the commune office was at least fifteen wiorsta from Lubstowo. My way led through Makolno, where I knew the organist well also, as he often visited my parents. I thought that as I had breakfasted with one organist I should dine with the other.[1] When I entered the vestibule he met me and asked what I was doing there. I could not tell him that I was going to get my passport, for I was off the road from Lubotyń to Sosnowiec, but I answered boldly that I was going to brother Aleksy, for this was exactly the way to him. The organist was much astonished. "Your brother left yesterday, and you are going to him today? Why, something important must have happened!" In his astonishment he raised his voice and was overheard by Kazimierz, the brother of my brother-in-law, who by a strange coincidence was at this very moment in the house. When Kazimierz heard the voice he opened the door and was very much astonished at seeing me. Without waiting for what I should say he began to talk to the organist, telling him not to believe me, for I was lying. He said that I had run away from my apprenticeship and was loafing around the country. And he began to abuse me in the presence of the organist, saying that I was a bad boy who caused my parents a great deal of grief, for they thought I had drowned myself in the lake and they cried and searched for me everywhere. He said that he had just come

[1] On this first expedition Władek calls only on his acquaintances, and claims only the hospitality normal in the country.

from Lubotyń and was going back at once — he had come only to borrow some wafers — so I should go with him and I should not be afraid, as my parents would not beat me, for they had forgiven me everything and only wanted me to come back. I answered nothing, but the organist began to persuade me to go back. Then he invited us in and gave us dinner, during which he asked me to tell why I had run away. When I told him everything he agreed that I was right but said that I ought to go home and not loaf about like a tramp. He asked me to promise him to go back with Kazimierz and I did it without hesitation. When the wafers were ready, we went to Lubotyń. I did not go home at once, but went to the teacher's house first, drank some tea there and remained until eight o'clock in the evening. Suddenly my youngest brother appeared and told me to come home, for neither father nor mother was there, as they were not coming back from Sompolno until the next morning. But I refused to listen and chased him away. Half an hour later my sister and brother-in-law came urging me to go home. I did not listen to them. Sister then began to abuse Mrs. D., saying that it was not nice of her to keep such a boy as I away from home and to spoil him. Seeing a quarrel ahead, I got up, took my hat and said I would go home. When we left the room, my brother-in-law caught hold of my coat to keep me from running away again. When we were outside on the street and I felt that he was not holding me very tight, I broke away and ran into a field. He tried to catch me but stumbled and fell down, for it was rather dark and beginning to rain. He could not catch me, so they called me a few times and went home. I returned to the village and began to think about a sleeping-place for the night. I did not dare to go back to Mrs. D. I remembered that there was some hay in the garret of our house and that it was possible to go up without attracting anybody's attention. As it was now raining hard and I could no longer remain outside, I decided to try out this idea. I first looked in the window to find out what they were doing. Everybody was busy, but my sister was talking energetically to her husband about something. I opened the front door noiselessly and found the ladder, and went up. I buried myself in the hay and slept. The next day, as soon as I awoke I went to the forge. The blacksmith's wife and the boys urged me to go home, but I did not yield until C. came and took me.

My sister ordered me to wash myself and say my prayers and afterwards gave me breakfast. All would have been well perhaps if sister had not abused me and frightened me again with regard to my father, saying that the rope was wet [for beating], the stick ready, and so on. Then I thought: "Why should I await my father's coming so that he can torture me!" And I resolved to run away again. When an opportunity came I stole 40 copecks from the drawer, a bit of dry sausage and some bread. When I had everything in my pocket, I said to my sister: "I will go, for I don't want father to beat me. Tell father that when I meet him I will talk with him as with a father." Without waiting for her answer I left the house and wandered in the neighborhood of Lubotyń the whole day, not knowing where to go. In the evening I came back. I first looked through the window. My parents were there and Stanisław also. I went to the blacksmith's house to stay a little while, for it was too early to go to sleep. I was cold, for it had rained the whole day and I had had nothing warm in my stomach. In the blacksmith's house I learned that my father was searching for me and that Stanisław had been there asking for me. I stayed till nine and then went to look for a place to sleep. I could not go to the garret because I feared father might find me, for my sister had probably told him that I spent the previous night there. I preferred to go to the stable, where there was also some straw. The gate to the yard was locked so I resolved to climb over the fence. But no sooner had I begun to climb than the wind tore my hat off. I came down and searched but could not find it. I went again to the blacksmith, the boys lighted a lantern and we began to search, but in vain. We were returning to the forge and were just at the door when my father caught me, took my hand and started home. I went with him, though very unwillingly, for I did not dare to run away. When we entered the house my father dropped my hand. I begged his pardon and sat down near the door with the intention of running away if he wanted to beat me. Father asked me where my hat was and when I told him that the wind had blown it away, he asked where it went and stepped out. I thought he was going for the wet rope, but to my astonishment I saw a lantern in his hand. He went to look for the hat and searched a long time but returned with nothing, saying that it would be found the next morning. Then he said his prayers and went to sleep. I ate

supper and did the same, but still fearful, for I did not yet believe father and thought that I should get the beating after undressing. I was mistaken, however, in this. A few days later my father brought the rest of my clothes home but did not say a word about my returning to Mr. Degurski.[1] And so, without any important incidents, three weeks passed.

When Stanisław went to see Aleksy to bid him goodbye I went with him. Aleksy abused me a little, saying that I could not hold out at any place but was dissatisfied everywhere, and so it ended. On the third morning of our visit Aleksy went away to Kónin. We were to return to Lubotyń the following day. As soon as Aleksy left our sister-in-law treated us in a very inhospitable manner. Usually the maid asked us to come to breakfast in the living-room, but on that day our sister-in-law "deigned" to send breakfast to us in the office [they probably slept in the office]. When the maid brought the tea she said that we should eat our breakfast there, for her mistress was still asleep. We each drank one glass of tea. The maid then brought two more glasses, but no more sugar. When we asked why there was no sugar she answered that she had brought four pieces of sugar, which should be enough for four glasses of tea. Stanisław asked her to bring some more. After a moment she came back with nothing, saying that her mistress refused to give us any more sugar. So we told her to take the tea back to the kitchen and to tell her mistress that when she rose she could drink it to our health for breakfast. Then we left without a farewell and went to Lubotyń, abusing our sister-in-law on the way. Before we had been at home long enough to recover from the hospitable reception our kind sister had given us, a special messenger from her arrived

[1] The interesting point is the lack of any endeavor to clear up the situation, to come to a common basis of understanding. This is a frequent case among peasants, and its source is the difficulty of defining a new situation. Where, as in the peasant organization, situations are largely defined by tradition the individual lacks the habit of doing it. This seldom has bad consequences if the background of attitudes of the individuals concerned is the same, for then an understanding is effected through sentiment rather than through rational agreement, as in the present case. But if the attitudes do not harmonize the lack of definiteness of the situation makes an understanding impossible. This is one of the factors in the innumerable quarrels and lawsuits among the peasants since the new family and neighborship relations have begun to develop.

with a letter to father asking him to punish the whelps well for having offended her, especially for having done it through the maid, who would now gossip about her in the village. But father disliked his daughter-in-law as much at that time as we did, which was lucky for us, for he merely asked us in detail what happened and said, "All right." He ordered the messenger who brought the letter to say that the boys would be taught to respect their sister-in-law. Then he ordered tea be given him with two pieces of sugar to each glass and went away. Then I said to the messenger: "You see my father does not grudge sugar to you, who are a stranger, while our sister-in-law refused to give sugar to us, her brothers. You may tell her this." — "All right," he said. He finished eating, thanked us, and went back, impressed by the hospitality of my parents.

We did not like our sister-in-law because she was very proud of herself and her position [as wife of the cummunal secretary or perhaps as member of a somewhat superior family] and she treated us as if we were not related at all to her. She made my father feel this more than once and he therefore disliked her greatly. Moreover she was not in the least hospitable and this drove us all away from her. My mother would never go to see her although she was often invited to go. In short she did not enjoy the sympathy of our family nor even of her neighbors, and after that letter and after what the messenger told her the relations became still more strained. She could not bear to look at me in particular since that time, so I ceased to call on them.

A few days after this letter Stanisław returned to Łeczyca. . . I loafed about the country till January. My only distractions were books, Kazia, and mushroom-gathering. When the mushrooms were abundant father was in Lubotyń and one evening he announced that we should all go to the forest the next morning for mushrooms. On the way to the forest father called me and asked me when I intended to talk to him as to a father. He said that he had waited a long time and still I did not talk. I kissed his hand at once and began to tell him how bad it was at Mr. Degurski's bakery in Sompolno. Then I showed him Józef's letter from Kalisz, and begged him to get a passport for me and let me go to Józef's place. Father promised all this and said I should go after Christmas.[1] On the way back from the forest

[1] The problem is put on the basis of affection, and a moment free from

I stopped at the teacher's house in order to tell them at once. They were very glad also that I was going to be with their son. Bronisław had worked the whole summer at the manor. The girls bought winter hats for themselves with the money he earned while he went around as before in nothing but rags. When there was no more work in the field, he took a rope and went to the forest after dry wood. Sometimes he went four times a day and as he was a strong boy he brought wood enough to keep them warm. They had no money to buy firewood, and they could not even think of letting him go away from home, for if he were not there who would work for them?[1] Mr. D.'s oldest daughter had no luck about her marriage either. There were boys enough, it is true, but they came only to eat and drink well. There was one, about whom I wrote in the beginning, but the teacher refused to give the girl to him, saying that he did not educate her to be a simple peasant's wife. And so years passed, and Miss Pelagia remained a maiden, for even that first one ceased to come when he learned how he was talked about.

On Christmas my father brought my passport. So after New Year I left for Turek with a letter for Józef. Father promised to visit me in Turek in the summer and come to an understanding with my future master. So after a sincere farewell I left, carrying in my pocket my passport and almost 3 roubles of money. My father, it is true, gave me only 1 rouble, but I got more myself [probably stole from the drawer]. . . . It was about eighteen wiorsta to Koło, and I made this part of my journey afoot.

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practical cares is selected. We have seen (Vol. I: 288) that the peasant needs complete freedom from practical preoccupations to be able to give himself to sentimental or intellectual interests.

[1] A good example of the subordination of the individual to the family. In the peasant family the individual makes no sacrifice by his subordination, because the group embodies his interests. But here the familial organization is decaying, and while the family still demands as much as possible from the member it is unconscious of and unable to perform its duties toward him. It is the counterpart of the one-sided individualization where the member continues to make the old claims upon the family, but rejects the familial claims and refuses to subordinate his own interests to those of the group.

In the beginning I felt very cold, but later I warmed myself by walking, and in the evening I was in Koło. [In Turek] I learned from Józef that Mr. W. drank much, that Stasia was very much in love with him [Józef], and that he had an affair with Kasia, the maid. In general he praised the conditions, said that he had money enough, and that he would be emancipated in a year and a half. . . . Then we went to sleep, for we had to rise at four to make the dough and to dine. At four Kasia roused us, bringing a note with an order of bread for tomorrow. I could not notice at first that Kasia was in love with Józef though he often kissed and embraced her, but very cautiously, so that the master should not see him.

And so my time passed in working. In the summer my father came to see me. He talked it over with Mr. W. I was to learn for two years, and my father was to pay for my emancipation. I was very well satisfied with the change. I earned so much money that I could buy all the clothes I needed.

But nothing is without a "but." Thus it was also with us. Mr. and Mrs. W. went to a party, Józef began to amuse himself with the maid. He bought wine, brandy and *zakąski* [relishes], and began to foolish with her. But he must have been pretty well drunk, for he lay down with Kasia in her bed and slept until Mr. W. roused him with a good whip lash. Józef ran in his drawers into the bakery, where I had done almost everything — for I had been about a year in Turek. [Józef runs away. Mr. W. takes a larger place, with five journeymen.] Then a true day of judgment came for me. I was not allowed to work at the dough, but they ordered me to serve them. At night they told me to buy beer and brandy; they brought girls to the bakery. They called me always, "You whore's son!" I went often to Mrs. W. to complain, but it did not help very much, for they could not drive all the journeymen away for me alone. And Mr. W. almost never came to bakery, but drank and drank, ceaselessly. Once the journeyman who made the rolls spoiled the dough which had been prepared from about three sacks of flour. They put the dough into sacks and ordered the servant to throw them into the river. I could not stand it and told Mrs. W.[1] She repeated it

[1] Along with the desire for revenge and the attempt to please the master there is probably the traditional peasant attitude that "good food must not be wasted."

to her husband and Mr. W. came to the bakery in the evening and asked whether it was true. But they did not think of confessing their guilt. There were five of them and the servant was the sixth. When the master asked them they all said as one man that it was not true. So I became a liar. The master excused himself to them, and the journeyman who made the rolls threw a scraper at me with such force that it stuck in my side. It was in the presence of the master, who said nothing. What could I do? In view of such conditions nothing was left for me but to change the place of my apprenticeship again. It was, however, just before Easter and I postponed it until that time. But a few days after what happened in the bakery, I was sleeping upon the oven when Kasia came to rouse me for dinner. She pulled me by the leg, I rose hurriedly and fell down upon the flour and struck with my right temple upon the edge of a bin which stood under the oven. Blood gushed from my wound. I covered it with paper, ate the dinner and went to sleep again. In the evening when they awakened me to work, I could not rise. My whole face was swollen so much that I could not see from either eye. The next day I had fever and was badly sick. Stasia came, took the paper away and washed my wound. A week later I got much worse, so that my master wanted to send me to the hospital, but I begged Mrs. W. and Stasia not to allow him to send me, and so it was decided.[1] It was a month before I could rise from my bed, but I still could not work. Two weeks remained until Easter, and I had long ago got the permission of my master to go home for the holidays. Before my illness I bought nice shoes for four roubles; I had also bought a new suit with my own money, so that now, when I came back to health, I had only one rouble left. But I had no trouble about money, for Mrs. W. said that she would give me some, and Stasia promised also to give me a rouble. But alas! another trouble awaited me, for when I looked into the closet where my clothes were kept I could nowhere find my shoes. I searched; I wept. It did not help. Somebody had stolen them, my new shoes, which I had never yet had upon my feet! I asked Stasia, Mrs. W. and everybody, but nobody had seen them. I could do nothing, for [at another time] I could have earned some money, but now the holidays were too near.

[1] The fear of the hospital based on the argument that "so many people die there."

What should I wear when going to Lubotyń? So thinking and weeping I lay upon my bed on the oven until Stasia, moved by pity, came upon the oven to comfort me. She said that she would ask her father to buy me shoes or at least to give me a pair, for he had some pairs of shoes almost new. But I answered her that I should not be calmed as long as I had no shoes. She went and soon brought me a pair of almost new shoes. They were a little too large, but I bought some felt for insoles for twenty grosz, and they suited me perfectly.

On Good Monday I was able to begin work, but a scar remained for my whole life near my right eye. The master had not yet ordered me to work, but I was bored with lying. I did not talk at all with the journeymen, except when any one of them ordered me to do something. I was to go to my parents on Good Thursday. When Thursday came I had been dressed since early morning and went to buy an Easter lamb, for which I paid half a rouble. I bought also a few good cakes in a candy-shop, came back, packed everything I owned — since I did not intend to come back — and went to say goodbye. I asked Mr. W. to give me my passport for the journey, saying that I might be arrested on the way, but he refused to give it to me under any circumstances, saying that I did not need it. He gave me a rouble for the journey and told me to come back immediately after Przewody [Sunday after Easter]. Then I bade goodbye to Mrs. W., who gave me two roubles and a nice necktie, and much food for my journey. But this was not the end, for Stasia brought me apples and perhaps two pounds of sweetmeats to the bakery.[1] I kissed her on the hand for it, for I had not yet thanked her for the shoes, so this was for all together. She gave me another half rouble and asked me to come back soon, for it entered nobody's head that I might not come back. I was not sure myself, for I did not know what my parents would say. If they wished it absolutely, I would return, for the conditions were not bad and I wished to change my place only on account of the journeymen.

I left Turek at four in the afternoon. The following day about three I was in Lubotyń. When I entered the village everybody I met greeted me and said that I had grown to be a big man; they had not seen me for a year and a half. At home they were

[1] Accepting the gifts was normal and implied no social inferiority, since the apprentice was assimilated to the family.

very glad for Paweł and Stach were also to come, while Aleksy intended to drop in on the second holiday. Our parents rejoiced that the whole family would be at home for Easter. When I washed myself and put my clothes in order, I opened the valise and gave my mother what I had brought. Mother was very glad that I remembered my parents and everybody at home was glad to see me. In the evening I went to Mr. D.'s house. How different it was there! They did not expect anybody, nobody was to come to them, and the boys were in rags, like the worst goose-boy. Józef had been in Lubotyń for half a year, and carried dry wood from the forest, so the clothes which he had brought were torn, and there was no money to buy a new suit. When I came in and greeted everybody without excepting the teacher, they asked me at once how it was with that Kasia. I related what I thought good to tell. Then they wondered that I was so well dressed, and Kazia invited me to come for the consecrated egg [to divide it, to exchange wishes, to eat and to drink]. Then I left, in order not to disturb the holiday preparations. The following day, Paweł and Stach came, so we had a good time. During the holidays we were in the teacher's house; Stach played a violin which he brought from Łeczyca, and he knew how to play well enough. Paweł did not play worse than he, so we made a little dancing party, for in our family everybody knew how to dance, and the daughters of Mr. D. knew also. But as to the boys, they did not know even how to turn themselves, and besides they did not come into the room, for they had no clothes. But when no strangers were there we amused ourselves all together, for they were not ashamed of us, because we knew already very well how they were living. . . . During the next week I had occasion to talk with my parents about my future. When I related in what conditions I was my parents did not force me at all to return there, but left me my free will. I had as yet no plan at all, although I had talked it over with Józef. Józef's cousin was a baker and had his own bakery in Brześć. So Józef tried to persuade me to finish my apprenticeship with him. I did not answer him at once, but now that my parents permitted me I went to Józef and we wrote a letter asking him to admit both of us. In the week after Easter my father ordered the three of us brothers to go to the Easter confession, and we went, although rather unwillingly.

On Przewody a few young people came to us, and we wanted to dance but none of my brothers wished to play for they wanted to dance themselves. My brother-in-law, hearing this, proposed that we go to him and promised us to play piano. And so we did. Antosia, the miller's daughter, fell much in love with me. When we played at forfeits and a boy was wanted she always called for me, and Józef was very jealous, for he was courting her. And so when Antosia and I were sitting upon a sofa Józef sat down at the other side of her. We were very close and nobody could see from the front what we did behind our backs. And there a romance and a duel went along. Antosia took my hand and clasped her waist with my arm and I gave my hand to her as she wished. But unfortunately Józef acted in the same way himself, and clasped her waist. She threw his hand away and held mine, and it went on so until Józef gave me the sign to yield by a hard pinch in the side. I yielded, but then again we acted in the same manner. He always threw my hand aside, but she always took it again and caressed it. Józef, becoming angry, caught my finger and almost broke it so that I hissed from pain. Everybody noticed it and asked what was the matter. I said that I had a cramp in my finger, rose and sat down near Kazia, who guessed my flirting with Antosia and only looked at us sidewise. But when I rose Antosia also changed her seat and manœuvered so that a moment later she sat again at my side. Unwilling to give Kazia too much for thought, I asked my brother-in-law to play and proposed a dance to Kazia. She refused at first, saying that her feet ached, but when I began to beg her earnestly she rose to dance. During the dance I asked her why she did not wish to dance with me and whether her feet really ached. Then she answered that not her feet but her heart ached when she saw my flirtation with Antosia.[1] I calmed her as well as I could, saying that I gave no cause [did not begin the flirta-

[1] Władek is nearly always successful with women and never successful in the line of practical activity. The desire for social recognition can take either direction. The *homme aux femmes* neglects the opinion of other men and is insignificant when measured by their standards. His success is mainly due to the fact that women are attracted by a man in the proportion to the attention he gives to them generically, not individually. In Władek the substitution of the opinion of women for that of men is not complete but is sufficient to make his interests vary with the type of woman he meets.

tion]. Then Kazia told me that Józef was in love with Antosia, and the latter was only pretending so [to be in love with me]. Although I did not believe at all that Antosia cared for Jósef, I pretended to believe it. And thus it came that I got reconciled with Kazia during the dance, and when we sat down we began to flirt boldly, as if we were engaged, for so people called us, and we did not feel restrained at all. At last my sister treated us all with supper, and we began to leave. We four — the three brothers and sister Marya — and also the teacher's children, accompanied the two miller's girls and their brother home. The road led through a forest. In the village we walked all together, but beyond the village we divided into pairs. Antosia took me by the arm and ordered her brother to take Kazia, but the latter did not accept him or anybody else and went with my sister. But Antosia's intention to flirt with me ended in nothing, for Józef, like an evil spirit, was always with us, although Antosia told him more than once, almost brutally, to go away, saying: "Fie, Mr. Józef, it is not nice to be so importunate, or plainly speaking, such a saucy fellow, and not to allow us to talk a little." But this did not help much, he went with us until the moment of separation. . . . The miller's daughters and their brother asked us all to come to them next Sunday and amuse ourselves again. Paweł and Stach refused, saying that they were going away, and the rest of us accepted the invitation. We turned back and I approached Kazia and wanted to take her arm, but she spurned me, saying: "I may as well walk alone, and you, go to Miss Antosia." At the first moment I went to the other side of the road and walked alone also but this did not last long for I felt sorry for Kazia and came near her again in order to ask her pardon. I excused myself, saying that it was not I who took her but she took me, and it would not have been proper for me to spurn her. But she refused to be persuaded until I asked Stach, as the most fashionable man among us, whether Miss Kazia was right to be angry with me for what I had done. Stach said very seriously that it was not proper for a man to spurn any woman, even if he hated her, and therefore Kazia was not right in being angry with me. Without waiting for Kazia's answer he went back to Miss Pelagia, whom he accompanied during the whole walk. After this Kazia forgave me easily and asked me whether I loved her. Of course I said yes, and to prove it kissed her hand,

for the first time since we had been acquainted. Kazia, glad and satisfied with my love, took me herself by the arm and so we came home, talking about the future.

We went to the miller's, as agreed. I don't know what happened to me, but I promised myself that I would not dance, although I liked dancing very much.[1] But it was not a simple dance. In one room tables were set with beer and brandy. In the other room we were to dance. Antosia showed great joy at my coming; I got the best bits, and this was a new cause of sorrow to Józef. When we had eaten enough everybody went to the other room to dance and I remained alone with Mr. Wyszyński [Antosia's father]. Mr. W. was a rather rich man; he had his own water-mill, thirteen morgs of good land, two horses, some head of cattle, all kinds of farm buildings. He was somewhat acquainted with the world. He poured a glass of beer for me and began to talk. He advised me not to keep much company with Józef, for he was already very spoiled. "I have had time enough to know him," he said, "for he is a frequent guest in our house — even a too frequent one!" At these words he waved his hand. Our conversation was interrupted by Antosia who came to ask me to go to the dance. But I did not move, only said that I would come presently, and we talked on. After a moment Kazia came to take me out, but I said the same to her. A few minutes later Antosia came again and said something to her father in a whisper; he nodded his head and she left. We drank another glass of beer each, talked a moment, and then Mr. W. rose saying, "Let us look at the dancing." I could not remain alone, and we went, sat down near Mrs. W. and talked. All the temptations of the girls to make me dance were of no avail, for I answered every one that I would begin later. Evidently they could not look at [bear] my not dancing, for they used a subterfuge. They called Mrs. W. out and persuaded her to make me dance, saying that when I warmed up it would not be necessary to beg me any more. When Mrs. W. came back I guessed at once what was the matter, but I was glad, for besides me there were other boys, more serious [older] and handsome. A moment later one of the girls ordered the "white polka" played, in which the girls had the right to ask the boys to dance. But whoever

[1] This device for attracting attention and the whole incident are typical for Władek's interest in response and recognition.

approached me got a melon,[1] for I did not want to show preference for any of them. Only when Mrs. W. rose and asked me to dance, I did not dare to refuse. But Mrs. W. was not satisfied with a single dance; she ordered a mazourka played, and although she was rather stout she danced well. After the mazourka I thanked her by kissing her hand, and then I asked every girl in turn. But I began with those whom I knew less. I was afraid to begin with either Kazia or Antosia for then the other would be angry. It was difficult to come near Antosia for Józef stood on guard and did not move aside a step. When I got a little tired of dancing Mr. invited me to drink a glass of beer, and Antosia followed us to the next room. There I had the occasion to ask her not to be angry if I danced with Kazia first. I explained to her that Kazia was very jealous and wrathful. "You are reasonable, Miss Antosia, you will forgive me." When Antosia agreed with my proposition, I finished my beer and went to the dancing-room, asking Antosia not to go with me, in order to arouse suspicions in Kazia. When I came into the room Kazia was dancing, but her eyes were turned toward the door. When she finished, I asked her to dance. She agreed willingly, and while we were dancing she asked me whether Antosia had been with me in the next room. I said no. Then Kazia began to blame her severely, saying that decent girls don't behave like Antosia, don't run after boys. "After what boys?" I asked, "for I did not notice it." — "How so," Kazia asked; "don't you see, or do you only pretend not to see? Why all the persons present here have noticed already the way she is making sweet eyes at you." Pretending to be astonished, I answered: "At me? It is impossible. Why Józef is guarding her all the time!" — "Do you know that if I were Józef I would give her an ear-box." — "What for?" — "Well, for not keeping him, but running after others." — "Miss Kazia, don't fly out, please, it is only hospitality. And then, all girls are unsteady." — "Not all, for my opinion is that it is possible to love only one person and only once. I can swear that if you don't change I will marry nobody except you." — "But Miss Kazia, this may change with time. We are still too young to take oaths." — "Oh, oh, how scared you are! It is easy to see at once that you don't love me." — "How so? Did I not tell you that I

[1] A melon or black soup served at table was formerly an intimation that a suitor had no chance.

loved you? Shall I repeat it continually? People would laugh at me if somebody heard." — "All right, let them laugh, I don't care." — "But Miss Kazia, I must first be emancipated, set up a bakery, and then it will be another question." — "But what is the harm if we give our word now to each other? You have read the book *Marino Marinelli*, how he and Annunciata swore love to each other, under a cross, on St. Nicholas' island?" — "How should I not have read it, since it was I who lent it to you." [1]

On Tuesday we left for Brześć. Mr. M. received us gladly enough and gave us a very good supper; then he led us to the bakery, and again our work began. Józef and I worked, on Sunday we went together to the church and to walk, and the days passed without any important incidents. As to the emancipation, our parents were to come in the summer and talk it over. Once we began to write letters, I to Kazia and Antosia, and Józef only to Antosia. We quarreled much over this, for he said that Antosia would not answer me, and I said the same about him. [Through a carpenter's apprentice they meet two girls, Miss A. and Miss J., and walk with them daily. Steal flowers for the girls from the garden of the prison-warden. Once on an outing] we made an agreement that the one who brought back the nicest flowers should receive a kiss from his girl in the presence of all. . . . When I saw some water-lilies I guessed at once that I should win, but I was obliged to take my shoes and stockings off and wade into the water. When Miss A. and I came back to the appointed place, we found nobody, so I told her that I merited a kiss, for certainly the others would have no such flowers. "How do you know? Perhaps theirs will be still nicer?" — "But they will not go into the water, while I did, and may catch cold if I don't take some medicine at once." With these words, I tried to kiss her. She defended herself, but not very much, so I accomplished my intention and kissed her pretty well. When I had finished she rose, pretending to be offended, but I saw by her eyes that she was not. . . . When the others came we began to compare our flowers. Mine were really the nicest and the hardest to get, so everybody decided that she must kiss me, with my help. We kissed, then we ate again, and returned.

But although Miss A. was really a pretty girl she was not as

[1] The conversation is typical for this class. The simple feelings are inadequately dressed in a verbiage imitated from novels.

amiable as Antosia. I thought about the latter very often, wondering why we got no answer. We began to despair when I received two letters almost simultaneously from Kazia and Antosia, and Jósef none. He swore not a little at Antosia and said that he would write her a good letter. I laughed at him during the night and made him very angry. When we sat down to breakfast I laughed again, saying that Antosia had rejected him, and he threw a whole cup of coffee in my face. Happily it was not very hot or I might have lost my eyesight. I could do nothing but abuse him; I was not able to beat him, for he was three years my senior and rather strong. But before we finished our breakfast, we made apologies to each other. We could never be angry for a very long time, for we had lived together for so many years that we felt at ease in each other's company.

Once when we were going to our usual meeting [with the girls] we met Kasia standing with another girl at the corner of the street. [Józef refuses to go further, renews his relation with Kasia, and never calls on the other girls again.] I tried to persuade him that it was not nice for him to keep company with a Jewish servant.[1] But he paid no attention to me and said that Kasia was coming to the bakery the next night and asked me to leave the bakery while he played with her, and then he would go and keep watch so that I might play with her in the same way. What could I do? I tried to dissuade him, but it was of no use. The next night, as Józef said, Kasia came to the bakery. I went outside and remained there until he called me. He proposed that I should do the same, but I refused. I loathed foolishing with such a strumpet. Kasia spent almost the whole night in the bakery and she came the following night again, and then again. At last I was weary with it and displeased and I told him that if he did not stop bringing her to the bakery I would write to his parents and tell Mr. M. everything. He was frightened and did not bring her to the bakery any more, but to the barn, where there was some hay. She often brought him brandy and other delicatessen from the Jewish table.[2]

[1] It is a great humiliation for a Polish girl to serve in a Jewish family. "Jewish servant" is a term of insult. This contempt of course facilitates the disorganization of these girls.

[2] None of the boys or girls of the D. family has any social success. The family has not the climbing tendency and the boys at least lack the desire

And so about half a year was spent in Brześć. One day my father, Mr. D. the teacher, Miss Pelagia and Kazia came to Brześć. It was afternoon when they arrived. They called upon Mr. M. and were asked to dine. Usually we ate dinner in the bakery, but as it was our parents and they came on our account, Mr. M. asked us also to the common table. While we were eating Józef's father took the matter up and asked Mr. M. when he intended to emancipate us. But Mr. M. was troubled, reflected about his answer and confessed that he was not a master at all and had no right to emancipate. Our fathers rose in wrath from their seats at these words, and Mr. D., being less ceremonious with his wife's brother, cried out: "And why did you not tell us before, my gracious sir, but only now, when the boys have worked half a year for you without wages?" — "I did not tell it because you did not ask. Moreover I intended to join the masters, but I am in bad conditions, so I will do it later." — "In that case we will take our boys with us, for while Władek could still learn for some two years because he is too young to be a journeyman, my Józef is nineteen years old and it is time for him [to be emancipated]. What shall we do, how do you think, Józef?" But Józef answered nothing. My father without asking, ordered me to pack up my clothes. On the one hand I was glad, but on the other not. I wished to be emancipated as soon as possible and to earn money, but on the other hand I wanted to see Antosia, for I got only one letter from her and wrote her only one. Józef wanted to leave but he regretted Kasia. So he rose and said that if his uncle paid him one rouble a week he would put the money aside and go then to Włocławek to be emancipated. Mr. M. agreed willingly and promised to pay him as much as he asked, and half a rouble more of his own wish. I bade Mr. M. goodbye, he gave me one rouble for the journey, and toward evening we went to Duńska Wola, not more than a wiorsta from Brześć. Another brother of Mrs. D. lived there and he was mayor of the

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for recognition. Władek's family has at least the climbing tendency and is on the threshold of success. The D. family is below the threshold, and in a state of regression. It is typical for this class that a family makes a little money in business and gives the children some education. The members of the new generation may then assume socially more desirable but less lucrative positions, are unable to give their children the same education, and they drop to the level of their grandparents, or lower.

commune. We were very well received by him and there was enough to eat and drink.

At night all the men went to sleep in the barn, for it was very hot. I did not go at once, but sat down upon a bench in the garden and began to reflect about myself. I thought that it was already the fourth place which I had left, and I could finish my apprenticeship nowhere. How long would this last? Suddenly I remembered my parents' *kum*, my sister Marya's god-father, who had already emancipated more than one apprentice. I knew certainly that he was a master. He lived in Sosnowiec. So I resolved to go to him and to finish my practice there. I felt relieved after this decision, for I had an aim already and I should not need to stay long in Lubotyń, where I had nothing to do.[1] Yes, Kazia and Antosia were there. But what of it since I was only sixteen years old and had not yet the right to think seriously about girls. Moreover Kazia was already only a little in my memory, and slowly she would evaporate totally. Even now, for example, she had come and what was the impression? She might be there or not, it made no difference to me. We only shook hands for greeting and exchanged a few words, and so the matter ended. I did not want to be loved in such a manner. But how? I did not know it yet myself, for I had too little experience. While I was in Lubotyń and saw only Kazia I thought that there was no girl better or prettier than Kazia. But when I knew other girls Kazia had less value for me, and when I had been sitting with her today for some time I felt much bored. And then I had no right to think seriously about any girl, and did not wish to do it, for I had other duties more important than girls. My aim was to earn money and to open my own business. But the realization of my dreams was still far away.

I reflected long about my lot, sitting alone upon the bench, until somebody's steps roused me from my meditation. When I turned my father was standing near me. He was only in his drawers, barefooted, and his waistcoat hung upon his shoulders. He asked me what I was doing here, saying that he had searched

[1] The inconsistency of Władek's life-policy is due to a conflict between Bohemianism and the desire for a stable life-organization. His attitudes vary with his social environment. For almost two years he has been in an atmosphere where his ideal of emancipation was appreciated, and under this influence his life becomes temporarily organized in view of this ideal.

for me in the barn and could not find me. "I am sitting and thinking that it is the fourth apprenticeship which I am leaving and perhaps there will be more than one still. I am very grieved that I must loaf about so. But do you know, father, what I have planned?" — "What then, my son?" — "Would not K. take me?" — "Which one?" — "The one in Sosnowiec, Marya's foster-father." — "True! Why did you not remind me sooner about him? You could have gone to him at once and you would not have needed to wander so from place to place." Saying this, my father sat down near me, groaning that he could not sleep, for it was very hard upon the straw, and the gnats bit him. "But tell me, Władzio, why did not you remain with Mr. M., as Józef did? He would perhaps have given you also a rouble a week, and you and Józef would have been emancipated together." — "What do you say, father! Józef will never be emancipated." — "Why so?" — "Because he likes girls too much. I will tell you, father, but don't repeat it to the teacher." — "Why should I repeat it? I don't care for Józef, he is not my son." Then I told my father that Józef would never put any money aside, for he would spend it on drinking with Kasia. I told everything that I knew about him. Having heard me to the end, father caught himself by the head and was very pained that Józef behaved so. He asked me not to imitate his example, and began to talk about God and His mercy, for not a step can be made without God. My father was very religious and tried to inculcate the same principles into us. Then he began to tell me that he had no longer any money, that misery would come into our house if Stach did not take father to him. Stach was to finish the seminary in a year and a half, and now he costs less, for he received a stipend of eight roubles a month. Father complained much about Marya, that she was very stubborn and disobedient, and he called her nothing but "this she-lizard." He said: "She does not listen either to her mother or to me. I shall give her somewhere into service as a maid, for she does not want to marry, although she has boys enough, and it is difficult for me to feed and dress her. And she wants to be dressed nicely! And what have I and your mother for it? She never gives us a good word. She thinks we are still as rich as we were formerly. If she does not improve I shall drive her away from home, that's all. Only you, Władzio, don't look for help toward your parents, for we can give you no

help. You will have as much as you can earn." And we talked long in this way.[1]

Late in the evening I went again to the garden to the same place as the last night. Almost directly after me came Kazia, and began at once to reproach me for my indifference, saying: "What does it mean, Mr. Władek? For two days you have not tried at all to come near me. Are you really quite indifferent toward me? And you wrote in your letter that you would never forget me. Is this the way you keep your word?" — "But, Miss Kazia, I am not forgetting you at all, and I am not at all indifferent toward you, only I am thinking of where I am to go in order to finish finally my apprenticeship and not to wander any more among strangers." I did not know then, O my God! that it was only the beginning of my wandering. "But these are not strangers, only my uncle." — "All right, but not mine." — "But he will perhaps be yours some day." — "Even so, it won't be sooner than about ten years." — "What are you saying, Mr. Władek? I shall be old then, twenty-six years, and then you won't wish to have me any more. I thought perhaps three or four years at most, and you speak about ten." — "Well, Miss Kazia, let us leave this matter and not talk about it, for we have time enough; we may talk later on." — "But I should like you to give me your word that you will marry me." — "No, I cannot do even this, for if I go into the world who knows what will become of me? And meanwhile other boys will court you, perhaps better and handsomer than I. And I shall perhaps go to the army." — "All this is nothing. Only give me your word, and I will wait for you however long it may be." — "No, I cannot do it, for I don't yet know myself. I don't know whether I shall be able to keep my word." — "Do you know, Mr. Władek, that I shall be angry with you for saying so." — "Why? For my good advice? We can love each other even so, without giving any oaths, and

[1] This is evidently the first serious conversation of this kind between father and son. The situation has not been favorable for the development of Władek's family attitude. He has been told that he is to expect no help from the family, and when the parents begin to share the family responsibility with the other sons they do not share it with him. In this way the policy of the family tends to isolate him as an independent individual and to give his family attitudes the vague form shown later and which can be characterized as complete indifference to the family when he is separated from it and dependence on response when he happens to be with it.

this will be a better love still, for not obligatory. And if we gave our word to each other we might regret it much in the future. Even so I shall never forget you, Miss Kazia, and will write to you often." — "Well, let it be so. We shall see what will be later on. Meanwhile tell me, Mr. Władek, how long do you think of staying in Lubotyń and where do you intend to go after this?" — "I won't stay in Lubotyń any longer than the time to send a letter and to get an answer, and I intend to go to Sosnowiec, to Mr. K., and there to finish my apprenticeship. Only I don't know whether he will receive me." [The mayor has them driven home. Władek writes to Mr. K.]

During my stay at Lubotyń I spent my days with my sister and brother-in-law, and my evenings in Mr. D.'s house. I told them different stories which I had the time to read. They were most interested about Kmicic and Wołodyjowski [Sienkiewicz's *The Deluge*] for although there were two girls, not a single book could be found in Mr. D.'s home, while I loved books much, borrowed them wherever I could, subscribed to books published in parts. Some of them, such as *In Lethargy* and *Marino Marinelli*, I owned.[1]

After less than a week I received an answer from Mr. K., who told me to come as soon as I could. . . . He received me very kindly and was glad to emancipate the son of his *kum*. He was an old man, perhaps eighty. Moreover he was asthmatic and did not do any work. His wife was the real master of the house; she managed the whole bakery. [Mr. K. has four sons, all of them dissipated. Aleksy is living in S. but Władek does not visit him, owing to previous trouble with his wife.] I had consideration in the town. The priest, the druggist, the teacher always shook hands with me and called me "Mr." W. For such a whelp

[1] Books published in parts constitute the worst sort of sentimental and sensational literature. They are usually translations, and sold by Jews. Peasants seldom read these books, but (when they learn to read) prefer more substantial literature. The same is true of workmen belonging to organizations. Fiction seems to be the manifestation of a socially unorganized interest. When there are serious common interests in a literate community its members become non-fiction readers. *Cf.* Part II.

as I was, it was a great honor, and if it happened somewhere in a public place it made me very proud. Even sons of rich citizens tried to have friendship with me. And I tried always to avoid bad company and to join a better one. In a word, I felt very well in Sosnowiec, for there was no party without me, and I had consideration among people and with Mr. and Mrs. K.

But alas! I had been already more than half a year in Mr. K.'s house, when the latter received a letter from his son Leon, that he was sent under escort to Sosnowiec from Warsaw for having taken part in the strikes. He asked his parents to let him avoid, if possible, the shame of going through the town. As soon as Mr. K. read the letter he asked for my advice. I advised him to ask my brother, who would tell him what to do. Mr. K. went to my brother who advised him to drive beyond the town and to wait there; when his son passed by the communal office, my brother would meet him and take him away from the district-constable who accompanied him. And so it happened. On the day when Leon was to come his brother Józef went to meet him and Aleksy did everything to spare him the shame, so that Leon, without stopping in the office, went home at once. He was a big and strong man, but already worn and asthmatic, but this did not prevent him from drinking vodka and swearing violently. For about two weeks he did not interfere with my affairs, so I did not mind him at all; but after two weeks he resolved to remain and to manage his father's bakery. Then a true hell opened before me, but I resolved to stay until the end however bad the conditions were. Why, he wouldn't kill me! He was the worst in the morning, when the cough took him. Then he abused not only me, but his own mother. Sometimes I remained without breakfast because of him, for when he began to cough he shut himself in the bakery and began to make order there, although there was nothing to put in order. If he found a bit of dough upon the floor or in the flour, he brought it and put it into my coffee, for I breakfasted in the room. At such moments he seldom called me anything but "whore's son" or something like that. I am even ashamed to repeat the names which he gave me. If sometimes the rolls were not very nice or a few of them were burned, he broke them in crumbs, put them upon a plate, poured water upon them and ordered me to eat it. Of course I did not eat it, and then he showed me his brutality [beat him probably].

And when sometimes there was more baking and he helped me, and he did something wrong himself, he threw it into a basket and stamped it thoroughly with his feet. His mother and father were quite powerless, for they got it themselves if they made any reproach. He had also a few good sides. When he was in a good humor he related to me about Warsaw, about bakers, told me episodes of his own life; but this happened seldom, for he was usually as gloomy as the night. Once when I overslept a little, he came to the bakery, took a piece of wood and intended to give me a blow, but when he raised it, I jumped from my couch. I don't know how it was, but I saw in my sleep what he was doing as if I were awake. When I jumped, he said only: "Well, you have a chance for I would have measured you well." And so it ended. Once when he had abused me badly I went to complain to Mr. K., but he said that he could not help, only he would hasten my emancipation. He ordered me to put money aside, but not to tell Leon anything. Neither my home people nor my brother [Aleksy] knew what I was doing and how I was living, for Mr. K. always asked me not to tell anything, and I listened to him, for the old man was very good. As to my brother, I never called upon him and we never talked to each other. Although we met often upon the street or in the church, we were like strangers. But indirectly he was interested much in me and asked other people whether I felt well and whether I did not complain. Often when Mr. K. sat before his house upon a bench and he passed by, he sat down and they talked, sometimes for several hours.

Once the best young people in Sosnowiec resolved to have a subscription dance. At that time such meetings were forbidden by the government. If any one wanted to do anything like this he had to have permission from the authorities, and the latter did not grant it to everybody. Well, some boys came to me and invited me also. I asked how large was the contribution, and when I learned that it was three roubles it was too much for me. Where could I have gotten money? Only for the coals [left from the wood with which the oven was heated] and old Mr. K. gave me half a rouble every week. Moreover I did not dispose freely of myself, for I was still an apprentice. I tried to excuse myself, but Mr. Leon began to persuade me also and said that he would work instead of me during this night; so what could I do? I promised, gave the money and asked whether I had to bring my girl or there

would be some there. They said that sixteen girls had accepted the invitation and would surely be there. So we decided that the dance should be next week. When I went outside with them they gave me 10 roubles and asked me to try to get a permit for this money, giving it either to the mayor or to the constable. I promised them that I would bring it on Sunday afternoon, although I was not sure of succeeding. Next day I wrote to Aleksy, asking him to send me a permit and I put the money aside. When Aleksy's maid came for bread I gave her the letter. I was not sure whether he would send it or not, but if not, then I would go to the constable, give him some money, and he would certainly give me the permission. But in the afternoon, when I was asleep, Mr. Leon roused me saying that the watchman of the communal office had some business with me. The watchman gave me an envelope in which was the permit, signed by the mayor and constable. I gave 20 grosz to the watchman and told him to thank the secretary kindly. Thus I succeeded well, for I had 10 roubles and the permit. I had five roubles of my own put aside — fifteen altogether. I lacked only ten, for I needed twenty-five for the emancipation, and I hoped to gather these soon. On Sunday afternoon I went to my companions and gave them the permission. They were very glad that it cost so little.[1]

We began the preparations, and divided the work among ourselves. One had to find musicians, another a carriage and horses, a third looked after the drinks, a fourth engaged the room, and I had the duty of baking the cakes. On Saturday morning I had everything ready. With the help of Mr. Leon I even baked a tart and many other cakes. After the dance we were to settle the account. About two o'clock in the afternoon some boys came and took the cakes. The dance was to begin at eight. All the boys were to come in long coats. Almost all of them, except myself, were sons of parents relatively rich for a town like Sosnowiec, so they had evening suits [Prince Alberts]. But I had none, so after much searching among all the tailor shops I found a coat in the shop of a Jew, who rented it to me. I bought a white necktie and was ready. When it began to get dark I began to prepare myself, for the melancholy [*sic*!] tunes of music already

[1] He did not consider it unfair to keep the money provided he secured the permission. Probably his companions expected him to tip the constable and keep what was left.

reached the bakery. But as soon as I began to dress myself Mr. Leon came in and said: "You need not dress yourself, for I won't let you go." — "Why?" — "Because I don't want to work instead of you. If you want to go leave another baker in your place." — "But where shall I get him?" — "What does it matter to me? If you don't find anybody I won't let you go." Saying this, Mr. Leon went out, and I undressed and began to work. Mrs. K. came in and said: "Don't grieve, Leon will allow you to go; he only wants to tease you." I answered nothing, and when she went away I began to swear: "The devil brought him here, this second master." My companions were already amusing themselves, I heard the music, and I had to sit in the bakery. One of my companions came and was very astonished on seeing that I was not dressed. I told him what was the matter. He went to the room where Mr. Leon sat, but returned after a moment, saying: "This drunkard won't even hear about letting you go; so what will you do?" — "What can I do? I shall sit in the bakery, and go there when I finish, toward the morning, and you will beg the company to excuse me." — "Well, then, come at least in the morning, and after a while I will bring you something to drink." But a short time after he left Mr. Leon came smiling and said: "Well, Władek, go to your dance, or else you might get sick." At first I would not believe him, but when he repeated it for the second time, I began to dress and a quarter after nine I was ready. When I was leaving Mr. Leon told me to come back, loaned me a gold pin for my necktie, and gave me half a rouble. I thanked him, although in my soul I did not bless him for being an hour and a half late.

The dance had begun some time before I arrived. One of the boys took me by the hand and introduced me to the girls whom I did not know. Then he led me to the table, well spread with things to eat and to drink. After a few drinks and bites I sat down to observe the company a little. There were nineteen boys all dressed in long black coats and white neckties, but there were few among them above eighteen, most of them between fifteen and eighteen, timid and little acquainted with society. There were sixteen girls, and most of them grown up, only five *podlotki* [girls between thirteen and seventeen; literally: young wild ducks]. There were only seven Polish girls, the rest daughters of Germans who had some factories there. The Poles were

daughters of richer shop-keepers, two of them of the court secretary. In my opinion two girls merited more attention. One was Miss Klara B., the other Miss Dora P. The first was a beautiful girl of sixteen, tall, slender, fair, with small lips always ready to smile. The second was dark, of middle size, a round face, big black eyes and thick black eyebrows; she was always gay and full of movement. I fell at once in love with her. She was about seventeen. The other girls did not attract my attention. But nobody began to dance; all the boys sat upon chairs on one side and amused themselves by talking and constantly smoking cigarettes, and the girls sat on the other side, talking among themselves and looking from time to time toward the boys. I did not like it much, so I excused myself to the accordeonist, approached my companions and tried to persuade them to dance. But every one of them found some excuse. One did not dance, another did not dare, and nobody had the courage to begin. At last when I approached my friend K., I succeeded in persuading him, but on the condition that I would help him. So we asked the nearest girls, and we began to dance a mazourka. Whenever we approached the place where the boys were seated I tried to arouse them saying: "Well, gentlemen, help us, for we are tired." After a few such exclamations those who knew how to dance rose and the dance really began. I did not rest until I had danced with all the girls. In my opinion Miss Klara danced the best of all, and she was the last with whom I danced. So at the end I sat down near her in order to amuse her with talking, but I often sent looks toward Miss Dora who sat alone, and our looks often met. But I did not dare to go near, because she was younger than Miss Klara, for I thought that gossip might result from it — that I had fallen in love with her. And so the party went on without important incidents until midnight, when there was supper. After supper we began to dance again, and then I got better acquainted with Miss Dora. . . . When we were tired we went upon the street to cool off, and whoever wished it went to walk with his girl. I went with Miss Dora, for really up to the present I had had no opportunity of getting acquainted with so sympathetic a girl. It is true that Miss Klara was more beautiful, but too mature for me, so older boys courted her and she preferred them. When I went out with Miss D. the benches before the house were already taken, and as I was rather exhilarated with drink, I had

the courage to propose to go further. Without asking permission, I took Miss D. by the arm and we went along. For a while we were both silent. I was very glad that circumstances permitted me to walk with such a rich girl as Miss Dora, for her father had his own flour mill in which about 400 men worked. So I did not know how to begin my conversation. At last I mustered courage enough to give her a compliment. "Do you know what I want to say?" — "What then?" — "That you have pleased me the most among all girls." Saying this I kissed her hand, for since we left the room I had held her hand in mine, and it was not difficult to press it to my lips.[1] Astonished by my boldness, she looked at me and said: "Are you really telling the truth?" — "Certainly. What reason should I have to lie?" — "Well, everybody speaks so. In my opinion it is only a compliment. You must acknowledge yourself that there are prettier girls, for example, Miss Klara." — "It depends for whom. As to me, you alone can be considered the prettiest." — "Well, if you say so, I shall tell you that you have pleased me also, only you empty a little too many glasses, for when we danced the last time your legs got tangled. It is not nice, and a man who drinks displeases me greatly. If you drink any more I won't dance with you at all. And then, I beg you very much, don't drink." — "But shall I please you then?" — "It depends upon yourself and your behavior. If you continue in a decent state to the end of the party, I can say yes. Only be careful," said Miss Dora, threatening me with her finger. "Oh, Miss Dora, I promise to do everything that you say. As a proof I give you my word of honor that I won't drink any more brandy or beer to the end of the dance." — "Oh, no, you may drink beer, for it is not so easy to get drunk with beer."[2] — "I thank you heartily for the permission." And again I kissed her hand.

Talking thus, we came to a bench which stood under a chestnut tree. To tell the truth it was I who begged Miss Dora to sit down. During the whole time I did not let her hand go, and therefore we sat very near each other, talking on. I asked:

[1] His boldness is the result of alcohol; in a normal state his sense of social hierarchy would be too strong.

[2] Note throughout the definite organization of the German girl's attitudes. Her common-sense enables her to resent the drinking without impairing the relation, and this would have been hardly possible in a Polish girl of this class.

"Why do you so hate men who drink vodka? Did any drunkard ever frighten or offend you?"—"Oh, no, but I often hear my father speak at home about drunken workmen who spend their weekly wages on drinking, although at the home there is a wife and children." And here she mentioned some such families. But I interrupted this conversation, which was not gay at all, and asked her to tell me something more interesting. "What can I tell to you? You probably know more than I do, so say something."—"All right," I answered, "tell me, please, how do you spend your time at home. For you can be seen so seldom upon the street; I have been here more than a year and I have not had the pleasure of knowing you. Have you no friends at all?"—"I can say that I have none, for I cannot find a good friend."—"Evidently you are very particular."—"I am not at all, but I have other pleasures which interest me more than walking [with friends]."—"And can I know what are these pleasures?"—"Why not? I have many books, I have flowers, my room is full of flowers and I like them very much. Is it not a pleasure to spend your time with things which you like?"—"Yes, I must agree that you spend your time pleasantly, for I must confess that I like books very much also. But probably you read German books?"—"Oh, no, I even know very little German. At home we usually speak Polish."—"In that case I would beg you very much to lend me some books to read."—"Gladly. Come to us, you shall choose those which you like."—"All right, but will your father permit me to come to his house?"—"What do you think of my parents? Would they be so impolite? Moreover my parents allow me to do what I wish. You have the proof; they let me come alone to this party tonight."—"Yes, I cannot deny it. But your parents are rich, while I—"—"Oh, don't say such things. When I invite you you may come boldly to us. Your brother calls upon us often and my parents like him very much. But you have a pretty sister-in-law. I have noticed her, for they were both in our house not long ago. You must like her very much, she is so good."—"Yes, one ought to love one's family," I answered indifferently, for I was occupied with thinking what Aleksy's impression would be if we met there. But Miss Dora did not allow me to think long about it. She insisted that I should tell her positively when I would come. "Perhaps," I said, "I shall still not please you. The party is

not yet ended, and I have not yet kept my promise. After the ball I will tell you, and, if you permit me, I will accompany you home." — "All right, I shall be very glad if you accompany me, and as to pleasing, you have pleased me already. As to drinking, I have your word of honor. So I beg you tell me positively whether you will come to us." And seeing that I was reflecting: "If you don't answer I shall be angry." — "Why, yes, Miss Dora, I will certainly come, only I don't know yet when my time will permit me." — "Well, then, I shall tell you. Come certainly on Thursday, will you?" — "I will tell you later." — "But I want you to say at once." Seeing that it would be difficult to find any pretext, I said that I would come, and pleased her very much. "So I will wait for you certainly on Thursday at five o'clock in the afternoon. All right?" — "I told you already that I would come certainly. And I thank you heartily for inviting me so much." And I kissed for the third time her hand, which I had been holding and always caressing. "And now," she said, "let us go to the room, for I hear the music beginning to play."

I must confess that it was very pleasant to sit in private talk with Miss Dora and I thought that I should have an opportunity to kiss her, but it did not come to this and I had no courage. So I regretted to go back, but what could be done? We rose, I took her by the hand and so we returned. [Further dancing. A *poprawiny* (festival to complete a previous festival) is arranged for the following day. Accompanies Dora home.] I asked her: "Will you come to the *poprawiny?*" — "Yes, I will, but on the condition that you come and take me." — "Of course I will come if you say so, but not to your home. I shall wait here in the chestnut-alley." — "In that case I won't go, and you need not trouble yourself with coming." Saying this, she entered into the garden which was her father's property and surrounded his nice stone house. It was a very big garden, occupying five morgs of space. It was about 150 paces from the street to the house, so when Miss Dora entered and left me much troubled in the street, I did not know what to do, whether to run after her or to go home. But before I decided she was already near her home, so I went back much grieved with what had happened, for I could almost boast that I had a pretty girl, when suddenly it proved that she had only jested with me and nothing more. But then I began to reproach myself for letting her beg me so much, while I should

have considered it an honor that such a pretty and rich girl was interested in me. But precisely her wealth made me not bold enough to go to their house, for what was I in comparison with her? Almost nothing. And then I was much afraid that I should not know how to behave when I went to their house. If I were already a journeyman it would be better, but now? If I entered and Miss Dora's parents asked me why I came, what should I answer them? I was still too young to have any intentions [of marriage], so what could associate me with Miss Dora? Not love. Well, perhaps friendship. Yes, but only if she were a boy.[1]

Thinking thus I reached the bakery, but did not go in at once, for I felt much out of tune, and I should not have any girl for the *poprawiny*. So I went through the alley, around the marketplace, upon which life was stirring already, for it was after seven. But nothing interested me, I did not see anything, I reflected only about what had happened a moment ago. I was already sure of winning and then — . She did not even deign to give me her hand for goodbye, which I would have kissed indeed. But not only her hand — she did not even look at me. I could not bear her having acted so lightly with me and having trifled with me. No, it could not be, for if she were only jesting why should she have gazed at me, gone with me to walk? And then, why should she have minded whether I drank or not? Reflecting and considering all this, I came to the conclusion that I must have pleased her at least a little, for else why should she have invited me so insistently to come to her house? Evidently not in order to laugh at me and trifle with me. And even if I went to her parents and if they asked me why I came, I could answer that I came for books, for Miss Dora had promised to lend me some. I thought they would not drive me away at once, and even if it were so nobody would know anything about it. Well, I would see tomorrow what to do. [Decides to go.] I went directly toward Miss Dora's house, but when I entered the chestnut-alley, fear overcame me again though I did not know what I was afraid of.

[1] The Polish guild organization was acquired from the Germans, and Dora's parents, who belong to the lower-middle class, show a corresponding appreciation of the position of a handworker, as we see later. In this whole incident Władek was never able to define the situation, owing to differences in the traditional background of himself and of Dora and her parents.

As I drew nearer to the garden a greater and greater terror came into me, but nevertheless I went on. As I approached the gate I noticed Miss Dora, who was hiding behind a tree. Then at once courage came back to me, I entered rapidly into the garden, going straight toward the place where Miss D. was hidden. When she noticed that she was discovered she left her hiding place, very red, I don't know whether from joy or from shame. But I had no time to reflect, for I approached her at once with my hand stretched out to greet her. She gave me her hand which I kissed, saying: "I beg your pardon very much for having offended you this morning; I did not know that you were so easily angered." — "Properly speaking, I should beg your pardon, not you mine, for having acted thus with you, but forgive me, for I am such that I don't like it when anybody opposes me [or 'teases me']. So please don't be angry with me." Saying this, she pressed my hand tightly and shook it. "And now let us go to my home, for I have told my parents already that you would come." — "How could you say that I would come? You did not know and could not be sure that I would come after the goodbye you gave me this morning." — "Oh, don't mention it any more! But nevertheless I was sure and I waited here for you. You gave me to understand enough today during the party, and I know these matters a little." — "I don't deny it," I answered. But here we had to interrupt our conversation, for we were near the door. Miss D. opened the door and let me in first, then she did the same at the door from the vestibule to the room. Her father was not there, but her mother sat upon a sofa and her little sister was running about the room. Miss Dora took me by the hand and led me to her mother, introducing me. I kissed the mother's hand. She made me sit near her and began to ask me about the details of the dance. I told everything, for she was curious to know. Meanwhile, Miss Dora went to dress, and soon came back ready to go. Her mother invited me to call on them often and to accompany Dora back today. Miss Dora said: "Mr. W. will come to us on Thursday. For I won't give you any books today." — "I will certainly come," I answered, and we left.

When we passed through the market-place, people were going to vespers and we got more than one curious look, for everybody knew me and Miss D. But I don't know what they thought about us. . . . We danced until half-past seven without inter-

ruption; then the musicians left, and tables were set for supper. I told Miss D. that I must go to the bakery and prepare the dough. She was much pained, saying: "How is that? You are going to work? But you were to accompany me back, you have even promised it to my mother." — "I shall be back in half an hour, and then I shall have three hours free and you can dispose of me." — "But will you surely come? For I won't eat, I will wait for you, and then we shall eat together. But hurry, for I shall wait impatiently." — "All right, I will hurry." . . . When I returned to the ball-room the supper had scarcely begun, and Miss D. kept the place at her side for me. We began to eat, telling different anecdotes and jokes. After supper we amused ourselves with songs and recitals, . . . and after nine I went with Miss Dora and we were much bolder toward each other than the first time. On the way Miss D. told me a funny story so that I split my sides with laughter, and thus amusing ourselves and laughing we reached the garden. But Miss Dora did not let my hand go, and led me into a side-path where a bench stood in the shadow of trees. She had me sit there and sat down herself, saying: "You have still more than an hour of time, we shall talk. And first I ask you, what do you think about our dance? How did it please you?" — "Everything pleased me well enough, but particularly you." — "Do you tell the truth, really, Mr. W. For, you know, I hate listening to mere complimenting." — "How can you accuse me of it? Did I not give you proofs enough that I l——" Here I stopped, for indeed I had gone a little too far in my conversation. "But, please finish what you wished to say." — "All right, if you allow me, I will say that I love you. Why, this morning I was simply spurned, and nevertheless I came. And now again you accuse me of saying mere compliments. Such is my reward for having liked you!" — "But, Mr. W., I don't want to offend you at all, only I cannot believe much in your having liked me so rapidly." — "So you don't believe? Well, this is a proof of my love." With these words I kissed her cheek, and it was not very difficult, for we sat very near each other so that I felt her hair upon my face. When I did this, Miss Dora started from her place and wanted to go away, but happily for me I held her hand fast and did not let it go, although she really tried to tear it away, saying, "Please leave off, for you behave impolitely." — "Why impolitely? You demanded a proof of the truth of my

words; I gave it, and you have no reason to be angry." Saying this, I drew her firmly to me, so that she sat upon my knees, and I embraced her waist and did not let her go. I felt bolder, for she did not tear herself away very decidedly, and I said: "Perhaps I am impolite because I kissed you only once. I can do it more." And I kissed her a few times on her lips, for with one hand I held her waist and with the other I drew her head back so that she was almost defenseless. Thus I kissed her pretty well, although she defended herself a little. When I let her go, she sat down near me and began to arrange her hair which I had disturbed. In arranging her hair, she did not look at me at all, but turned aside pretending to be angry. But I knew very well that she was not angry, for if she were, certainly she would not have sat down near me, but would have gone away, as in the morning. . . . Suddenly the clock upon the church tower struck half-past ten. I arose and took Miss D. by hand, saying that it was time for me to go. She arose also and said: "Why, you were to take me home. You promised my mother." — "I cannot, Miss Dora; we have stayed here too long. Did you not hear the clock strike half-past ten?" — "Yes, I heard. But how rapidly our time has passed here." We took each other by the hand and went in the direction of the house. I accompanied her to the door, bade her goodbye and asked her to beg her mother's pardon [for not entering] and to say that I would come on Thursday. I heard the voice of Miss Dora calling: "Only come surely, for I shall wait for you on the bench." On the way I had no time to reflect about the past moments, but ran straight through the garden to the bakery. It lacked five minutes to eleven, which gave me time to undress, and begin to work. During the work I had time enough to reflect about the evening. I smiled to myself, thinking how can girls believe boys so quickly. Even this Miss Dora — very rich, and no better than Antosia or Kazia, for we got acquainted only yesterday, and today she allowed me to kiss her. But it was only the beginning and the first ice broken; in the future I expected something better still. During the whole night I thought only about her and I wished Thursday to come as soon as possible that I might again spend the evening with her upon a bench under the shadow of trees. Toward morning I got very sleepy and when I went to sleep I slept until six o'clock, although Mrs. K. tried to rouse me for dinner. I took my coat

back to the tailor, who asked half a rouble for the loan of it. I paid him and went to settle the account [with the managers of the ball]. The result was that after all the expenses we had still 3 rb. 75 left, which we spent at once in drinking. Then I went to my aunt N., who abused me much for not having tried to have her daughters go to the dance. I excused myself as well as I could, saying that it did not depend upon me, that I was glad to be invited myself. I told the truth, for if it had not been for the permission of the authorities they certainly would not have invited me. Then I went to settle matters with the Jew from whom I got the materials for baking, and from him also I earned some money as commission. Thus I had more than seventeen roubles altogether. Now I did not know myself what to do with this money, whether to buy a suit or to keep it for my emancipation. I really needed a suit, for the one I had was already much worn and I was ashamed to go in such a suit to Dora's parents. But I wished also to get emancipated as soon as possible. Therefore I resolved not to buy a suit, but to emancipate myself first. Circumstances helped me so that I got both, but I shall write about that later.

I took the money to my aunt, for I was afraid to keep it with me. If Leon happened to find it he would think that I had taken it from the shop, in which I often sold bread. Sometimes, it is true, I took a few grosz for cigarettes, but never more than ten or twenty grosz, and I never put these aside, for I succeeded only once or twice in a week in taking them. But if Mr. Leon saw that I had so much money he would think that all this came from the drawer, for he did not know that I had got 10 roubles for the permission. I preferred that he should know nothing, for he could tell it to somebody and cause my shame. So I wrote a letter to my parents and asked Mr. K. to add a few words as a proof that I wrote the truth. I asked my father in my letter to send me money, saying that Mr. K. was ready to emancipate me if I only had money. I must mention that it was only my second letter to my parents; to Kazia and Antosia I did not write at all.[1]

[1] Typical behavior of the wanderer. The steady inhabitant of an organized community takes a new environment and his own situation in this environment with reference to the normal and permanent conditions of his life and does this as long as he is not completely assimilated. Thus the kind of interest that the individual brings to a new environment and the rapidity of

On Thursday I prepared the dough two hours earlier than usual, dressed myself as well as I could and went to Dora's parents. When I came into the garden I saw Miss Dora walking with her little sister and holding a book. When she saw me she smiled. We shook hands, but I did not dare to kiss her hand, for there was a little witness who might tell it to Miss Dora's parents. Miss D. took me by the hand and led me directly to the house, saying that her mother was a little angry with me for not having accompanied her to the house. Her father rose and shook my hand when Dora introduced me. Her mother reproached me for not having entered the house on Sunday evening, but I answered that it was too late and I had to hurry to my work. After a moment of general conversation, Miss Dora invited me to look at her flowers and to choose a book. Her little sister remained with her parents; she was not very little, she could have been perhaps eight years old, so I had to guard myself against her, for she was clever enough and could have betrayed us. Miss Dora's room was like a library and a flower-shop, for there was a full case of books and about thirty flower-pots. She had me sit down and gave me a catalogue that I might select a book. I did not take much time to select it, for I was in a hurry to flirt. When she gave me the book I took it, caught her other hand and began to kiss it. As she did not draw it back I grew bolder, drew her to me and kissed her rapidly. She jumped away like a frightened deer, reddened deeply, and said: "What are you doing? Somebody might see it and what then?" — "O, Miss Dora, nobody will see it, for the door is closed. I have longed so much for your kiss, and you abuse me." — "Not here, not here! We shall go to the garden upon the bench a little later, and there nobody will see us." — "But today you must kiss me at least once." — "Well, we shall see whether you merit my kiss, for you grow worse and worse. Anybody could think that you really care for me." — "How so? Do you not believe me, Miss Dora? Believe me, please, that you really have stolen too far into my heart." Saying this, I took her hand and pressed it again to my lips. But I smacked in some way too loud, and I received a new rebuke.

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his assimilation depend essentially on whether he preserves or not, in the background of his consciousness, the attitudes of a permanent member of his original community.

Miss D. menaced me with her finger, and we went to the room where her parents sat. There I remained for an hour, talking about different things, and then I left. Dora's parents invited me to come often. I promised to come and went with Miss Dora and the little sister. But Miss Dora sent her back, and we went directly to the bench. It was about eight o'clock. As soon as we sat down, Miss Dora began to reproach me for being too hot-minded and having too little consideration. "You ought not to let anybody notice that we know each other intimately, for if father or mother noticed anything, I should get a reprimand and they would forbid your coming to us. I will tell you what we shall do. On Sunday and Wednesday you will come to us, but then try not to show anything and do not kiss me, even my hand, particularly in the presence of Olga. She would at once tell everything to mother. And every Thursday and Saturday I will wait for you here. If you cannot come, please write a note and put it here." She showed me the place. "What, Miss Dora, with you only twice a week? It is not enough. And as to your parents, what shall I talk to them about? I am too young for a serious conversation." — "Yes, but I shall be there and it will go on in some way. And besides it cannot be otherwise. And for you two evenings a week are quite enough, for if I went outside too often I might attract the attention of my parents and I don't want them even to suspect anything.[1] And now tell me whether you agree with my conditions or not." — "Well, what can I do? Although they are rather hard, I will try to fulfill them. But as far as I know, upon every contract a seal must be put. We made an agreement, and where is the seal?" — "What seal? I don't know about any." — "You don't know? Well, then I will tell you, only in your ear, for it is a secret about which I ought not to speak aloud." Miss D. naïvely leaned her head to my lips; I took her head with my hand in order to press it firmly but she drew her head away, and thus she deceived me a few times. At last after she had teased me, I had no more consideration but took hold of her head firmly, so that her lips were turned toward me and upward, and it was easy for me to put a kiss upon them.

[1] Dora's practical sense manifested in a romantic relation reveals two sets of attitudes — a practical spirit of organization developed by the familial environment, and a romantic attitude based on the sexual impulse and developed by books.

But I did not do it at once for I wanted her to kiss me also. Miss Dora did not try to change her position, and it caused me a great pleasure also to look into her eyes and I almost devoured her with mine. After a few seconds of such intense gazing I was unable to hold back any longer, for I felt on fire, my mouth was dry, and with all my strength I pressed her lips to mine. Thus for a few seconds we stayed without movement, united with our lips, and I don't know how long it would have lasted but for the clock, which struck nine, roused us and tore us asunder. But I did not yet let her go, although she tried slightly to free herself from my embrace, but I demanded of her to put a seal voluntarily upon my mouth. After a short hesitation she did it, but not so as if merely to comply. For when I begged her, we looked at or rather devoured one another with our eyes, and every time when I said, "Kiss me" she answered only, "Yes, you would like it," but at last she tore her hands from mine, embraced my neck and pressed upon my lips a seal which I shall never forget. Then she fled from the bench like a bird and stood a few paces away, putting her dress in order. Then I could see her better. She was quite red, her lips were parched by desire, her hair a little disordered. Looking at her, I could scarcely keep from catching her again and throwing her upon the bench, but I don't know whether shame or lack of courage made me stay where I was. Miss Dora, probably guessing my interior struggle, said: "Come, please, we shall walk a little, for it is too hot here." I must confess it was not very hot, for the wind cooled us, but we certainly felt as warm as if we were seated near a burning stove. I arose, took her by the hand and we went along a footpath. But at last the footpath became more and more obstructed by trees, so we returned again to the bench. During the walk Miss D. proposed not to call each other "Miss" or "Mister," but by name, but only when we were alone.

Then she asked me to copy a poem for her, and finally we came back to the bench and sat down again, and talked about books until ten. Then, for goodbye, I succeeded in kissing her a few times more, and I left, drunk with joy that I had succeeded in conquering the heart of Miss D. But alas! I was angry with myself for being so young, for if I were at least twenty-two or three, I could have a splendid career, for Miss D. would receive a nice dowry and I should have money enough to start my own

business. While now — what? I could only kiss her, at the most foolish with her, and this would be the end, for she evidently wouldn't wait for me; she was too rich to sit long at home. Well, we shall see what may be done. Today I know only this, that I am really loved, for I have had proofs of it.

And for me Miss Dora was not only a plaything, for when I had not seen her for two or three days I longed enormously for her. Before I knew her I liked to go often with other boys to drink beer and to play billiards; I did not care much for my clothes. But now it was different. I was afraid to go to the tavern lest she should learn it, and I cared more for my dress; even the work came out better from under my hand, and Mr. Leon swore less. . .[1] I went to Miss Dora's parents as we had agreed. We grew more and more attached to each other, and every time when I left her I was more intoxicated with love, so that I only waited for an opportunity to violate her. But even if sometimes I could have done it, I always lacked courage. And then I thought that she would not allow me to do it, would be very angry, and then, "Good-bye, my dear." And it was so nice to be with her! And her parents must have liked me also a little, for they invited me more and more insistently and often treated me with a good supper. [Once while Władek is at supper here Aleksy and his wife call. Władek is stupefied but behaves "as if nothing had happened." Flirtation continues.]

The time of my emancipation was approaching and I had neither letter nor money from my parents, so I did not know what to do. Now I could no longer put aside any money, for I often bought a necktie, a collar, etc., and my income was very small. But I decided to ask Dora for advice. She had always good advice, perhaps she would find a way here. According to the contract three months were still left before the emancipation, but Mr. K. had promised me to emancipate me sooner, so I needed money sooner. If I had asked Aleksy he would have given it to me perhaps, but I did not dare and did not want to ask him. On Tuesday I went again to Dora and unbosomed myself to her. She did not answer me but told me to wait until Thursday, and she would reflect. She told me also that her mother wanted to speak to me, and when I asked her what it was about she only

[1] Władek's stay in Sosnowiec, under the influence of Dora and her parents, marks perhaps his nearest approach to a steady life-organization.

shrugged her shoulders, laughing at my curiosity. After our usual lovemaking I returned almost joyless to the bakery. The next day, when I went again to Dora's parents, her mother called me to another room. I went, I must confess, with great fear, for I thought that she would tell me to bid farewell to their home, but my fear changed almost into joy when she informed me that next week was Dora's birthday, and that she told me about it that I might know and congratulate her, for Dora liked it very much. I thanked her and left, accompanied by Dora, who asked me at once what her mother told me. "Nothing important; I shall tell you later."

During this night and all the following ones I was occupied with thinking what could give her a pleasure. At last I resolved to buy her a pot of roses which I saw in the house of certain people in a colony not far away from the town. As soon as my plan was ripe I went to the colony in order to ask whether they would sell me these flowers. To tell the truth, they refused at first and would not even listen to my proposal, but when I begged, saying that it was for a name-day [not birthday, as the Poles do not celebrate birth-days], the woman was moved and agreed to sell me the flowers. But I did not take them with me, just paid, saying that I would come for them on Sunday after dinner.

Here I must come back to that Thursday on which Dora was to advise me how to act about the emancipation. At the usual hour I dressed and went to my beloved but I did not dare to ask her for the second time; I wanted also to convince myself how she cared about my affairs, and thereby about myself, and then I could as well ask her the next time. But I was not disappointed, for when I was leaving she gave me an envelope without any address saying that I should find there the advice. I put the envelope into my pocket, for it was too dark to see what was written; only when I returned to the bakery, I opened it and found there a small letter, and in it a quite new ten-rouble note. When I saw the money I simply could not withhold tears that strange people, and moreover Germans, were better than my own parents, who did not even deign to answer my letter. I was sure that Dora

must have told her parents about me, or rather about my emancipation. There was not much written upon the card, nothing but the following words:

"My Władek, I lend you ten roubles which you will give me back when you have them; but when — don't think about it at all, for it is my own money, and at the present time I don't need it much. Your . . . . Dora."

After reading this letter I came to the conclusion that Dora's parents did not know anything about it and it would not be nice to mention it before them. [Pays Mr. K. for his emancipation. Buys a new suit. Omits to call on Dora on Sunday because he spent the whole day and night composing wishes for her birthday — probably his first literary effort. Sends the wishes with the flowers by a messenger who reports that Dora is angry. Now deliberates and "breaks his head" whether he shall go on Tuesday.] Nevertheless I resolved to go. . . . Dora was angry and abused me, but I sat calmly, without speaking, and held her hands in mine. When she had finished, I said: "Well, my Dora prepared a nice greeting for me. Really if I had known it I should have preferred not to come at all, but to sit in the bakery." Then I told her what I did on Sunday evening, and pretended that I was angry and wanted to go away.[1] But this did not happen, for as soon as I finished my explanation Dora caught me by the neck, covering me with warm kisses and thanking me for the flowers and verses. I thanked her for the money which she had lent me, but as soon as I began to talk about money she closed my mouth with her hand and forbade my speaking or thanking. From that moment I loved my Dora still more, for her good heart and also for loving me so much, and giving me proofs. For instance, she related how on Sunday she had waited for me so that her mother reprimanded her saying that she was too much my friend. She said that but for the fear of being laughed at she would have gone herself to see what had happened to me. And her mother also repeated more than once: "Why did our Władzio not come today." Dora asked me to send her a letter through some one at her ex-

[1] The girl and his desire to see her were really pushed into the background by a new interest — the impulse to literary creation. Love is made the theme and pretext, and we see in this incident the relation of artistic tendencies developed under the influence of love to love itself, and the explanation of the reputed insincerity of the love of artists.

pense the next time I could not come. "For you have no idea how anxious I am about you, and I beg you, don't cause me such a grief any more, for I shall be seriously angry." Here followed long and hearty kisses one after another. After such expressions of love I fell into anger, for I was almost sick, while courage and boldness did not come. More than once, after an evening spent in this way, I promised myself not to go to Dora any more, for I was sure that this would not finish in a nice way for us. But this was only immediately after such an evening, and the next day I wanted to see her again, and thus one week passed after another. Today again I fell into anger, when I raised her head after perhaps the tenth kiss. I rose, wiping sweat from my brow, and we were both silent. At last I began: "Do you know, Dora, we must stop these meetings of ours." — "Why?" she asked astonished, "are you already tired of me? If I don't please you any more, you may go away." — "Why no, you can never displease me and I can never be tired of you, but reflect yourself that sometime this may have bad consequences for us. I confess truly that I must control myself with my whole power of will in order not to abuse your confidence in me. But some day perhaps I shan't hold out any longer and I shall do some folly for which you may get angry with me and we shall be obliged to part, and to do it in anger." Dora answered laughing: "That is nice. See what a man! He is afraid to commit a folly that I may not be angry with him! Say rather that you lack courage; then I shall sooner believe you. I did not think that you were so temperate." Saying this, she turned her head aside and began to laugh ironically. With this she brought me really to wrath, so I jumped toward her, caught her head with both hands and covered her with kisses, saying: "Wait, wait, my dear, I will show you my courage. Only don't be angry with me later. I know also how to be a man sometimes." I must have pressed her head too tightly, for she began to ask me to release her, for I should crush her head. But I did not listen, and kissed her lips more and more passionately. When I was satiated, I went aside a few steps, inhaling deep breaths of air, for I was really very tired from those kisses. She arose also, complaining that I had spoiled her hair. When I had rested a little I asked her how she liked the flowers I had sent her. She answered that it was very nice, and thanked me again. Suddenly the clock struck ten. I took her home, promis-

ing that I would not forgive her for the impertinence of today and returned to the bakery. On Wednesday I was again in her parents' home. . . . Her mother asked me why I had not come on Sunday. I said that I was composing verses for Miss Dora. The mother shook her head, which I did not understand, and invited me to come next Sunday, when she would arrange a little reception on account of her daughter's birth-day. Then I went with Dora to her room; she showed me the wishes which she had received. To tell the truth, there were not many of them, for so rich a girl, and she did not get any gifts except my flowers. I don't know what was the reason of her having so few boys, for she was very pretty and rich and it was precisely her seventeenth birthday. I believe that there were no rich German boys in the neighborhood, and then as her mother said she was still almost a child and would not be permitted to marry before twenty. There were, it is true, a few German boys but they were not great friends of hers. I don't know who did not wish it, whether they or Dora, but with whomever I spoke about her, everybody called her an egotist. For me it was a very favorable circumstance, for I had no rival at all. This was the cause of her receiving so few wishes, and this did not grieve her or diminish her gaiety. . . . [Receives emancipation papers. Shows them to Dora and her parents, deposits them with his aunt. Engaged by Mr. K. at 1 rb. 50 a day.]

Once on Sunday about nine o'clock in the morning a boy brought me a letter. As soon as I looked at the cover, I recognized Dora's hand-writing. I was astonished, for up to the present I had not received any letters from her, and I made various suppositions about its content. But when I tore the envelope I read the following words:

"My dear: This afternoon, about two o'clock, my parents, with Olga, are going to your brother. So please come as soon as possible. We shall be alone. Only don't be late. I close.

Your . . . . Dora."

I simply jumped with joy that perhaps I should have the opportunity to do this folly, as I had told her. I gave ten grosz to the boy and said, "All right." I came to Dora's about three. She was waiting for me, and said that her parents had left about an hour before and would not come back soon. "And I am the housewife today." I said, laughing: "What will this young

housewife treat me with?" — "Whatever you want." — "Well, we shall see." After a while Dora bound my eyes with a handkerchief and told me to catch her. When I caught her I did the same with her, but I am unable to describe what a joy I had then. I threw her upon the sofa, I rolled her in all directions and she let me do it. When we were tired with running, Dora put sweet brandy and *zakąski* upon the table and we drank two glasses each. When we finished it was beginning to get dark. We sat down very near each other, and as I said, it was rather dark in the room. The brandy did its work, for Dora was the first to ask for kisses. In the beginning it went rather lamely, but gradually I grew feverish and when I bent her head as I liked to do the blood played in my veins and my breath grew short. I did not yet dare to begin, but when Dora threw her naked arms around my neck — for she had short sleeves — I was unable to hold out any longer. And when she began to say in her frenzy, "Coward! Coward!" I took her nervously around the waist, and threw her upon the sofa upon which we were sitting. She tried to rise a few times, but it was too late, for at this moment I was no longer master of myself. At last she lay quiet, breathing heavily.[1]

When we finished it was quite dark in the room and when Dora rose she did not go at once to light the lamp but tried to put her dress in order. During the whole time we had been silent, saying not a word to each other. Now I approached her, took her by the hand, kissed it often and said: "Well, you see, Dora, I am not a coward. Is it true?" — "Not a coward! Why I had almost to persuade you to do it. But wait, let me go and light a lamp." When she came back she was again fresh and rosy as before, and had on a new dress, still more coquettish. Then she prepared supper. When we had eaten it, it was about nine o'clock, and she did not expect her parents until eleven, so we had still about two hours of time. After supper we played again at catching and when we were warmed Dora pressed me herself to foolish again. After this I sat for about an hour, and after a very kind goodbye went to the bakery.

In this way I succeeded in seducing Dora. I regretted only that I was too young, for I was much in love with her. And

[1] Dora's behavior is not greatly contrary to the mores of the German lower-middle class, while the married woman of this class is usually true to her husband.

today I was still more glad because of what had happened, for I hoped that now it would go more easily. I must confess sincerely that I never supposed it would come to this between us, for when we were in the presence of other persons she was always stiff and showed nothing nor betrayed herself in any way, although we had known each other for almost half a year and never omitted any appointed evening. But when I remembered that I should be obliged to leave her I felt a terrible regret, for should I never find another such in the world? What was Kazia or Antosia in comparison with her? It is true that they also permitted me to kiss them, but not with such ardor and not with such fire in their eyes as Dora. But it was certain that I must leave her. I could not work always for such a small salary, and then I was young, I wanted to know the world.[1] Though I had not told her this, I thought often about it myself. The worst was that when I should have left Sosnowiec I should forget her and she would forget me. This thought gave me no rest and I was curious what she would say about it. So I resolved to talk with her about it on some occasion.

Two weeks had passed since that memorable evening and our relations had not changed at all, but we had no occasion to repeat the foolishing. Only in the third week the opportunity came again. On Thursday was the quarterly fair in Sosnowiec and Mr. Leon and I had baked an unusual amount of bread and rolls, so that much of it was left, and for Friday we were not to bake at all. I was very glad and went as usual to the bench, where Dora was already waiting for me. She took me by the hand and led me straight to the house, saying on the way that her father was not at home for he went away on business. When I came in her mother told me the same, saying that it was well that I came, for it would not be so sad. I began to excuse myself, saying that I had a holiday and could amuse myself a little, and therefore I came, for I never entered the house on Thursday. I begged her pardon for coming so often. "It is all right, it is all right. Please sit down and tell what you saw at the fair." I began to relate as best I could, and so the time passed until supper. After

[1] Władek's definition of the situation here is assisted by his innate tendency to change, by the tradition that a journeyman should wander, by his reading and the stories of Mr. Leon, and perhaps even the relation to Dora has helped to develop expectations of interesting things in the future.

supper Dora's mother told us to play at blindman's bluff, for this game amused her the most and she always laughed very much. The little Olga took part in the game. At ten Dora's mother and Olga went to sleep and we remained. Dora darkened the lamp and thus in half obscurity we began to flirt. I will not bore the reader with more descriptions, enough that we foolished twice. And we were no longer ashamed of each other, but we behaved quite boldly. Before leaving we promised ourselves to repeat it more frequently, only everything depended upon finding a suitable place; I was to arrange it. Drunk with joy and love, I came back to the bakery. It was already three o'clock in the morning.

The next day after breakfast I went to search. I went around the garden of Dora's father, but could find nothing suitable. The fence was down on the side of the field; I went into the garden, made a new search there, but in vain. Angry with myself, I went along the fence toward the street. Suddenly my eye fell upon some object, almost in the corner of the garden. It was a booth in which the watchman who guarded the fruits in summer had slept. It was still in a very good state. When I entered the light did not penetrate through any crack. The roof and walls were made of reeds. The entrance was open, but not wide. Inside was straw, pushed toward the wall with a plank; it had been evidently the watchman's bed. I sat down upon the plank and tried the straw. It was damp below but dry enough above, and it lay about half a yard deep. After reflection I had to acknowledge that in the absence of anything better it was a very suitable place for our meetings. Then I went in the direction of our bench in order to get acquainted with the way, and left the garden through the fence, for I feared being seen from the windows if I went out through the gate. I was very much pleased with my discovery, for I should oftener enjoy this pleasure with Dora and without fear. Who would ever guess, indeed, that we were in the booth? And then it was far enough from the house. I laughed already at the thought how glad my Dora would be when I showed her this.

The next day was Saturday, and in the morning, when Aleksy's maid came for bread she brought me a letter from him asking me to wait for him tomorrow morning and not to go anywhere, for he would come to me. We were all very much astonished, for Aleksy had never called on me and we were curious what he would

say to me. On Sunday at eight Aleksy came while I was at breakfast. He greeted everybody without omitting me and asked me whether I should like to go to Lubotyń. "With the greatest pleasure," I said, "but I don't know whether Mr. Leon will permit me." Aleksy requested him and he did not refuse. Aleksy told me to come exactly at eleven, and left. My astonishment had no limits. What had happened that he came for me? He had already been home more than once and never did this. I said to myself that if my sister-in-law went I would not go after all. I wrote a letter to Dora saying that I could not come today for I was going with Aleksy to my parents. [At home he reproaches his parents for not sending money for his emancipation. His mother claims that his father was planning to go with it. She gives him ten roubles, which he puts in his pocket, without explaining that he is already emancipated. At dinner he shows his emancipation papers and returns five roubles to his mother, promising to repay the other later. Tells the teacher's family of his emancipation, and they rejoice, especially Kazia, but the teacher swears and asks him to show the papers. "Perhaps you lie about being already emancipated." But when he sees the papers he congratulates him and says: "Try always to be an honest man." — At this moment Dora came to my mind, and I thought, "What an honest man I am!" Józef, the teacher's son, had returned drunk, and his father would not receive him. He is working in a Jewish bakery. On the return they stop at Koło to feed the horses, and Aleksy leaves Władek, saying he will be back in an hour. W. waits two hours and then finds A. in the hotel, gambling, drunk and maudlin. Aleksy gives Władek his purse telling him to settle the account, and is carried to the cab. On parting Władek does not give him the purse. Dora and Władek meet and visit the booth.] When we sat down once more upon our bench I drew from my pocket two five rouble notes and handed them to her, but she pushed my hand away in anger, saying that I should pay her back later, when I was richer than now. To tell the truth, I did not need it so much now, but as she refused to accept it I put it back into my pocket. And then with great care, I began to turn the conversation toward this, that I must soon leave Sosnowiec and I didn't know where I should go. Then Dora said: "Listen, my dear, to what I shall say. Tell me truly could you not work always here? My father

says that when a stone remains in one place it gets covered with moss. You could stay here. You don't need so much money for a bakery; you can put it aside slowly and open your own bakery. Am I not right?" — "It is true, but think, can a man who earns one rouble fifty copeks a week put aside any money? And then, I am young, I want to know the world and men and to learn better work." — "Oh, you speak as if you felt no regret in leaving me. You can cause me only pain by your conversation." — "But, dear Dora, this must happen sooner or later, so it is better to be prepared for such a thing. But I don't speak about separating forever. There exist ink and paper, we shall write each other very often, for I shan't be able to forget you unless you forget me, and even then I shall think always about you. For just think, my dear, is it possible to forget all these moments spent with you?" Here Dora interrupted me saying: "Stop, for you don't know what pain you cause me." But I noticed that she did not say this with her natural voice and when I looked into her eyes, I saw tears. "You are crying? But I am still with you!" And I began to kiss her tears away. Then she said: "How should I not cry, when you talk as if you were going to-morrow." And we talked thus until the clock struck ten. Then I led her to the door and left, not in a very joyful mood. On the way I thought: "Oh, really it would have been better for me and for her if we had not known each other at all, for I have begun really to love her deeply, every day more deeply, and she wept at the mere idea of separation. And when we shall be obliged to part really, what will be then? And I must confess that I was ready to weep myself. But there was no way at all. If I were a few years older, then perhaps some way could be found, while now?" Thinking so, I waved my hand and said: "What God grants will happen." [1]

[1] In this opposition between what he conceives — or professes to conceive — as the interests of his career and his romantic interests, he never for a moment contemplates the possibility of giving preference to the latter. A man of the upper Polish classes would have done this. In general the relative importance given to love as against business grows as we pass from the peasant and workman to the aristocracy, though other interests — social, patriotic, artistic — may interfere with both love and business. But with Władek the attitude of romantic love is relatively superficial and recent and cannot prevail over the traditions of his class, while the business attitude itself cannot become a basis of life-organization because of his vagabonding tendency.

And thus again a few weeks passed without any changes. We spent the evenings always in the same way, and nobody suspected us. I had still Aleksy's money with me; he did not ask me about it and I did not carry it back. Up to the present also he had not paid me back the money which I spent with the driver. He thought probably that he had lost his own money and feared to ask me lest I should betray him. Once the watchman brought me a letter from him, asking me to come tomorrow at noon. I took his money and went, but to the office not to the apartment. In the office I found Aleksy alone. He asked me why I did not come to him, whether I was still angry, and where I got money for my emancipation. I answered: "I never was angry with you for I had no reason, but sister-in-law said, in Wysokie, that I might not come to her, so I don't go." — "Whom did she tell? You?" — "Not me, but she wrote a letter to father saying that such whelps should not come to her." — "Oh, you are silly. Your sister-in-law never says anything against you; she even praised you much to Mr. and Mrs. P. [Dora's parents] when they were in our house. Well, and do you go there still?" — "I do." — "And they have probably lent you money. Could you not have come to me? I would have given it to you." — "I did not dare to come to you, for you always laughed at me and abused me. And Mr. and Mrs. P. did not lend me any money. If you don't believe it you can ask them." — "Why should I ask? Moreover I don't care. Now tell me, how much money did you spend in Koło." I said more than three roubles. He gave me five. I thanked him and put it into my pocket. I was very astonished that he did not mention his money. Then we talked for a while longer. Suddenly the maid came in, asking him to come to dinner. Aleksy invited me to dine with them. During the dinner he told me and my sister-in-law to be reconciled. I rose and kissed her hand. She deigned only to say: "Now I am no longer angry with you, for you are certainly wiser than before; why, you are already a journeyman." But these words, as it seemed to me, were not said from the heart, but very coldly. It was evident that only Aleksy persuaded her to do it. I answered: "You are right, for three years ago I was younger and therefore more silly." We sat for an hour and I bade her goodbye. She asked me when I would come. I answered: "Next Sunday," and went to the office where Aleksy was. He gave me a cigarette and told

me to sit down, saying that he had much to do and could not talk. I sat for a while, but was soon bored and prepared to leave. But in the last moment, as Aleksy mentioned nothing about the money, I drew the pocketbook from my pocket and gave it to him. Aleksy got very red, opened it, gave me ten roubles and hid the rest, saying, "Don't say anything about it to your sister-in-law." — "All right," I said, and left. When I was almost out of the door, he called, "When will you come?" — "On Sunday." — "Come to dinner, we shall expect you." [1]

In this way I was reconciled with my sister-in-law and had one more house where I could go. But this did not last long. A few weeks passed and my conditions did not change at all — except that from time to time I went to Aleksy — when the name-day of one of my companions came. It was on a Tuesday. This companion invited us all to a separate room in one of the restaurants and gave a good entertainment. I got seriously drunk and in that state went to the bakery, forgetting entirely about Dora. I overslept and was late with the baking, and in the morning Mr. Leon began to abuse and to curse me. As a journeyman, I was already bolder and answered him. At last I said that he might look for another man, for I wouldn't work any longer with him, and I began to prepare myself for wandering.[2] When Mr. Leon saw that I was not joking he sent his mother to my aunt for my papers, intending to keep them, that I might be unable to leave. But they did not succeed, for my aunt refused to give them my papers, saying that I had taken them from her to Aleksy. I packed my clothes and took them to my aunt, intending to stay there over night and to go the next day to bid Dora farewell. In the evening I went to Aleksy and told to him the whole story. He asked me where I intended to go now. "To Koło," I said, "perhaps there I shall get work." — "Well, do as you think the best," said Aleksy. After supper I went back to my aunt, where Mr. Leon's brother Józef, who had a bakery in the same town,

[1] The reconciliation is assisted by his emancipation and the fact that he visits Dora's parents. By holding the money and keeping Aleksy in suspense he enjoys a certain superiority. He succeeds for a moment in making familial prevail over conjugal solidarity.

[2] The sudden disintegration of both the sentimental and practical life-organization under the influence of an appetite is of course possible only because of latent tendencies to change.

was waiting for me. He began to persuade me to work with him and promised to give me two roubles a week. After reflection I agreed, but only after Friday. It was too early to go to sleep, and I went to walk, for although it was the day when I usually went to Dora's parents, I did not go, for I had not yet any excuse invented for not having gone yesterday. Though I resolved to remain with Mr. Jósef I was sure that I should not work with him a long time, for I knew well what disorder was there. He had no credit with the flour merchants at all, and sooner or later he would have to close the bakery. And so it happened. And then, I regretted Dora enormously. So I did not know what to do. I had nobody to ask for advice, for none of my companions knew about my relations with Dora.[1] In a word, I walked quite stupid the whole evening. When I went to sleep it was past midnight.

At eight I went to the garden and sat upon the bench, but this time Dora was not there. I was very grieved, for I thought that everything was ended between us. I had smoked some cigarettes, nine o'clock had struck long ago, and she did not come. I thought: "My waiting is vain, she won't come," and I spoke these words aloud. "And if she comes, what then?" I heard these words although not loudly spoken. I turned and saw Dora standing in the middle of the path. In a few jumps I was near her, but she did not move and did not even stretch her hand out, but put both hands behind her and forbade me to touch her, but stood like a queen. This took my boldness away. She looked thus at me for some time as I stood there ashamed before her, and said at last: "Today is too late for a conversation. Come tomorrow at seven to the booth. Will you surely come? For I shall wait." — "I will come," I answered. When I said this she did not say a word more, turned and went and I stood there helpless, as the first time. At last I went back to my aunt. On the way I thought: "Well, all is over between us; she certainly told me to come tomorrow only in order to abuse me better. But

[1] Discretion to be duly appreciated in view of Władek's vanity and the distinction which his relation with Dora gives him. There has been a heightening of his moral level under her influence; his earlier blackmailing tendency would not be possible toward her. At the same time this influence must have acted upon a favorable attitude. Władek is half peasant, and the peasant is essentially discreet; he has learned to fear rather than to desire the revelation of personal matters.

nothing can be done. Why this must end one way or another, and the sooner the better. In fact I am a little tired with these continual and obligatory meetings. And then the pitcher carries water until its handle is broken. Even so, God granted us luck that we have not been caught up to the present in hot action. It is true that the moments spent with Dora will remain always in my memory."

Thinking thus I came to my lodging. It was not yet very late, so I sat down and wrote a short letter with the following content:

"Dear Dora: You have no reason to break out into wrath. I could not have done otherwise. On Tuesday was the name-day of Mr. B., so he invited us in the evening to him, and I drank a little too much. This is the reason why I don't work any more with Mr. K. On Wednesday I could not come either for I was very grieved. This is my whole fault, which I confess. I give you the ten roubles back, for which I thank you heartily. I shall never forget your goodness. You spurn me, so I shall go away, bearing you always in my memory.

I remain in despair

Your Władek."

I put the letter with ten roubles into an envelop with the intention of handing it to her personally. Then I went to sleep. The next day I moved to the bakery of Mr. Józef, which was much smaller than that of his parents. The work was the same, only less of it.

In the evening I went to the appointed place. Dora was not yet there, so I sat down upon the plank and gave myself up to dreaming and preparing how to repel the attack which awaited me. I have no idea how long I sat thus, but when I raised my head Dora stood before me. I must have been very deep in thought, since I did not hear her enter. I arose, but not so rapidly as I did usually. She did not stretch her hand to me, so I did not do so either, and for a while we stood opposite, measuring each other in silence with our eyes. I was silent, for I did not know how to begin, because though we loved each other and things had gone so far between us and we were familiar with each other, still when she was in anger I felt a coward. After standing thus awhile Dora said: "This is the way you behave toward me! This is the way you love me! I never expected it from you. Oh, evidently you are weary of me." Although these words were

said in a manner intended to be menacing, still they were said half in tears. And I always had a great weakness toward tears and could not look at them without being moved. So now I approached her, took her by the hand and begun to kiss it and to beg her pardon, saying: "Don't be angry with me and don't cry, for I am not very guilty." She drew her hand gently away and put it to her eyes, saying: "You are bad, you ought not to act in this way." Seeing that she talked mildly, I took her around the waist, seated her upon the plank, covering her with kisses, and disarmed her completely. Almost soothed, she began to inquire why I failed to come twice. I felt very much ashamed that it happened through liquor, and I did not dare to excuse myself, but drew the letter from my pocket and handed it to her, saying: "Everything is described there. Read it and you will learn everything." She took the letter and made a movement as if to tear it. Seeing this I snatched the letter quickly, saying: "What do you mean to do?" — "Tear it," she said. "Without reading it?" — "Why should I learn from the letter what you have written, when you are here and can tell me?" I put the letter back into my pocket, for I feared she would tear it and destroy the ten roubles with the letter. I sat down by her side and began to tell how and what had happened, and why I was not there. Finally I added that I wrote this letter and if she had acted with me as she did twice before, I would have gone and she would have seen me no more. "Have I not the right to amuse myself sometimes with my companions or to go to them? You don't demand it, but as I see, I cannot do anything without your permission." — "This is a nice amusement, to get so drunk that you overslept and spoiled your work! But besides this, if you intended to go in the evening to a revelry why did you not write a letter to me. We have agreed on this and you have promised to do it." . . . At last we were reconciled completely and spent the evening according to our habit.

And again a few weeks passed without change, and I decided really to wander away from Sosnowiec. This work with Mr. Józef did not please me at all. He drank continually, and there was no money to buy flour. Once when Mr. J. came from the country pretty drunk he entered the bakery and began to abuse his wife violently, and she did not fail to call names in turn. Mr. J., brought to a still greater wrath, struck his wife rather heavily

on the cheek and went back to the tavern. I did not like it at all, for it was the first time that I saw a man beat his wife, and I resolved to work only until the end of my week, to take my wages and to wander away.[1] I told Aleksy and he did not oppose it. So I was to go on Friday, for this was the end of my week. All this happened on Wednesday, on which, as usual, I went to Dora's parents. When I got the opportunity, and Dora was in another room, I told them that on Friday I was going to Koło. Mr. and Mrs. R. regretted it, but finally Mr. R. said: "Really Mr. W. does well to go into the world to learn better work and to get more knowledge." They asked me not to forget them and to write often, wherever I was, for they were interested to know how I succeeded in the world. I begged them not to tell Miss Dora, for I intended to tell her myself incidentally. After a moment Dora came in and we turned the conversation to another topic. Presently I bade them goodbye more heartily than usually and went away. The next day I came again to Dora, who was waiting for me already in the booth. But I said nothing about leaving the following day, for I did not wish to spoil my own and her pleasure the last evening.[2] This time I gave myself up to her totally in order to satisfy her with whatever she wanted from me. We came to impossibilities in our foolishing. I did not care for anything except for the satisfaction of all the desires of the flesh. Therefore I stayed later than usual, until eleven o'clock. Toward the end I wanted again to give her the money back, but she refused positively to accept it. Accompanied and kissed by Dora, whose hair and whole dress were in disorder, I left forever the garden and the family R., taking with me the remembrance of many evenings spent so delightfully. And thus ended my romance with Miss Dora, in the eighteenth year of my life. During the night I wrote her a long farewell letter, for I had not betrayed with a single word that I was leaving her. In the morning I took the letter to the post-office, received my weekly pay and, withheld by nobody, left Sosnowiec, having in my pocket, besides these ten roubles of Dora, more than fourteen of my own.

[1] This incident would not have been sufficient to compel him to leave if he had not been prepared to wander. It is a mere pretext.

[2] There was no altruism in his plan; he was unable to tell her and face the painful response. Given the desire to wander on the one hand and Dora's strength of character on the other, running away is for him the only solution.

I came to Koło afoot. There I went to the elder master, left my valise and papers, and he gave me the "mark."[1] Here I must say a few words about the customs of the bakers. Well, when a journeyman came to a town in which there was an elder master, he was obliged to leave his papers with him, and the master gave him a mark; *i. e.*, a brass imitation of an *obwarzanek* [a particular kind of doughnut]. With this kind of mark the journeyman had the right to go among all the bakers in search of work and the right to ask the masters for assistance, and almost everyone gave him something. The obligation was to give at least six grosz. When the journeyman happened to call during the dinner or some other meal, he was invited to the table, but only if he was decently dressed, and not many of such came. But the master gave all this only if the journeyman showed the mark, and it was the custom only where there was an elder master. If there was none the journeyman must show his papers to every master. He had to enter without any stick or cane; if he had one he must leave it outside. When he came into the shop he must say: "A wandering journeyman-baker," and show his papers or mark. If there was work, the master kept him; if not, he gave the *giszynk* [Geschenk], as the bakers call the gift which the masters give. I did the same. I took the mark and went among all the bakers, but there was no work with any of them, and I did not go to the Jews. When I returned to the elder master in order to give him back the mark, I met there three old drunkards, bakers who stood there before the shop. Into such a town some wandering journeyman came almost every day and they, these drunkards, waited for him, and he must spend on drinking with them whatever he had collected, for they always found some way to draw him into the tavern. And if one had money he ought not to betray himself, for then they did not spare their own money in order to get him drunk and to rob him. And if he said anything they beat him. I knew all this from the stories of other journeymen. There was no larger town without a few such "*smyruses*" [from German "schmieren," slang for getting drunk]. The same happened to me except that I was not much

[1] The Polish trade-corporations are of German origin, as in the middle ages (12th-15th centuries) the town population was mainly German. The population has been long Polonized but the customs and the words which designate them are still German, though corrupted.

more stupid than they were old. They never addressed a young fellow otherwise than, "Thou *Siejksa*." And when they shook hands with him they talked also in the baker's way. The one who stretched the hand first said, "*Chusic*," and the other who accepted it must answer, "*Nemsic*," and when they happened to meet one who did not know how to answer, then goodbye. He must spend all his money on drink and if he had none, then anything what he owned — apron, shirt or any other clothing. And it was even lucky for such a wandering journeyman if he was not beaten. When they wanted to know where the journeyman was emancipated, they asked: "What *lancman* [Landsmann]?" And the journeyman answered, "*Kaliszer*," "*Koniner*," "*Turkier*," etc., according to the town where he had been emancipated. I was a Turkier, for I had been emancipated in Turek.

Considering all this, it was not a great pleasure to meet such gentlemen, and every journeyman tried to avoid it as far as possible. It was easy to know them from far away from their clothes, very worn and covered with flour, and from their shoes, tied with strings from flour sacks. Sometimes such gentlemen met their match and got a beating, but they used to avoid such occasions and waited for young and inexperienced "siejkcs."[1]

I was just about to enter the shop [of the elder master] and to give my mark back, when they crossed my way and began to greet me in the bakers' manner and to inquire what *lancman* I was and whence I came, whether I had visited all the bakers already and whether I found work. I answered all their questions, making bold and pretending that I was not afraid. Then I started to go away, but one of them held me by my sleeve and asked whether I wanted to get work. I stopped at these words and said: "I want it. Where, with whom and at what salary?" — "Two and a half roubles a week, with a Jew, there near the bridge. Come,

[1] There is a professional and socially regulated beggary among peasants, and occasionally a peasant loses his fortune in drinking, but these *smyruses* are a unique trade-product. The handworker-journeyman has one fundamental aim — to start a business of his own. This and the influence of a normal social environment are usually sufficient to keep him out of pauperism. But if he does not succeed in establishing a shop and if for some reason he does not stay in one place long enough to become incorporated in the social life of this place, then both factors — the idea of an independent business and the regard for public opinion — lose their influence, and the wandering life, which is normally a provisional stage, becomes a definite form of existence.

he will keep you." To tell the truth, I did not wish to begin my work with a Jew, but I did not wish to wander further either. I thought: "It would be well to work at least a few weeks," and I went with them. They waited before the shop and I went in. The Jew took me. Then I went to take the papers to the boss, whoever he was, and the boss gave half a rouble. My companions asked whether I was received. I said yes, and went for my papers, still in their company. I took my valise also to the Jew. He gave me half a rouble, but my companions did not leave me even for a moment. Then, when my matters were settled, they asked me to treat them. I promised them to do so. They began to lead me toward their usual tavern, where they were well known, but I opposed going there decidedly and entered the first best. I tried to drink as little as possible for I knew well what awaited me if I got drunk. . . . Finally I spent all the money which I had collected in Koło and received from the Jew, and my companions got nicely drunk, for they ate very little, only drank. They demanded still more, but I gave nothing. I was not much afraid of them in this tavern, for had they made a riot they would have been thrown out. After the feast I went to the bakery and slept, for it was too early to work.

I won't describe what I did and how I worked. I mention only that there was much work, and on Saturday we never baked anything. There were three journeymen, two Poles and one Jew. I got acquainted with nobody worth describing, only from time to time I went to the tavern with other bakers, and then little was left of my wages. In a word I had bad companions and became more and more like them. I learned to drink vodka well enough, my clothes were already much worn, but I had no money put aside to buy new ones. The 24 roubles were still untouched and well hidden. It is true that I wanted more than once to break with my companions, but I could not, for they came to the bakery and began their drinking there, and after a short opposition I joined them. I wrote no letters to Sosnowiec or to my parents. In such an environment and with companions like the three which I described I worked for twelve weeks. I must add that during these twelve weeks I was not even once in the church, for every Sunday the work, after the Jewish Sabbath, lasted till one o'clock in the afternoon.[1]

[1] The change of social environment manifests itself immediately in a

At last I got tired of such a mean life, for I began to be like a brute. So I tried to find some other work, and my luck favored me, for at the same time a journeyman left the bakery of Mr. K. and the latter received me, paying me the same salary as the Jew. This bakery was in a suburb. . . . Here I felt better at once and I was different, for no journeyman was allowed to come in and to incite those who worked in Mr. K.'s bakery to drink. Therefore I very soon put some money aside and bought clothes. I did not leave any more money in taverns, for I seldom went out. My companions slowly dropped away from me, and at last Mr. and Mrs. K. liked me for not keeping company with drunkards, as they said.[1]

Only then I remembered Sosnowiec and Miss Dora, and wrote a long letter to her, and another to her parents. I put into her letter the 10 roubles, for I had only trouble with them, fearing to lose them. I begged Miss Dora's pardon very earnestly for having acted so impolitely and not having told her that I was going away, but I did not want to grieve her with such news. I

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total modification of all the acquired habits; regular work, thrift, romantic love, familial attitudes, temperance, religion, in a word, life-organization in all lines is dropped at once. The cause of this change is twofold: (1) There was a tendency to reject, at least temporarily, the preceding organization of life, as shown in his abandonment of the business activity and the romantic relation simultaneously. (2) All the fields of organized activity constitute for the consciousness of Władek a complex whole, being, all of them, rooted objectively in a social environment of a certain type and based subjectively on the social instinct. And it is evident that his strong social instinct yields to the example of his environment, that exactly the same psychological background leads him to a Philistine life-organization or to a Bohemian dissolution, according to the milieu in which he finds himself. He can select his milieu, but he is less able to do this than others whose desire for social response is less strong; he changes only when the desire for stability or the desire for new experience grows so strong as to permit him to overcome the attraction of the given milieu sufficiently to move into another milieu. Thus the periodical changes in Władek's life — typical for innumerable half-vagabonds in all classes and all societies — are the result of the periodicity of the desires for stability and for new experience. All the individual has to do is to search for a milieu adapted to his desire and to subject himself passively to its organizing or disorganizing influences.

[1] The K.s cared, according to the guild tradition, for the morals of their journeymen. The Jew did not, because he had not the guild tradition, because of the race-antagonism, and because his tutelage would not have been accepted.

described also how I was succeeding, but did not mention that I had worked with a Jew and had been to taverns.

Meanwhile I got acquainted with a baker-journeyman, in my opinion a nice fellow, and I kept company with him. He was about three years older than I, and he had more acquaintances, so thanks to him I began to spend my time a little more merrily and decently, in a better society. I resolved to match him with Miss Pelagia D., and I tried to persuade him to go with me to Lubotyń. More than once we made excursions on boats to the ruins of a castle, about two versts away from the town, and a few girls went with us. But I did not try to get more nearly acquainted with any of them, for I remembered too distinctly the impressions and the moments with Dora.[1] Soon I received a letter from her parents and another from herself. In her letter there were many reproaches and much abuse. She called me a man without a heart, and then again a man with a heart of stone, that I could have acted thus, as if with a toy with which I had played enough and threw it away as useless. And many other reproaches were included in this letter. She sent me the ten roubles back. I resolved not to send them to her any more but to give them to my parents.

[Visited by his father, to whom he gives the ten roubles. Visits his own family (which had moved to Bogusławice) with his friend L., whom he had hoped to match with Pelagia, taking brandy and gifts, and "nice sticks in our hands, for I in particular was very fond of sticks and changed them often for better ones." "Kazia was like Kazia. She thought really that I was deeply in love with her, and she wanted to be always where I was and to attract my attention." Pelagia had aspired to marry into the small trading or manor-official class, but confessed to the sister of Władek that she would now "marry for a piece of bread." She does not please the friend of Władek. The master falls sick and Władek has charge of the business.] But by no means could I find any girl for myself, although every boy among my acquaintances had one. I did not run after girls, and no girl pleased me. I tried always to be polite and kind when I met one, but nothing more.

[1] This is the only point in his sexual life where the remembrance of the past proves stronger than the present impressions. His relation with Dora seems to have been the only real love-relation of his life, if we define love by exclusiveness of sentiment with regard to one person of the other sex.

And when sometimes there was a discussion about women I knew no pity and criticized them to the utmost degree, and therefore I was not liked by girls. But I did not try to acquire their friendship, for I had a something in me which made me aspire higher, and I could not meet such a girl as I wished.[1]

Once all the girls with whom I was acquainted laughed much at me. It was in the summer, when I had to take the horse to the meadow. For although there was now a boy and Mr. K. was in a better health, I did not want to resign the pleasure of riding. The night had been warm and I had worked in the bakery in only a shirt and an apron, without a coat. In the morning when the boy had delivered the bread and prepared to take the horse out, I wished to show Mr. K. how well I knew how to ride. I caught the horse by the mane, intending to jump upon his back, but I did not succeed; my apron remained upon his back and I half hung, half lay, and could not get up. The horse, as if in malice, galloped full speed through the market-place and I rode helpless and ashamed, for I had to cling to him with all my strength. Many people saw me riding thus and told others, and soon the whole town knew it. After that, in the case of any dispute, they always reminded me of it, saying that I knew this or that as well as riding. I had nothing to say in excuse, so I had to yield, but I never again wanted to take the horse out.[2]

A few months later — it was already winter — my master fell sick and did not rise again. During his sickness I had again

[1] Deterred by the memory of Dora, made more fastidious by association with a girl of her class, and unwilling to seek response by normal association, he yet secures recognition by posing as a woman-hater.

[2] We have seen above (p. 2010 note) that the whole life-organization as conditioned by the social milieu has in the eyes of the individual an indissoluble unity, so that the rejection of a single value implies the rejection of all of them. We have here the complementary fact that both for social opinion and for the individual himself all the lines of personal activity constitute a single whole; no distinction is made between particular fields of this activity, so that success or unsuccess in one field influences the standing of the whole personality. The frequent ridiculous inferences about an individual drawn from some particular and trifling manifestation of his activity, or even from some external peculiarity, can be explained by this unity of the social personality (*cf.* the incident of Aleksy leading the blind beggar). For this reason also the community never forgets a false step of a member, and, for example, a short term in prison, deserved or undeserved, brands the man once and forever.

to manage the bakery. Once I went out to the town, and whom did I meet? Mr. Józef K., from Sosnowiec, with whom I worked for some time. But how he looked! O my God! The cold was great and he was without an overcoat, half-frozen, in torn shoes. When he saw me he ran toward me with outstretched hands. I was really astonished at seeing him. "What are you doing here, in such a condition?" Instead of answering he showed me the mark of the elder master. I guessed everything, but I was very curious as to what he would tell me. It was too cold to talk upon the street, so I invited him to a tavern to drink a glass. When we had drunk more than three each, I asked him what he had done with his bakery. And he began to relate: "What do you think, Władek? Is it possible to run a business with such a wife? When I went to the country with bread she invited her cronies and treated them with the best she had while the maid was selling in the shop and putting the money into her own pocket. And thus I had to fail. But I have driven this cholera away from me." — "How is that? Of whom are you speaking?" — "Do you not hear? Of this whore of mine." — "No, I don't know of whom you are speaking. Speak plainly." — "Well, if you don't know, I shall tell you plainly. I speak of my wife whom I have driven away from me." — "And your little daughter? Where is she?" — "She took her and went to her father." — "How could you do this — drive away such a pretty wife!" For indeed, he had a rather handsome wife and a girl three years old. "I don't care now for her at all. I am better off now." I looked at him, where this "better" condition was clearly written, but I was very indignant with him for he cursed and accused his wife, while I knew very well that he was the cause of his own failure. I finished treating him and we went out upon the street. Mr. Józef asked me to give him a few grosz. I had still forty copecks with me which I gave him and I went my own way with the intention of not meeting him any more, for I was not pleased with him. Two days later I was sleeping when some one knocked at the door. When I opened he began to beg me to lend him three roubles, but I refused to hear of any lending. But seeing that I should not get rid of him, I told him to wait on the street and I would come out at once. When he left I closed the door and went to sleep again. If he had needed money for living or for anything else I would have given it certainly, but I knew well

that it was for liquor. He stood for a while upon the street, but then began to knock again and to beg as well as he could, but I was unmoved. At last he said that he was hungry and asked me for a few grosz for breakfast. I could not listen, so I opened the door and gave him half a rouble more but forbade him to come any more. This happened later a few times, but I refused to let him in at all. Seeing at last that he could get nothing more, he went away.[1]

My friend wandered out of Koło, so I was left alone. I worked for some weeks longer but in early spring my master died and I had nothing to do, for Mrs. K. closed the bakery. Easter was not far off so I resolved to rest at my parents' home and after Easter to go to work again. And so I did. I had worked in Koło forty-four weeks, twelve with the Jew and thirty-two with Mr. K., but when I left Koło I had only eighteen roubles. I gave my father half of this money and kept the rest. About this time, near Easter, I was most of the time with Kazia. Once when we were walking together Kazia made her third declaration to me, saying: "Mr. Władek [2] you are already a journeyman, nobody could hinder you from marrying if you wished." — "All right, Miss Kazia," I answered, "but what shall we do, since I have nothing except this stick here and these gloves? What support could I give to my future wife?" — "Oh, Mr. W., why do you fear it? If we marry, we can work together for our bread." — "No, Miss Kazia. Later on, when I am free from military service, or when I shall have served my time." — "Oh, then you won't

[1] While alcoholism acts by destroying the life organization, this destruction cannot be complete as long as the individual preserves his social ties — family, acquaintance-milieu, business relations — and in the case of a master of handicraft married and owning a shop these ties are preserved in a sense automatically. Even if the man is a drunkard and keeps company mainly with other drunkards he can hardly escape the influence of the other organized social sphere to which he originally belongs. Therefore the master can become completely pauperized only if, like Józef, he breaks all his familial and social ties. And in this case also he probably falls, like Lucifer, never to rise.

[2] This ceremonious use of "Mr." and "Miss" seems ridiculous in persons who have known each other from childhood, but these forms have a social significance. Now that they are marriageable, to address each other by name would mean either too little or too much — that they were going to marry very soon or that they considered each other as if belonging already to the same family, being as near as a brother and sister, and then psychologically marriage would be excluded.

take me, for you will search for a rich wife."—But, Miss Kazia, if we are destined for each other, we shall marry sooner or later." —"I don't believe in destiny," answered Kazia, and began to annoy me again about giving her my word; then she would wait for me. But I did not yet dream of marrying, and less of giving my word to Kazia, and I was stubborn and tried to excuse myself and to dissuade her, so that again she got no word from me.[1]

[For Easter Stach and Marya come, and a Mr. Jankowski is also visiting his brother, the blacksmith, and paying attention to Pelagia, who does not look favorably upon him because he is small.] We passed the first day at home and it was gay. The second day was *dyngus* day. It was still dark when Mr. Jankowski came to me, and we both went about the village, entering wherever we were permitted to enter and pouring water upon the girls. Finally we resolved to go to the manor, for there were also a few servant girls there. We were already rather well drunk, being invited to drink in every house. When we entered the manor-house, the lord noticed us, met us in the vestibule and asked what we wanted. He was already an old man, above eighty. When we told him, he said: "All right, wait a little." Then he rang for the butler, whom I knew very well since we were boys, although he was somewhat older than I. The lord ordered him to bring a bucket of water, two cups and to close the door well from the outside. Then he sent him to call the maids. There were three of them, two lady's maids and one seamstress. When they came in the lord closed the door behind them and put the key into his pocket; then he told us to leave our hiding place. We began to pour water upon them without mercy, and the lord applauded saying, "That is good, that is good!" When the

[1] Traditionally Władek's failure to manifest to Kazia that he does not intend to marry her is correct. He simply remained in the class of suitors from whom she might normally select (see introduction to Vol. I). He still considered her as an eventual possible match and in fact thought later seriously of marrying her. He knows that her attitude is not the traditional one, but a break with her would produce a painful reaction not only in Kazia herself but in her family and all the acquaintances.

bucket was empty the lord opened the door, laughing, let them go, and said to us, "Now come and drink a glass." He led us to a room where the butler brought enough of everything. He drank a glass with us and left, saying, "Now amuse yourselves, and you (to the butler) with them." We began to empty glasses and to eat *zakąski*, when the lady entered with her daughter, the countess from Krzykosy, who had been divorced for a year. We rose when they entered, reeling a little, but they told us to sit down. The countess asked: "Which one of you is Wiszniewski?" I answered that I was. "Well, then please come some day in the week, will you?" — "All right, my lady the countess," I answered, and the ladies went away. We drank the rest and left, going straight home and holding each other by the arm, extremely drunk. But it was not the end, for when we passed near the door of the former maid of my parents, Marysia, she was standing before the house and, seeing us, she fled to her room. But we followed her and poured water upon her. She treated us with a red brandy, of which we drank a big glass each. This brandy gave us the finishing blow, for it was very strong and bad, colored with I don't know what.

I had forgotten about the countess, but once Mr. Jankowski reminded me of it. So I dressed myself as well as I could and went. It was on Thursday. I entered first the butler's room. We talked for a while and then he went to announce me. He soon came back and led me through a series of rooms to a closed door; there he asked me to wait, and entered. I did not wait long, for the door opened, he beckoned me to come in, and went away. I looked around the drawing-room and saw the countess lying upon a reclining chair, and reading a book; her parents sat at the table. I stood near the door without knowing what I ought to do, and I don't know how long I should have stood there if the countess had not helped me by saying, "Please come nearer." When I approached, she showed me a chair, telling me to sit down. I sat down, but timidly. On entering I did not kiss her hand or those of her parents, only bowed. The countess was evidently not at all ashamed before me, for although her calves were quite visible she did not try to cover them with her dress. As soon as I sat down I asked: "What can I do for your pleasure, my lady the countess?" But she was as if she had not heard my words, for she did not move at all. I must confess that it was an awful

torture for me to be thus bound up, not daring even to cough. I sat thus for perhaps a few minutes or less, when at last the countess put the book she was reading aside and deigned to speak: "Is it your father who knows so well how to tin pans over? For the priest told me that your father tinned his pans." — "Yes," I answered, "my father has tinned the priest's pans for some years." — "And we did not know it but sent ours to the town. So please tell your father to come and we shall agree as to the price." — "All right," I answered, I will tell my father," and I rose to leave, for I was awfully annoyed by her stiffness and disdainful manners toward me. But with a gesture and word she ordered me to sit down and I sat down again, although not with joy. I won't repeat here all the conversation, for it was very tedious. She inquired how many children there were of us, what were the occupations of each, where each of us lived, and so on, and this conversation lasted for almost an hour. Toward the end she asked me whether I liked to read books. When I answered "Yes," she said that she would lend me books if I wished. And she said something to her parents in French which I did not understand. Then she said to me: "So you will come for the books?" — "I will if my lady the countess deigns to lend me some." Then she took her book again and I rose, bowed and left. Only behind the door I breathed freely and was glad that my tortures were ended. I found a corridor along which I went, but at the end of it I did not know where to turn. Happily I met a lady's maid who led me out. I sat for a while with butler and left the palace, saying to myself that I would never more pay any visit to the countess. And it seemed to me that the countess had offended me by saying to me "you" ["*wy*," intermediary form between "thou" and "sir," used by the upper classes when speaking to peasants who are not servants]. I should have preferred it if she had called me "thou" [because this might have been on account of his age, not of his social position. Of course he preferred to be addressed by "*pan*" ("sir")]. But I had shown her also what I was capable of, for I did not kiss her hand, while the nobility in the country is used to it. I told my father to go there, saying that he would earn some money, and so it was.[1]

[1] The story shows the complete estrangement of the younger generation of nobility and the lower class. The old attitudes and common interests have disappeared and have not been replaced by new so neither side knows how

[Decides to go to Łódź.] Three days later I was there, without important incidents. There I found the bakers' hostelry, but they refused to admit me for I did not know how to "wander in." At last I remembered a baker from our country whom I knew and I had him called. When he came out I asked him what I was to do. "You must 'wander in'." — "But I don't know how to do it." — "Well, then you must give a rouble for treating and somebody else will wander in instead of you." I had heard more than once about this custom, but I had never had the opportunity of learning how to "wander in." So I gave my acquaintance one rouble asking him to accomplish it for me, but he refused to accept the money saying, "You will do the treating yourself." Then he knocked at the door, as was the custom. They called in German "'*Rein*," and we went in. Then he said something rather long near the door, and then everybody approached and gave me his hand, saying in the bakers' way, "*Chusic*," to which I had to answer, "*Nemsic*." Then my companion led me to the "hostel-father," who took my papers, inscribed my name in a book and said that I had the right to eat and sleep for three days without paying, and during this time he would try to get work for me. If there was no work, and I had money to pay for food, I might remain as long as I wished for I didn't need to pay for sleeping there.

Then we came back to the main room, where all the bakers stayed. Now some fifteen old *smyruses* surrounded me, asking me to treat them. I offered them one rouble, but they did not take it, telling me to go with them. I looked at my companion appealingly but he pretended not to see it. I could do nothing

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to behave. A peasant and a noble of the old type understand each other perfectly, just as an old southern white and an old-time negro understand each other perfectly. Even in this case the father of the countess had established at once a cordial relation between himself and the young men without impairing the social distinction. The daughter evidently wanted to show some interest in the inhabitants of the village — perhaps under the influence of the movement for enlightenment — but did not know how to start. A peasant or a manor-servant with the old traditions would have helped her out unconsciously, but Władek has lost all the traditional attitudes except the recognition of the class hierarchy, which in the absence of common interests is exclusively a dividing factor. The situation is quite different when the nobility cooperates with the peasants and leads them in social reorganization. We have seen in Part II the attitudes then developed.

but go, and these fifteen ragamuffins with me. For though they were my trade companions their clothes were torn, worn, dirty; some of them had no shirts, others no shoes. It was not far to the tavern and, as they said, it was their tavern, whose proprietor knew the bakers and their customs well. I did not even need to ask what I was to order, for he put upon the table exactly a rouble's worth of food and drink. But as soon as we sat down bakers came in through the front and back doors whom I had had the pleasure of seeing in the hostelry. There were more than thirty of them altogether. How should I alone treat so many hungry and thirsty men? Not one rouble but fifteen would be scarcely enough. And every one of them came boldly to the table and took a *zakąska*. Before I had time to look there was nothing more upon the table and the bottles were empty. I rose and wanted to leave, but they held me by force and told me to buy more, for not all of them had got their glass. I excused myself saying that I had no more money. Then they wanted to search me. Finally I paid two roubles more, and only five roubles were left, for I had them concealed elsewhere, while three were in the pocket-book. Only when they saw that my pocket-book was empty they let me go, calling me "Whore's son" and so on. And what for? Only because I had no more money.

I left, very bitter, and went to walk a little. I wept, thinking that I should become like them. For what more had I to expect, since I had no money to establish my own business? I must always work as a journeyman and moreover with such companions. For how was it now? There were more than eighty men in the hostelry without work, living only from those who permitted themselves to be exploited. So I reflected much what I should do, remain or wander further. Reflecting thus, I went to sleep in the hostelry. They had given me a dirty straw mattress and nothing more, neither cover nor pillow. The next morning I got a breakfast from the "hostel-father," who occupied the other half of the house. A part of the bakers went with me; some of them paid cash, others ate on credit. The breakfast cost twenty grosz. But there were more who had nothing to pay with, and they got a good abusing from the wife of the "hostel-father," whom they called "hostel-mother." "You choleras, drunkards, dog's blood! Shall I feed you gratis? You have money for liquor, all of you, but not for eating ["*żarcie*," used only of animals].

But I won't give you any more, know this!" But some of them, more familiar, began to beg: "But you will give us, little mother, our dear mother, we will pay later!" And saying this, they kissed her dirty hand. And so it was almost every day, as long as I ate there.

I must mention what were the duties of the hostelry "father" and "mother." The "father" inscribed the bakers and sent them to work, when anybody needed a worker, either for a night or as a steady job. Moreover he had to see that the bakers did not fight and drink in the hostelry. The "mother" had to wash the hostelry linen. They received lodging and a small salary from the bakery-owners. But they did not do their duties well. They were elected by the journeymen themselves for a period of three years.

After breakfast I went to a coffee-house and wrote a letter to Paweł, asking him to come, and giving him the address of the hostelry. He had been already in apprenticeship for three years and was to be emancipated next year. I would have found him myself but I was not sure what he would say if I came into his master's shop. I sent the letter by mail and the next evening after ten — for they closed the shop at that hour — Paweł came to me. I was waiting for him on the street, and we went for a walk. On the one hand he was glad, but on the other not very much so when I told how many bakers were here without work. [Paweł is throughout very brotherly, walks with Władek and furnishes his food. Władek visits an aunt, and finds her in poor circumstances, dependent on her daughters who work in a factory and are coarse: "Dog's blood! mother, have the supper at once, for I have no time."]

Thus I lived in Łódź for three months without any work. During this time my clothes were badly worn. I had sold my overcoat and spent the money for living, my shoes scarcely hung upon my feet, and although Paweł and I both searched for work every day we could find nothing. I should perhaps have died from hunger had it not been for Paweł who helped me sometimes with money or food as much as he could; but he could not do much, for he was as naked himself as a Turkish saint [Proverb]. Although I had many relatives, I would not go to them, and I had not even clothes in which to go.

I learned during this time that there was still another baker's-

hostelry [bakers who did not belong to the corporation]. I went there with Paweł and the latter begged the keeper much to get work for me. I stayed there, and the keeper had to find work for me, for I owed him for living. I got work indeed, but worked no more than two days in a week, for which I had two roubles, enough to live, but not enough to buy any clothes. Every day my clothes looked worse, and I was in despair. I wept, I walked, I searched, but could find nothing. At last, when Paweł gave me once a few grosz I went to the near town of Zgierz and found there work as a *Werkmeister* in the bakery of Mr. Z. for sixteen roubles a month and board. I was indeed afraid to accept such a work, for I had never been a *Werkmeister*. In our specialty there are three kinds of journeymen: "*Kisior*," who makes nothing but [rye-] bread, "*Weisskneter*" who makes rolls, and the elder, "*Werkmeister*," whose duty is to watch the others and see that they work well. In Zgierz, as well as in Łódź, they baked only Vienna rolls, and I did not know this work well enough, but being in a very critical position, I accepted and began to work, informing Paweł at the same time, for whom I had been a great burden.

We were two journeymen, with an unskilled man to help us. The *Weisskneter* was also an inexperienced young man. He had worked with Mr. Z. for a long time and was very familiar with him; Mr. Z. called him by his name, Felek. Mr. Z. was a young man; he had been married for a few months and had a wife who was not pretty but very sympathetic. He liked drinking and was an awful dangler; we shall learn about it a little later. They had a maid, Andzia, a rather pretty but spoiled girl. Felek, as I noticed from the beginning, wanted to have a flirtation with her, but she did not want him. In the same house lived a student.

The work did not go badly at first, but Mr. Z. put aside every spoiled or burned roll or loaf and deducted its value from my wages. As there was rather much baking, a day never passed without it, but I bore all this for I had to do it in order to live. Even if Felek had spoiled anything Mr. Z. said nothing to him but to me. I was not a great friend of Felek; we almost never went to walk. I did not like him, for he tried always to draw words from me and then took them upstairs to Mr. Z. I got acquainted with the student, took books from him and read them. Then I read for the first time *With Fire and Sword* and many other good and interesting books. I wrote a letter to my parents and

soon received an answer. They informed me that their condition was very bad. Father had to go to work digging turf, and earned 50 copeks a day. Mother was almost always in bad health. [They hope that Stach will get a better position and take them to him. Władek weeps. Mr. Z.'s wife sympathizes with him.]

One evening, when Andzia brought us the supper to the bakery, Felek tried to kiss her, but she defended herself stubbornly and refused to yield. Suddenly Mr. Z. came in. Felek let her go and she fled into the kitchen. Mr. Z. was rather merry with drink, so instead of abusing, as I expected him to do, he began to laugh, calling Felek a clumsy fellow, since he was unable to seduce Andzia. At last he said: "Foolish with her as much as you please, and if she becomes pregnant, I will drive her to the devil." He gave us information how and where we could foolish, and went out.[1] Felek, made bold by Mr. Z.'s permission, set to work still more seriously, but it did not help, for she refused to yield. As to me, I was not interested in all this, although I was sure that I could have profited from Andzia much more easily than Felek, for often when I went out in the evening to play my ocarina, Andzia came and sat down near me and listened. Or again, when I read some book after dinner she came and asked me to read aloud, for she liked books also. Sometimes she tried to excite me by words or acts; she pinched or tickled me sometimes. She said that I had no blood at all. But I did not care about it, for I was not disposed at that time toward girls; I had too much trouble.[2] I was afraid to leave lest I should suffer hunger again. Paweł once called on me during this time and I complained to him, but although he would have been heartily glad to help me, he could do nothing. He needed help and comfort himself in

[1] Nothing could better show the dissolution of the guild traditions, with the old familial character of relations between the master and the journeymen and servants. The master of handicraft here assumes the typical attitude of masculine solidarity usual between men where sexual relations with women of a lower social level are concerned.

[2] We find this attitude manifested later more than once. Sexual life is treated as a luxury to be indulged only when other primary needs of existence are satisfied and the economic situation is secure; in this way it becomes a part of the hedonistic organization of life which, as we have seen (Part III) is partly opposed to practical organization and can occur only when the latter is sufficient to give the individual at least a provisional feeling of security. (*Cf.* also p. 2001, note.)

order to hold out in his practice, for he complained also that he had to work heavily. He showed me his hands; they were really much worn with work. So we both wept and comforted each other. . . . But Paweł was in a different environment; he was among intelligent people and became such himself, while I lived among tramps and was growing a tramp myself. As he said, he was considered something better than a tavern-keeper's son, and never betrayed himself; he was afraid I might come to his master's shop and betray who we were, for he said this could bring him harm in the future.[1] I thought in the beginning that he was ashamed of me, but he persuaded me that it was not so. Paweł complained much about our parents, that they let themselves be fooled by Stach.

Thus my time passed not gaily in Zgierz and there were no prospects of improvement. Then came my mistress' name-day. The evening before Mr. Z. came to the bakery and told us to hurry with our work for the next day he would give us a May party [forest-party], although May was passed long ago. But we guessed that tomorrow was Mrs. Z.'s name-day, so when Mr. Z, left we began to compose wishes. I knew many name-day poems. but from books, and I wanted to compose a poem myself. Toward evening my wishes were ready. But as I repeated them often aloud, fearing I should stammer in saying them, which would be a shame, Felek learned them also and after the work repeated them to me. I asked him whether he had anything ready: "Of course I have," he answered. He finished his work a little earlier than I, for I had still a few loaves of bread in the oven, and he went the first to say his wishes. I was curious what poem he would say and listened under the door. But I was very frightened when I heard what he said, for it was precisely my own poem upon which I had worked during the whole night and hardly succeeded in putting together. "Swine," I thought, and came down and began to bake the bread, thinking what I should say. After a moment Felek came back, very well satisfied. I asked him how he succeeded. He said, "Very well." Then I said in wrath: "Such a thief must always succeed." — "And what did I steal?"

[1] Typical climbing attitude, justifiable by the prevalence of class distinctions. This severing of social bonds between the individual and the family is made possible only by the new social hierarchy based on individual instead of familial distinction. (*Cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction*; I *Class-System.*)

— "You dare to ask? Did you not say the poem upon which I worked during the whole night?" — "I don't care; you could have learned it silently." We could not quarrel any longer for it was time for me to go and say my wishes. I was not yet decided what to say, but when I strained my memory while washing my hands I recalled a rather long poem which I said once to my mother. So without delaying any longer I went to the room. While I was saying my wishes, Felek also listened under the door. He thought perhaps that I would say the same poem which he did, but he was mistaken, for I said a very beautiful and long one without any stammering; even Andzia, who listened in the kitchen, praised me later. Thus I excelled Felek. Mr. Z. was in the shop and heard only little of what I said, but this did not prevent him from thanking me nicely. [Breakfast for Władek and Felek in the room of the Z.'s, with gifts and brandy. In the forest Mrs. Z. said she had a gift for the one who would gather for her the nicest nosegay.] We all went at the appointed hour. I was glad that I was able to get away from the company, for, first, I was not decently dressed, and then I had always the idea of leaving Mr. Z., for I considered that he was robbing me and therefore I disliked him much. I thought that for the money which he kept out of my wages he could have made a much better May party, and if he had given it to me I should now be decently dressed and could buy better gifts than those which he gave me. Although sometimes when it was necessary I pretended to be merry, this was only superficial; if any one could have seen what was going on inside of me he would have sympathized with me. Since I came to Łódź I had been unfortunate, and anxiety about the future oppressed me. When I went for flowers I did not search for them, but sat down near the lake and began to reflect about my present situation and what profit my present work brought me. In my opinion, none, for I had worked already almost twelve weeks, and got no more than ten roubles; the rest was kept back. During this time it often happened that I was not guilty at all, but Felek had either weighed too large rolls or had made the oven too hot, and I had to pay for this also, and walk almost naked. But I did not dare to leave for I knew Łódź well enough and was sure that I should not get work there quickly. I had little profit, but on the other hand perhaps also a very great one, for I had learned another work. The baking was the same in Łódź and in Zgierz,

so this was the only profit which I got from staying with Mr. Z. I remembered Sosnowiec where my salary was smaller and I had more money. And the moments I spent there with Miss Dora! At the mere idea of it I shuddered. And then in Koło with Mr. K. I was not badly off either. And here I did not want to do anything, I did not try to get acquainted with anybody, the girls did not interest me at all and might as well not have existed for me. Why, one of them came with us today and I did not exchange a word with her. Sitting thus, I resolved to write the next day four letters, one to my parents, another to Paweł, a third to Miss Dora, a fourth to Kazia. I decided to leave this place, whatever might happen later.

With this decision I rose and began to gather flowers. I had some taste in arranging nosegays, for from the time I was a child I often saw how my sisters arranged them, and once I had received a prize in Brześć. . . . I gathered flowers and arranged them. When I came to the meeting-place I noticed that Felek had prettier flowers than I had, but not nicely arranged; Mr. Z. brought very few flowers and got wet in some ditch where he tried to get them; the driver brought the most flowers but not arranged at all, and Mrs. Z.'s sister picked nothing but forget-me-nots. After a short reflection I received the prize, but when I looked at Felek I should have preferred to have him get it, he was so angry. It was a scarf-pin worth perhaps fifty copecks, which was probably destined for me, because it was very similar to the button-set which I had received. . . . We ate, . . . bathed in the lake and went home.

A few days after this Paweł came to me. When I related to him what work I had here he told me to come back to Łódź, perhaps I should find something. "Why, you won't die from hunger, we shall try to find some way." Again we walked much and cried a little together, and he left, asking me to inform him by letter. Next Monday I went to my master's shop and told him to search for another journeyman. He asked me why I was leaving. I answered: "How can you ask why I am leaving? You know that I have worked for about four months with you and I have no money to buy trousers." — "Then I shall pay you suitably. Will you remain?" — "And why did you not pay me suitably up to the present?" — "Because I did not want you to learn to be a *Werkmeister* without paying, and upon my goods,

There are many who would like to be *Werkmeisters* under such conditions! I have taught you to work in the Vienna roll business, you have paid me and we are square. Now I will pay you the full pay. Will you remain?" At this moment Felek came to my mind and I said: "No, for Felek plays me too many tricks." [1] — "All right," answered Mr. Z. and our conversation was ended. After this, according to the law, I was still obliged to work for two weeks. I worked three before Mr. Z. found another journeyman.

I went directly to Łódź, not to the main hostelry, but to the bungler-hostelry. I wrote a letter to Paweł. I had more than twelve roubles with me, but was afraid to buy any clothes. I kept the money for living. . . . I could get no job, but earned every week enough to live, for I worked at least two days a week. Once, when I was already asleep, a telephone call came asking for a good *Werkmeister*. There was nobody in the hostelry except me, so the proprietor roused me, saying: "Get up, you shall go for a *fajerant* [Feierabend]," for so we called a single night's work. I began to excuse myself, saying that I was not a good *Werkmeister*, but this did not help. I had to dress, took a car and went to the bakery, which was upon the main street. When I arrived I looked through the window into the shop, and was very frightened, for I saw there different kinds of baker-products of which I had no idea at all. So I did not want to go in, but to walk through the night. But then I reflected that they might call again, and then it would not be good for me, for I should not get another *fajerant*. "Well, never mind what happens. They won't kill me," I thought, and rang the bell. In the courtyard I saw perhaps two hundred planks full of Vienna rolls and was frightened again, but crossed myself and went into the bakery. When I entered, saying, "Good evening," I saw that twelve journeymen were at work, among them old men in comparison with whom I looked like a child. They all turned their eyes upon me and laughed viciously. One of them asked whether I was sent as a *Werkmeister*. "Yes," I answered. Then he sent the servant to bring the master. When the latter came he put the same question, and when he got the same answer, he sat down, and I went to undress. When I came back, they told me to sit down, for it was an hour until I had to begin to put the rolls in the oven, and the *Werkmeister* in a large

[1] *Cf.* p. 2007, note 1.

bakery does not work at the dough. I lighted a cigarette and waited full of terror. And the master did not leave, and this grieved me still more for he would look at my hands during my work. When the time came, the same man who had asked me before said: "Well, Mr. *Werkmeister*, it is time to go to the oven." I ordered the servant to clean the oven from coals and when he finished I began to prepare the oven and to put in the rolls. The master moved nearer in order to see better, and not only he but all the journeymen were curious how I would get through it. The oven was rather hot, so I had to hurry terribly in order not to spoil the rolls. I used my whole baker's skill and did not spoil them, but it was only God who granted it, for in reality I did not know the matter so well The master, seeing that things were going on well, went to sleep. In the morning that journeyman came for whom I was substituting and went first to the master, asking him whether I had spoiled the work. Then he paid me three roubles, for the one night. This was the first time I earned so much during a single night. Then the master treated me to breakfast and a glass of vodka, saying: "Well, I see that today old people ought to learn from the young ones." Then I said goodbye and left, a foot higher.[1] [This incident leads to other similar work, but Władek gets no regular job until he overhears a workman saying he is leaving his present place. For three roubles the workman introduces him there and he gets the place.] I did not go out anywhere and did not spend money in vain. I soon paid my debt to Paweł, 5 rb. 50 — he did not ask more —

[1] Władek shows less self-conceit than usual in this story. It illustrates the influence of social organization on individual attitudes. Socially organized activity gives an objective hierarchy of values which the individual who is active in this line must recognize, and in this way his own attitudes become regulated. But when the individual is active in a line where social organization is lacking his tendencies can express themselves without being subjected to a regulating comparison. In a field where no objective standards of appreciation exist he may claim for the products of his work a value that is limited only relatively by comparison with the achievement of others. Władek never expresses any doubt about his art of arranging nosegays or his ability to seduce girls. He does express doubt about the merit of a poem included in this volume and which he knows will be judged by certain standards. This problem is different from that of the occupational interest as dependent on the amount of change permitted by the occupation. The socially organized activity may include more or less variety than the free activity, but it always demands more effort.

and bought a suit and all necessary clothing. As I have said, I had not much work and worked alone, so I began to go out more frequently, particularly to my cousins, of whom I had counted more than twenty. There were among them nice and horrid, intelligent and stupid ones. But I heard rumors that there was still another cousin, young and very pretty, with whom I had had no opportunity to get acquainted, for I could not meet her anywhere and I did not know where she lived.

Winter came, but I was not afraid of it, for I had a suit and an overcoat, and work. Next autumn Paweł was to become a salesman; even now, as an older apprentice, his condition had much improved, for he had already some commission on goods which he sold and he did not lack money as much as before. We spent every free moment together except some evenings on which he went to take music and dancing lessons, for he learned to play the violin and piano. On Sunday between four and six he went to the school. In a word, he was educating himself in all respects.[1] When there was a party in his master's home he was always invited. As he said, he was well considered by his master. But I was not only never in his master's home, but not even in the shop, for Paweł did not wish it.

Thus time passed until Christmas. Before Christmas I got letters from my former girls. Dora wrote that she had already a suitor, a glove-maker from Turek, and did not know what to do, for she did not like him much, while her parents tried to persuade her to marry him. Kazia wrote me that everything was as before, there were no changes, only Józef was taken to the army. From my parents I got also a letter full of tears and complaints about misery. Father promised to come to Łódź after Christmas, saying that he would try to find some job, but I and Paweł knew very well that it was not really a question of job,

[1] We do not know from Paweł's childhood whether originally his desire for new experience was less strong than that of Władek. There have certainly been more persistent organizing influences in his case — a settled condition, a master interested in him and associates of a higher social and intellectual level.

but of money; he hoped to get some from us, while he did not dare to ask Aleksy or Stach for help.[1] I answered the letters and wrote to Dora's parents, asking them not to compel Dora to marry if she did not wish it,[2] and describing how I was getting on.

For Christmas I was invited to Mr. and Mrs. Czarnocki, remote relatives of my mother, with whom I was on terms of "Sir" and "Madam." They had two grown-up sons and one daughter. I found there many young people and among them was also that cousin about whom I had heard, and her brother. Her name was Mania, and her brother's Franus. When I was introduced to her I really turned my whole attention to her for she was young, no more than seventeen, and very pretty. She was learning to be a seamstress, and Franus went to the factory and supported her. Their parents lived near Sosnowiec; they had there a few morgs of land, and paid for their daughter's apprenticeship. Mania had another sister in Łódź, a married one, named Józia. Mania was a dark brunette with large eyes which attracted like a magnet. Tall, well-shaped, those who did not know her might think her to be something much better than a peasant's daughter. She pleased me very much at first sight, and if I knew how to love, I could say that I fell in love with her. But alas! I was not created to love. How many girls I knew in my life! And always, while I was near a girl I felt bound to her and I was myself persuaded that I loved her, but I could leave every one of them without regret and forget her soon.[3] And it was the same with Mania. I was spellbound by her beauty, but did I love her? We shall see.

I tried particularly to please her brother, for I thought that if I pleased him and he invited me I should meet Mania there and get better acquainted with her. And so it happened. When I was sitting near Franus he asked me why I never called upon him, although I had been in Łódź for so long a time. I tried to excuse myself, saying that I had not had his address. "But now,

[1] The children have climbed higher than the parents, the authority of the latter is gone, and we have a case typical for immigrant families in America.

[2] He had never defined the situation connected with Dora, and is unconscious of impertinence here. He apparently conceives his relation with Dora's parents as being of the familial type.

[3] He is of course as much capable of love as his intellectual and sentimental level permit.

if you will permit me to visit you, I am ready to be even a frequent guest." — "I shall be very glad if you visit me as often as you can; then we shall talk." He wrote his address down for me and then we moistened our friendship with brandy. After this I begged his pardon, since I had already attained what I wished, and I went to Mania who was sitting without company although there were some boys present. But I did not talk long with her for the oldest son of Mr. Cz. began to play the accordeon and we danced. I danced the first piece with Mania. She danced well enough, perhaps not so well as gracefully. In a word, everything in her was pretty and graceful. I courted all the girls, but none as much as Mania. It was noticed soon, and Mr. Cz.'s daughter asked me in a whisper whether I was already much in love with Mania. I said that I only intended to be so, and thus the matter ended. . . . We left about one o'clock and Mania asked me to accompany her and her brother. "All right, cousin, if you permit it," I answered, and took her arm, while Franus went by our side. It was far, an hour's walk, and the street-cars were not running, but it was a pleasure to walk with such an agreeable little person. When we reached their lodging we were already familiar with each other. I wanted to bid them good-bye, but they invited me to come in and I did it gladly. Their home was poor — a single room under the roof, for which he paid twenty roubles yearly, and inside two beds, a table, a trunk, a few chairs, and nothing more. But everything was very clean. Mania made a fire in the little stove and prepared tea. The next day was Sunday, so we were not in a hurry to go to sleep and we sat until four talking. At four I started to leave, but my cousin said: "Where will you go now? Lie down upon my bed with me." I agreed and we did so. We removed our shoes, coats and collars and lay down, while Mania put out the light and slept in the other bed. I could not sleep at once, for my thoughts were occupied with the acquaintance I had made with my cousin. To say the truth, she was my very distant cousin, for her great-grandmother and mine were sisters, so it was the fourth degree. I was very glad, for now I should have my girl in Łódź.[1] I longed much for one, but up to the present could not meet any one who pleased me. I revolved in

[1] Familial relationship used as the basis upon which the romantic relation will be established.

my head plans of action, and I was almost sure of myself, for Mania said that she did not walk with any boy, and I was not afraid of any rival. Up to the present I had succeeded rather well with girls and none of those with whom I wanted to get acquainted had rejected me, so I had good hopes now.

I could not sleep, for Mania's bed stood not far from ours and I heard her breathing. It was already broad daylight and Mania got up to cook the breakfast before I slept a little. I must confess that when she was getting up in nothing but a night-gown, thinking that I was asleep, and dressed herself without any precautions, I don't know what I should have done but for my cousin. When the breakfast was ready, Mania roused Franus and he roused me. We rose in a very good humor. Franus brought something to drink, and this made us still more gay, for Mania drank a glass also. After breakfast, or rather dinner, for it was noon already when we finished it, Franus asked me to go with him to his other sister Józia, but Mania gave me various signs to remain. At least she said; "Go yourself, Franus, and our cousin and I will come later." — "Only come certainly," he said and left, while we both remained. Upon the table lay playing cards. I took them, and Mania asked me whether I knew how to tell fortunes. "I know." — "Then tell mine." I had some idea about telling fortunes, but no more than she had. We sat down near each other and I began to tell her fortune, but everything for my own benefit. At last, bored with this empty prattling, I threw the cards down, and began a conversation, turning it upon different subjects and I came to the conclusion that for a girl of Łódź, she was too little educated by reading and too naive, while on the other hand she was rather too capricious. But it was a trifling reason to hinder me from trying to acquire her sympathy. While we sat thus talking, evening approached. Mania said: "Do you know? We shall go to my friends the Hibners. There are a few girls there and perhaps one of them will please you." — "Why should I search for one, when you have pleased me already? If you allow me, let us spend our time together [usually]. You have told me that you had no boy, and I don't walk with any girl either and don't even know any." — "I don't believe that you don't walk with any girl. Every boy has a girl." — "And why don't you have a boy?" — "With me the matter is different. I have no time, for I am learning cutting and must draw in the evenings,

and moreover Franus won't allow anybody to come to us." — "Then perhaps he won't allow me either." — "Oh, that is different; you are our cousin, and then he has allowed you already and even invited you to come as often as possible." [1] — "I won't fail to take advantage of this." — "But let us go, for we must go later to our sister, or else Franus will be angry. . . ."

We went to the Hibners, who were Mania's relatives. Nobody was there except the family, four daughters, and almost all of them grown up. We played with nuts at pair or impair, and the girls wanted me to lose, for the loser was to buy a pound of nuts, but I used my old trick, holding in one hand an even, in the other hand an odd number, and they could never guess. I began at once to call the girls by name and they did the same.[2] We did not stay there long and left urgently invited by them for the New Year and asked to bring Franus with us. It was rather far to Mania's sister, so I took a two-horse cab, which cost fifty copecks. There were already some strangers present but all of them a little better people, for Józia's husband was master in a factory and earned rather well; moreover she was rather well instructed. It pleased me much there, but as far as I noticed, my cousin, although well enough educated, was awfully stingy.[3] I won't relate the details of my relation with Mania, for nothing important happened except that I kissed her a few times. I went there

[1] This situation shows a different social attitude from the one found among the peasants on the one hand and the higher classes on the other. We know from the first volume that a peasant boy or girl should associate with more than one person of the other sex, but there is always marriage ultimately in view. Among the upper classes any particular attention paid to a girl involves immediately the expectation of marriage. Here the relation between boy and girl is a flirtation for its own sake. Władek's relation with the girl in Brześc was of this type; his relation with Dora was only partly so, for there was a vague idea of marriage and a strong romantic attitude. His relation with Kazia is totally different and essentially peasant. The attitude of flirtation is typical for the lower city classes.

[2] He did not do this with Mania, although the relationship is less remote, because he intended to make love to her and did not wish to classify her immediately as member of the family.

[3] An attitude acquired in town; with the peasant hospitality is an absolute rule. These three children of peasants — Józia, Mania, Franus — had acquired the city attitudes very rapidly, but they had come to the city in childhood and without their parents.

whenever I had free time, we often went to the theater, and in this way the time passed.

[His father visits Łódź. Introduces him at the bakery, lodges him, goes with him to look for a job as street-car conductor, etc.] When father was leaving I treated him to a good lunch, then gave him 3 roubles and Paweł gave 1 rouble. I had almost no money left. As to Paweł, I don't know. Again time passed, one day like another, and Easter came. Before Easter I bought two big *babas* [cake used during Easter], a bottle of not very good wine, some sweetmeats, and took all this to cousin Franus, for we had agreed to spend Easter in his home. I had not seen Paweł during the whole week. On Sunday morning he came to me, and we went together to cousin Franus. I had spoken to Paweł more than once about Mania, and he wanted to know her. When we came to our cousins' home everything was ready for the lunch. We divided the egg, drank vodka and began to eat, while the young and pretty hostess served us. Mania pleased Paweł decidedly, and as he was more talkative than I and somewhat more shapely, he did not need to make much effort to get her attention. I got very jealous and angry with Paweł and with myself for having brought him there. It was late in the afternoon when we finished. Then we went to the theater, and at last to a coffee-house, where we sat until late in the night. We made arrangements about the following day and the *dyngus*, but neither Paweł nor Franus knew that Mania and I had agreed previously to go the next day to Pabianice.

Next morning I went to Mania very early, and I even brought a small bottle of perfume in order to sprinkle her.[1] But what was my astonishment when I found Paweł there already, sitting very near to Mania. I did not show that I was angry, but I was. And we had agreed to go to Pabianice at ten o'clock! After a while Mania went to the vestibule as if to brush her jacket and gave me a sign with her eyes to follow her. She told me that she would not go to Pabianice. "Why won't you go?" I asked, almost in wrath, "and where is your word of honor?" Saying this, I returned to the room without waiting for her answer. A moment later she came back, but after a while she went out again, giving me the sign to follow, and asked me; "Well, what shall

[1] It was *dyngus* day, and the perfume is a city refinement of the peasant water-throwing habit.

we do? We cannot go thus, for Franus and your brother will guess." — "Listen what I tell you. I will go first and wait at the street-car station." — "All right." I went in first, and then Mania, who said: "Franus, I am going to the church and perhaps I shan't return soon, for I must go to my friend who invited me to come today." And she began to get ready. When she was half ready she gave me the sign to leave. I said good-bye to her and Franus and asked Paweł to come with me to the church. But Paweł answered: "Wait, we shall all go together, for cousin Mania is also going." — "I cannot, for I must drop in somewhere before going to the church." I left and went straight to the station. I had waited almost an hour, and Mania was not to be seen. I was persuaded that she would not come and resolved to go home, inhumanly angry. But on leaving the station I met Paweł and Mania eye to eye. Paweł was astonished at seeing me, but guessed quickly what was the matter and said. "Aha, you have a *randka* [rendezvous]. Well, well! I will tell Franus." Mania reddened deeply and said aloud: "I won't go. Go alone, if you wish." And she turned toward home. Then I pushed Paweł slightly and looked terribly at him. Without waiting any longer, he jumped into a street-car which was passing and went home. Mania was not easily persuaded, but at last I succeeded by imploring her and promising in Paweł's name that he would not betray us in spite of his threat. When we came to Pabianice it was about two o'clock, so we walked a little about the town and then went to the hotel to dine. I asked for a separate room and ordered a dinner there, a small bottle of cognac and some cakes. In the evening we went to the theatre, and then again to the hotel. Finally Mania got quite drunk and I could not return while she was in such a state, so I resolved to stay there over night. I took a room with a single bed and with the help of the waiter I carried my Mania there, almost completely unconscious. Then I ordered a seltzer bottle, some juice and half a bottle cognac, and when it was brought I closed the door and we remained alone. I began to undress her. But it is difficult to describe what was going on in me when I came closer and closer to her warm body. At last I began to cover her with kisses. I put her into the bed and drank half a bottle of soda-water, for I had not the courage to violate a senseless girl. I promised myself to take the reward next morning when she was conscious. I leaned my head upon the table

and thus fell asleep for a few hours. In the morning Mania was not to be aroused, so I took a little water and poured it upon her face, and this had an effect. Mania opened her eyes and could not understand at once what had happened and where she was. But after a moment she began to feel ashamed and covered herself, asking me about the details, in what way she got into bed here and was undressed. I related everything, how I had to bring her here, without mentioning the waiter's help, so as not to make her still more ashamed. Then Mania began to despair terribly about what her brother and her sister would say of her spending the whole night away from home. I began to calm her, saying that I had a plan ready which would get her out of the trouble, and I sat nearer to her. But she covered herself completely with the cover. I began to tear the cover from her face in order to kiss her, and if she had allowed me, it would have ended with kisses. But as she teased me, I became wilder and wilder. At last I could not hold out, I threw myself upon her with my whole strength like a wolf upon a sheep, and although she tried to defend herself and threatened to call, it did not help.

At the end she began to complain that she had listened to me and came to Pabianice. "What shall I do now, what shall I do?" she lamented. "Nothing will happen to you." — "And if something happens?" — "Don't fear anything. It happened so that you don't need to be afraid. And now dress yourself for it is near noon and time to return home." — "All right, but you dress first and leave the room, and I will dress later." — "What? Are you ashamed of me? And yesterday I undressed you and you were not ashamed?" — "Yes, but I did not see it." After these words I kissed her again, dressed and went out to settle the account, which was rather large. If it had cost one rouble more we should have been obliged to return to Łódź afoot. When I came back Mania was already dressed. [Władek goes first to Franus, Mania comes in later and says she spent the night with a girl friend] and thus the fright ended.[1] Meanwhile Franus put out a bottle of brandy which was left from the holidays, we drank

[1] The episode lacks all the social and moral elements. It is not regulated by the traditional norms of marriage; it does not reach the level of romantic love which, even in the simple form existing between Dora and Władek, is a basis of a certain life-organization; as a mere flirtation for provoking response it goes too far. Mania had no interest in it. Władek does not try to repeat it.

one glass, then another, and ate cakes until the supper was ready. At nine I went home.

I slept till noon the next day, for I had a whole week free.[1] I wrote a few letters and busied myself with my thoughts. I was, first of all, very anxious about my work, for my master intended to rent the bakery, for he did not want to have any more trouble about it. He was rich enough; he had a big stone house, began to build a second, and he did not need the bakery. He advertised in all the local papers that he had a bakery to rent and at any time somebody might take it. And then what would become of me? I should be forced again to wander. Usually every owner has his own workmen whom he has taught himself. It is true that I did not earn much, but I felt very well off. No bakers came to me, the master did not control me much, I worked alone and was my own master. I had 24 roubles of wages due, for I had spent in Pabianice with Mania the extra money I had earned before Easter in baking [the neighbors'] Easter-cakes. While I was working I never went to a tavern. In private houses, when there was an opportunity, I drank, but never too much. I had almost no acquaintances except my various relatives. Strange girls disliked me much, for I usually told them the truth, except the one who had pleased me, and even to her I sometimes said very politely what I thought about girls. And up to the present I could not find any one whom I could truly love. All those whom I knew were only good to play with. But I did not worry much about this for I was still too young [to marry]. I was finishing my eighteenth year, but time passed and I could not make any money, although I was called parsimonious. I had not much clothing — one old suit worth very little, another which I bought when I began to work, one pair of shoes, a winter overcoat, not very fine, a little linen and 24 roubles in cash. This was my whole fortune. It is true that I had paid Paweł eleven roubles back, I gave three to my father, another three were spent when my father was here. Washing of linen cost me almost fifty copecks a week, cigarettes cost something also, and often when I had time I went to moving pictures.[2]

[1] Some bakeries are closed because the people have a surplus of Easter cakes, etc.

[2] His periodically returning moods of reflection are typically peasant (*cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction: Theoretic and Æsthetic Interests*). Normal life is essen-

Thus I reflected till evening came and I went to meet Paweł. We walked about the city, talking of Mania, with whom he was even more in love than I. He asked me where we had been and what we had done. Of course I did not tell him everything, only what I thought possible, and I begged him not to betray us to Franus. Suddenly Paweł asked me to promise him not to go any more to Mania. "Why?" — "Because I confess openly that I have fallen in love with this girl, while you are only playing." — "And how can you know that I am only playing? Perhaps I love her also." — "I don't see it in your behavior. And you and love are contraries. Tell me how many girls have you had whom you loved in the same way as Mania?" — "Oh, stop annoying me and don't turn my head about such things, for I am already angry with you for getting into my way. You have girls enough among your acquaintances, who are, as you boast, very intelligent and rich. Why do you need Mania? I have none except her, and leave her to me; don't get in my way." I said this almost in wrath. "I only regret that I took you there." Talking thus we came to a shooting gallery. I must add here that Pawel was very nervous and liked to boast. So it was now. He began to boast that he would hit oftener than I. So we made a bet that if he hit the mechanical tiger in the eye once in three shots I should cease to call on Mania, and if not he would not disturb me. Paweł shot ten times, and could not hit the tiger. I hit on the second shot. After this we walked a little more and Paweł left me very angry, saying that we should try our luck some other time.

Once I had not been to my cousin's for a week and longed much for Mania, so I went there on Sunday afternoon but found the door closed and both of them out. [Walks in the direction of Mania's sister's house and finds there guests and a christening.] I noticed that a rather young and very handsome man was talking

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tially practical and the main subject-matter of Władek's thought is always the practical economic situation; sexual life plays a secondary rôle and we never find him during these periods thinking about any general theoretic problems. But while his intellectual level in this respect is hardly higher than that of the average peasant, he likes to show intellectual and æsthetic interests, and we have in this an intimation that even the æsthetic and intellectual life has originally a practical character — that they are connected with social expression and based on the need of social response and on the desire for new experience, ideas being substituted for experiences. This point is developed in Part II.

continually with Mania and she smiled at him rather amiably. This did not please me at all. I knew that the young man's name was Malicki, but I did not know at all who he was. He did not look like a workman but rather like some official [clerk]. So at the first opportunity I asked who this gentleman was. The host explained that he was a technician who was employed in the factory where Mr. Sz. worked. I was very much grieved, seeing that I had really a strong rival. So without waiting any longer I went and brutally, without begging Mr. M.'s pardon, invited Mania to dance. She did not refuse. During the dance I asked her whether she was already in love with Mr. M. But she answered that she could not get rid of him, for wherever she turned he followed her, so that she was almost ashamed. In dancing I behaved toward Mania rather freely, as with an old acquaintance, but I looked to see what he thought about it. He was probably as curious to learn who I was as I was curious to learn about him, for after a moment he arose, approached the host, and I noticed that they talked about me for their eyes turned toward us. Then I talked with Mania still more boldly and we laughed merrily. I did it intentionally in order to frighten my rival away at once and to show him that he had no chance. At last I led Mania to a seat and sat down near her. But then somebody asked her to dance, and Mr. Malicki, seeing that the chair near me was free, sat down and began to talk with me. I knew at once that I had to do with a very instructed man, such as I liked to discuss with when I had an opportunity. During the conversation the matter came to gymnastics and duelling. He told me that he had at home various apparatus for gymnastics, and also a stick in which a sword was hidden, a revolver and a rifle. "If you wish, I can show you all this, for I live here in the next house."—"All right," I answered, but I thought in my mind, "Surely he tells me all this in order to frighten me; but I am not a coward by birth either." And I measured Mr. Malicki's person. He was taller than I, but not heavier. We talked further, for, as he confessed, he belonged to the socialist party. [Visits Mr. M.'s apartment and finds that "he had not lied at all."] If my cousin had not been in the game I should have been very glad of this acquaintance with Mr. M. He had also a book-case full of books and said that he could lend me as many as I wanted. After some gymnastics Mr. M. took two bottles of beer from a closet and treated me with

it, asking how I was related to that girl with whom I danced. I answered him: "She is my cousin and my betrothed." — "Hum! Then you have a mad luck, for I should be ready to take her away from you if it were not so." — "Oh, what is the need of your doing it? You can find more suitable matches, and leave this one to me, for I am a stranger here in Łódź and it will be difficult for me to find anything suitable." — "Don't fear. If she loves you really I shan't be able to take her away even if I wish it." We talked awhile longer and went back to the christening where the, guests were already merry. We joined them, already in good relations and feeling no anger toward each other. We danced in turn with my cousin, but when Mr. M. went to dance with her he asked her whether it was true that we were engaged. She got very angry and after the dance approached me, saying: "Have you proposed to me already, my cousin, since you say that I am your betrothed?" — "Not yet, but it may happen tomorrow." — "And are you sure that I will accept you?" — "Almost sure." — "Oh, don't be so sure." And she left me quite angry. After this conversation I came to the conclusion that my cousin loved me as much as I loved her. We amused ourselves, having nothing else to choose. But I resolved not to let her go so easily and to rivalize a little with Mr. M., for nothing like this had ever happened to me [to be left by a girl]. I did not care much if I lost her. As some girls called me without a heart — well, let me be so really. For I never had the idea of marrying Mania. She was not such a girl as I wanted, and I had never yet met such a one among all the girls with whom I was acquainted. Then, I did not yet think about marrying; I had learned only from books to make love, and nothing more. For, to tell the truth, did a girl who at the first meeting allowed herself to be embraced and kissed merit a steady love? Could I be sure that she would not do tomorrow with another what she did today with me? I sought a girl to whom I should have difficult access, whom I should be obliged to conquer by all my resources. I should have respected and perhaps even loved such a girl.[1] But I had not

[1] The matter can hardly be explained, as it usually is, by rational considerations — that the girl who was easily won will be as easily won by others in the future. We cannot go into this question, but certainly Władek, with his traditional background, needs the traditional familial form of courtship, which assumes the character of a socially important process.

had such a girl and I did not care much for those whom I had had; it was nothing but a distraction. It was the same now; Mania went away angry, but why should I mind her being angry if I was not?

After these reflections I rose and went to dance with her, and she accepted. During the dance I asked her why she got so angry with me, whether only for my having said that she was my betrothed. "Yes," she answered "for I am perfectly sure that this will never happen." — "And if it happens, what then?" — "Nothing. But don't think that I am so stupid and did not know you after our excursion to Pabianice. If you loved me really would you have behaved so? Would you have allowed me to get drunk? But you wanted to amuse yourself with me, and you were interested in my drinking as much as possible. Tell me, don't I speak the truth?" [1] Instead of answering I laughed at her very just reasoning. "Yes, my cousin, you laugh, for you know very well that I speak the truth. But if you tell every boy that I am your betrothed you will frighten everybody away from me and I shall sow the rue. So please don't do it any more." — "I see, my Mania, that you are really in love with this Mr. Malicki. If you want it really we may know one another no more, as formerly, since I am a disturbance to you." — "Don't even tell me that I am in love with him! Moreover he is not for me, such a ceremonious young man. And you don't disturb me at all. I am very glad that we got acquainted and are friends, only don't talk so any more."

This happened on Sunday, and on Tuesday I went to Franus. Mania was not yet back from her work, and her drawing-book lay upon the table. I began to look it over. [Finds in it a picture post-card and puts it in his pocket. Mania returns an hour late and says she was detained by work. Władek finds, on leaving, that the card is from Mr. Malicki, inviting Mania to walk. He imitates the card, returns to Mania's the next day, throws the imitated card under the table, picks it up in such a way as to attract Mania's attention, who seizes it and burns it. Władek watches Mania and observes her meet Mr. M. after work and stop in a café. Conspires with Paweł to trap Mania. Paweł imitates the writing of Mr. M. cleverly and writes a note inviting Mania to meet him and have cakes in a café. They are to meet

[1] Mania realizes the abnormality of their relation. (*Cf.* p. 2033, note.)

her instead, and Władek plans to "give her a couple of blows with a stick upon the back and drive her home, telling her the whole truth to her eyes."] [1] For a long while I continued to walk with Paweł, talking about the manner of acting in case she came to the appointed place. For Paweł did not know what we had done in Pabianice; this remained still our secret. As soon as we separated I went home, ate dinner, and walked to my cousin's. I found them both at home, but Franus went somewhere to his friends and we remained alone. Mania began to inquire why I had called so seldom during the last week and whether I was angry with her. "Angry with you? Why should I be? You gave me no reason. I was twice here but you came home very late from your work and there was no time to talk. Moreover you would not have paid much attention to me, for you would have had to hurry with the supper. But tell me, Mania, how is it you are not afraid to walk back alone from your work? When you came on Tuesday it was quite dark." — "Why should I be afraid? I don't carry any money with me and nobody will kill me. Moreover, upon Piotrkowska Street people are always walking, so I have nothing to fear." — "It is all right if you are not afraid. I said it only that you might guess my intention and ask me to accompany you home. It would be more pleasant for you and for me. Well, I don't know about you, but certainly for me, for now I have nothing to do from six to ten and thus we should spend our time together." — "Is it my place to ask you? It is you who ought to ask me to allow you to do it. Moreover during this whole week a boy accompanied me every day and even treated me with cakes." — "Who was this boy?" — "No, I won't tell you." — "You need not tell me, for it is easy enough to guess. I know that you have no boys except Mr. M. and only he could have accompanied you and offered you cakes. Now tell me, have I not guessed right?" — "Yes, you have guessed, but what does it matter for you who accompanied me?" — "In fact it does not

[1] They do not realize their meanness. The whole situation is so new (*cf.* p. 2033, note 1), that they have no norms to apply to it. The norms of chivalry are almost unknown in this class, and those which traditionally control the pre-conjugal relation cannot be applied. Therefore the primary attitude of jealousy manifests itself without any restraint. Moreover, as they conceive it, Mania is cheating them, and therefore she, and not the rival, is made the object of their vengeance.

matter, only you said yourself at the christening that he did not please you, and now you walk with him and evidently he pleases you." — "Does one walk only with persons with whom one is pleased? Why, I am not marrying him yet. And I confess sincerely that I did not want him to accompany me, but he refused to yield and asked me to allow him only to walk behind me and to look at my feet." When she said this I laughed aloud at her naiveté and this confession. "Well, why do you laugh?" she asked, "perhaps you think that I lie? I don't." And here she swore, saying: "As I love God, it is true." — "But I believe without your oath that your feet [or legs; the Polish word is the same for both] pleased him. But if he had seen them without shoes and stockings, as I did, they would have pleased him still more!" — "Oh, you are bad, my cousin. You ought not to mention it at all." — "Why nobody hears us, and we know it without mentioning. But never mind, speak on. Then you allowed him to follow you." — "No, I told him to go away and not to turn my head. I told him to go to the devil. But he would not have it and walked at my side, begging me not to be angry and to allow him to accompany me. What could I do? I thought: 'Let him go' and I said nothing to him." — "Well, and what more? Where were you to eat cakes?" — "At St. Alexander Place." — "And he always accompanied you and bought cakes?" — "No, we ate cakes only three times, and on Monday and yesterday I did not see him at all." — "I believe you, cousin, but tell me, was this letter also from him which you refused to show me and burned in the stove?" — "I don't care whether you believe me or not. I would have shown you the letter, but Franus was there. Yes, this card was also from him, why should I deny that I received a card from him? It is not bad at all." — "It is true that it is not bad, but I am a little jealous and I should prefer if you allowed me to accompany you rather than him." — "Have you ever asked me or even mentioned it? Should I have asked you myself?" — "Well, all right. Tomorrow I shall wait for you. But I must kiss you for having confessed everything." With these words I began to kiss her hard. Although she cried out that I should disturb her hair I did not care, but kissed her till I had enough and only then I let her go.[1]

[1] Mania's continued preference for Władek, although the other man must have been more attractive and of a higher social position, and in spite of the

Now again my cousin had put me into trouble by her confession. I did not know what to do. Perhaps she told me all this only because I was noticed by them and she knew that I knew everything. But perhaps it was true that she told him to go to the devil, for I noticed that this was rather easy for her and I had heard those words from her more than once. But what could I do? I had to believe, even if it was not true. Nevertheless I did what I intended and I threw the post-card into the box.

The next day before six I was near the shop where Mania worked and I walked up and down. Suddenly Mr. M. came from behind me and when he joined me he stretched out his hand saying: "Well Mr. W. you promised to call on me for books and I have not seen you. Why don't you come?" — "I have not time, I am almost always occupied in the evening and during the day I should not find you at home." — "Why not? I am always at home on Saturday afternoons. But what are you doing here?" — "I am waiting for my cousin, to accompany her home." — "And do you go there?" I laughed and said: "I do, almost every day, but yesterday we agreed that I should meet her habitually, and therefore you find me here. And where are you going yourself?" — "To a companion, for we agreed to meet today." Saying this, he bade me goodbye and went away, inviting me once more to come to him for books. I waited until Mania came out, gave her my arm and we went home, without stopping for the good cakes. In this way I drove my rival away without struggle or anger.

The next day I waited again for my cousin and accompanied her home. When we came Mania found the post-card which I had sent. She showed it to me. After reading it I burned it at once and asked Mania whether she would go to the *randka*. She answered that she would not go and would not meet him at all. "And if I invite you, will you go?" — "Yes," she answered without hesitation. "Well, then, hurry and prepare the supper for Franus, and we shall go." And we went, but not for the good cakes, as she called those at the coffee-house on St. Aleksander

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fact that the question of marriage was practically excluded in both cases, is a manifestation of the usual preference shown by girls for men of their own class, and this seems in turn dependent on the community of attitudes. A man of the higher classes seldom obtains any fundamental response from a proletarian girl.

Place, but to the Grand Café where, according to our agreement, Paweł was to come. When we approached this coffee-house my cousin guessed where I was leading her and at first refused to enter, saying that she did not wish to meet Mr. Malicki. Finally I persuaded her, saying: "Why do you mind Mr. M.? We shall sit at another table." We went in, I asked for two cups of chocolate and cakes. When Paweł appeared I drew a bit of paper from my pocket and wrote upon it a few words, asking Paweł not to say anything, for she had confessed. He made big eyes without knowing what to think, but did not say a word about the post-card. We amused ourselves for an hour, accompanied her home and came back. Only then I related to Paweł what Mania had told me. "So we have nothing to do, since she has confessed everything," said Paweł. "This is a proof that she does not love him, so let us leave her in peace."

The bakery was sold, so I was again without a place. But when I went to my master on the last day he told me that I could stay till Pentecost and help him. I had to go with the drivers who brought bricks and lime for the building of his new house. After five-thirty I was free until six the next morning. During these hours I mainly searched for work. I visited almost every day one or both hostelries, but both were full of bakers. My two weeks passed rapidly. On Saturday my master paid me, I bade him goodbye and thanked him. Paweł knew at what o'clock I was to leave and came to the station, bringing a big package as a gift for mother and smaller packages for the younger brothers and sisters. He asked me to tell our parents that he would not come until he was emancipated. After a kind goodbye from him I left the city of Łódź.[1] [The visit home is without incident. Spends the usual amount of time in the house of the teacher, and Mrs. D. continues to call him her "son-in-law." Stach does not get a better position and the other children help little.] I had 30 roubles with me, so once when my parents complained the most I took twenty from my pocket-book and gave them to my mother, saying, "This is for a dress for you." But mother laughed and showed me the rest of my brothers and sisters saying, "They have none either."

[1] He does not even mention his farewell to Mania; evidently the girl dropped completely out of his consciousness as soon as he ceased to see her.

Meanwhile a week passed and I began to feel bored with doing nothing. So I prepared to wander, although I had no idea in which direction I should go. Though not with joy, still I had to go, for here nothing was to be done. Finally two weeks after Pentecost, I left Bogusławice, very sad, for how could I be merry? I was already somewhat acquainted with this wandering and I knew that I must stretch my hand out like a beggar in order to save my life. Lucus accompanied me for a long way and wept when we separated; I did the same. I went first to Kłodawa and there asked all the bakers, but there was no work. I stayed over night in a bakery upon the stove, having as a bed some empty flour-sacks, but in the morning I could hardly recognize myself, I was so powdered with flour. I resolved not to sleep in bakeries any more, but always somewhere in a village, in a farmer's house. [Visits five other towns with no success and finally returns to Łódź. Goes to the "bungler-hospital," looks for work and does not show himself to Paweł or any of his acquaintances. After two months gets work for five weeks during the vacation of another workman. Saves thirty roubles, buys a new suit, etc., and is about to show himself to his friends, when his valise and new clothes are stolen.]

My despair had no bounds. I wept, I searched, I informed the police, but nothing helped; they could not find it. In the beginning I suspected my companion and he suspected me. After some days of vain searching I ceased and loafed again about Łódź, without a place to sleep, without anything to eat. Seeing that I should not find my way in Łódź, I resolved to wander away, but I was unwilling to do it alone, so I began to persuade my companion in misfortune, whose suit was stolen with mine, to wander with me. He agreed. We took our passports from the police office and two days later we were already wandering in the direction of Warsaw. But we gave our word to each other that we would wander until we both found work in the same town.

My companion's Christian name was Walek. I did not even know his family name, for everybody called him Walek. He was not much liked among his companions, for he kept company too much with *smyruses* and with maids who served in Jewish houses and fed him when he was without work. Moreover, he pretended to be very clever and boasted that he knew how to

do everything. He played the part of gentleman, which did not suit him well, for he could neither read nor write. But he carried the best papers in his pocket and whenever he came to a hostelry he asked others to read them aloud, for which he treated them, if he had money, for he liked drinking very much. I did not pour the liquor behind my collar either [never refused], but I drank otherwise, for I never lost my reason in drinking. At this time I had no money at all to drink, and I was glad if anybody treated me. More than once I had even joined the *smyruses* just to eat and drink a little,[1] for there were many days when I was hungry, and the day was good on which I could buy a loaf of bread and half a pound of blood-sausage, drinking water from the well. I could have lived better if I had shown myself to Paweł, who certainly would have helped me. But I had not the courage and was ashamed because of my torn clothes. Being in such a position, I felt well with Walek, who knew better how to find a living, was bolder in asking anybody for something, pretending always to be satisfied with his condition. He was always whistling, while I was almost always weeping.[2] Not once, but thousands of times I cursed my life and the day on which I went to learn to be a baker. As to the girls, they had vanished long ago from my head. I had not shown myself to any cousin, and even if any of them saw me upon the street she did not recognize me, I looked so ugly. And as the proverb says, "For trouble the best remedy is drink," so it was with me. When I got tipsy

[1] The habit of searching for work and the latent idea of respectability keep him from falling to the level of pauperism at this point.

[2] The difference corresponds to the difference between original lack of organization and secondary disorganization. Walek's life was never organized on any steady basis; therefore he does not measure his actual situation by any external standards of living, and feels relatively satisfied with it. This is the type of the so-called "born" vagabond, criminal, pauper. Władek represents the type of man whose activities were organized, at least to a certain extent, and who has dropped from his earlier level, because of an insufficient organization, under the influence of unfavorable social conditions, or through alcoholism. He preserves for a time a superior standard and is unhappy as long as the ideas and habits corresponding with an organized life are not completely forgotten. This is the so-called "socially produced" criminal, vagabond, pauper. In reality the primary attitudes may be the same, but in the one case they are partially opposed by socially acquired attitudes, in the other they are not. The distinction can therefore be reduced to that between lack of organization and actual disorganization.

I forgot for a moment about my misfortune and went to sleep somewhere upon the grass. So I was glad to have Walek's company, for more than once he brought me something to eat from some cook, but neither he nor I had a penny. I took the linen which I had, wrapped it in a blue apron, tied it with a string, Walek did the same, and one morning we left Łódź, cursing it heartily.

I won't describe all the cities and towns through which we passed, for nothing important happened there. [Arrived at Warsaw they are at a loss what to do, and ask a night-watchman where they can sleep. He directs them to the poor-asylum, but a tipsy socialist overhears and gives them supper and lodging.] When our benefactor was snoring pretty regularly I arose and said my prayer, for I never went to sleep without it, but I was ashamed to do it before our benefactor, for I knew from novels how such gentlemen look upon prayer. Even Walek laughed at me when I said my prayer, but I did not care at all for him and his laughter. After breakfast I received a necktie, for mine was not in a very good condition, and our benefactor gave me besides half a rouble, all the rolls and sausage which remained from the breakfast, and explained how to get out of Warsaw. We thanked him very warmly and left.

We could do nothing in Warsaw, for there was no hostelry and no *giszynk*, and the bakers lived in private lodgings and searched for work as every one could [individually]. But we had no money to stay in Warsaw and to take a lodging. It was late already when we crossed a bridge to Praga, on the other side of the river. There we found on the corner of a street a sign: "Petersburg Road," and thinking that it led to Russia, we resolved to go this way, having no idea where and through what towns the road led.

[At Jablonna (frequented as a summer resort) there is work for one, and it is offered first to Władek, but he holds to his agreement not to take work singly. But the master urges him to begin work, and he feels that this can be avoided only by running away. Walek goes to the shop for their bundles while Władek waits at a certain point. Walek leaves his papers with Władek as a guarantee that he will return, but accepts the work himself, and returns with two *smyruses* and forces Władek to give up his papers.] They went back to Jablonna but before they arrived they dropped into a tavern. Meanwhile I stood helpless, with tears in my eyes

from grief that Walek had acted so brutally toward me, and left me alone. Mr. Julian and his master had asked me first to stay, and I pitied Walek, while he could leave me without regret. But suddenly a thought quick as lightning flashed through my mind, to outdo Walek while there was still time and to stay myself for this work. Let him wander, since he is so good. And I passed from thought to act. I passed the tavern in which Walek sat with his companions without being seen by them, gave the master my papers, and he gave me half a rouble. Then I went to the bakery, undressed, took my apron and began to work. After awhile Walek came with his companions and what was his astonishment when he found me at work. [They want to beat Władek but the master sends them to jail.] The next morning they were set free and came to the bakery. I had finished my work and was lying upon the bed, but Walek approached me and began to ask my pardon, and to beg me to go wandering with him again. But I would not even listen, for I had had one lesson from him already and he had shown me that he was not a good companion. I told him this and turned to the wall. Then Walek began to weep and kissed my hand, begging me to go with him. I was unmoved, but I gave him forty grosz and a few rolls and lay down to sleep, without talking with him any more. And thus finished my wandering with Walek.

I spent my days in Jablonna merrily enough. Almost every day I made excursions either to the Vistula or to the forests of Count Potocki. I went in the evening habitually to one garden, where a student played the violin very beautifully and I liked to listen. At that time I got acquainted with a maid, a German, who served with some people from Warsaw and came with them for the summer. She was a very kind and pretty girl and she liked flirting very much. She often brought various cakes to be baked, and in this way we got acquainted, not only I, but Mr. Julian, for we became good friends and made all our trips together. Whenever we had time we went in the evening to the maid, for then she was also free and we could walk. Finally things went so far that we persuaded her to go with us after the season to Vilno, for Mr. Julian and I had decided that after the end of the season we would both wander there. Well, we persuaded her to go also and she agreed.

After eight weeks the season was over and some people began

to return to Warsaw, so I was dismissed from work, while Mr. Julian was to work still for four days. I was waiting for him in Jablonna and spent all the time with the maid. We had made an agreement that we would not foolish with her in Jablonna, but only in Vilno. We intended to take an apartment there and to go to work, while Mina — this was her name — would cook for us. In a word, we were to keep her as our common wife and she had agreed to it. But I did not like the part of the agreement that we should not foolish with her now, for I had much time and I could have used it well. But I would not break my word. During these four days I spent whole nights with her [*sic*!] We went far beyond Jablonna, there we sat down upon the grass and Mina endeavored by all means to compel me to foolish, but I resisted the best I could. She called me an old woman, a bloodless fellow and many other names, and I had to bear all this. It happened that she lay upon me herself, tickling me and bringing me thus to wrath. So it was every night during these four days, and I felt really sick, but held out. On the fourth day, when Mr. Julian was dismissed, we went to drink some beer and talked about Mina. I began to dissuade Julian from taking her with us. What should we do with her? We had not much money, and it was still a question whether we should find work in Vilno. It is true that Mina had, as she said, almost 70 roubles, but the journey would cost much, for she had a big trunk and a lot of bed clothes. Moreover I pitied her greatly, for I was sure that we should waste everything she owned and leave her finally, and she would remain alone in a strange city without anything. It was a pity to bring disaster upon such a young and silly girl. Mina was nineteen years old, but without any experience, for really she must have been very silly to agree to something like this. Mr. Julian could not decide immediately to part with Mina, and said: "What do I care? If we don't find work in Vilno we shall leave her and go further. What troubles you? She has clothing enough and bed clothes; if necessary we can sell it slowly and live upon this." But I refused to agree with him and I had to use all my eloquence to persuade him that we did not need her at all. Finally I succeeded, and Mr. Julian agreed with my proposition.[1] We decided

[1] We may accept Władek's statement of his motives, but there is a curious contrast between the way in which he feels bound in his relations of companionship with Walek and Julian and the lack of any feeling of obligation

positively not to take her but not to tell her this either, simply to run away from Jablonna. When the evening came, we went to Mina and then all three of us took a walk beyond Jablonna, Mina said that she had everything ready, her passport and her salary, and she could spend this whole night with us, for she did not serve any more and was ours. So Mr. Julian took her by one arm, I by the other, and we went out of Jablonna and sat down at the edge of the forest. The night was warm and we resolved to spend it outside. Mr. Julian proposed to eat our supper there, and we all agreed. He went to buy something to eat and to drink, for which Mina gave the money. I was glad that he went away for I intended to foolish with Mina. I was no longer bound by my word. It was not difficult to do, for she was ready long ago and at last the moment came. Julian returned with a rather large package of food, a bottle of vodka and three bottles of beer. We began to eat. Mina was quite unceremonious with us and called us by name and when she got a little tipsy, she became very merry, calling us her husbands. . . . At dawn we returned to a Jewish tea-house, which was open during the whole night. There we stayed till six in the morning, and the train was to leave at ten. Mina went to take her baggage on a cab to the station while we went to the bakery for our bundles. We decided to do thus: When Mina came we would amuse her with talking and when the second bell struck we would send her to the ticket-office to buy a ticket. Meanwhile we would hide in a car and before she found us, the train would move and she would remain. It was impossible to find any other arrangement. [This is carried out as planned.] Mina did not suppose, poor girl, that we would play her such a trick. But it was better for her to remain, for she had money

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toward the girl. He simply assumes that they will exploit her and leave her as a matter of course. This might be explained on the ground that the only binding relation with a woman is the familial one of marriage or blood connection. But as the solidarity Władek manifests with regard to his companions has not its source in traditional organization there must be another reason. It probably lies in the limitation of the relation of the girl to the sexual element, so that all the attitudes that are able to give to this connection a moral character are left outside. The proportion of the feeling of obligation would then depend on the amount of social elements present in the relation with the other sex — none in a purely sexual connection like this one, relatively little in flirtation, it increases in the romantic and pre-conjugal stages, and reaches its highest form in the conjugal relation.

and could find a place at any time, while if we had taken her, what awaited her? Misery to the last degree. And we should have had only reproaches of conscience for having pushed an inexperienced girl into the mud. While she had lost only a few złoty for the supper last night and for the cab today. This was nothing in comparison with what she would have lost in going with us, and she had had one more experience. Thus ended our flirtation with a maid in Jablonna.

Julian and I came by the suburban railway to Warsaw. Julian had there a married sister, and we went to her, having together 20 roubles. We had put our money into a common fund; we were to draw from it equally and to try to see that it was never exhausted. Julian persuaded me to buy an accordeon, for he knew, as he said, how to play very well. I had nothing against it, and we bought one for five roubles, and Julian really played very well. We spent a whole week with his sister, walking about Warsaw and looking at her beauties. On Monday of the next week we started "per pedes Apostolorum" to Vilno.

[Three weeks wandering through small towns, living on *giszynk* and sometimes lodged by peasants, but doing very poorly.] Once when we were resting near a manor-farm and planning to enter the next village toward evening my companion drew out his accordeon and began to play. When he had played a few pieces a small boy came out from the manor-house bearing upon a plate two big pieces of bread and 40 grosz of money, which he gave us. We were very much astonished at this help for which we did not ask. Probably some merciful lady thought that we were playing before her house in order to beg in this way, and gave us the alms, for which we were very grateful to her. But suddenly a splendid idea flashed through my mind, and I shared it with Julian. "Do you know? now we shan't suffer hunger any more." — "How is that?" — "Well, if you will you can play before every one of the many houses we pass on our way, and they will give us to eat, and perhaps even a few grosz. Is not my advice good? Here nobody knows us, we have trouble, we ought to try not to die of hunger." He promised to try tomorrow, although he was very much ashamed. Meanwhile the evening came and we went to the village for shelter.

The next day we started on, looking about us for a place to play. Thus we came to the house of a railroad section-boss and I told my companion to play. And he did well, for we received

bread, milk and 20 grosz in cash. This made him bolder and he played with more confidence before the following houses. And our condition grew better at once. We were never hungry and every day almost half a rouble was added to our fund. If we saw any buildings, even farther aside from the railroad, I remained with our bundles and he went to play, and he always had some profit; at least 4 grosz and even a złoty often fell into our hands. As soon as he began to play, boys and girls gathered around and listened to the music. Finally some one of them, bolder than the others, always invited us to go to the house and play there. We did it without hesitation, and then it always went well. We got for supper bacon with eggs and a good breakfast in the morning, and we slept in the house. In this manner we came to Grodno. But it was late and we delayed our entrance into the city until the next day. We sat down near the garden of a section-boss, but it was some superior one, for the house was nicer and the garden bigger than usual. As we learned later, it was indeed a *dziesietnik* [inspector, having ten hands under him]. My companion began to play the accordeon, but only as for himself. Suddenly a young and rather handsome man appeared. When he came to the fence he leaned against it and listened. When my companion finished playing, the stranger began to talk with us. He inquired where we were going and who we were. We said that we were sculptors [stone-cutters] from Warsaw and were going to Vilno in search of work. Finally he asked us whether we would not eat something, and when we answered that we would, for when traveling it could not be despised, he told us to enter the garden and led us to a nice arbor where he invited us to sit down and asked us which milk we preferred, sweet or sour. We said sweet, so he went to the house and after awhile came back saying that his sister would bring the luncheon at once. During the conversation we learned that he was a printer and worked in Vilno. There he married and after a year his wife died and now he was staying for some time with his parents in order to forget [cease to grieve] about his wife. But evidently he had not forgotten her, for when he told us this, he cried. We tried to persuade him that there was no reason to cry now, for crying would not bring his wife back from the other world. Then his sister came, bringing bread, butter, cheese and milk. When we had eaten he brought his violin and played a little. Meanwhile the sun was

setting and we had to bid him farewell in order to search for a night-shelter. When we arose he asked us whether we were going away. "Well, we must, because we have to find a night-shelter, for night is coming." — "Please wait a little, I shall ask my father; perhaps he will let you stay over night. For I must tell you that the section-bosses are forbidden to keep strangers over night, but perhaps my father will make an exception for you when I ask him." [Remain over night.] The next day after breakfast we wanted to leave, but they refused to let us go and invited us to stay with them for a few days and to rest. We spent thus a whole week doing nothing. We angled, went shooting in the forest near by, read books, of which our friend had enough, and the week passed rapidly. They wanted to keep us longer, but we refused positively and wandered on, bidding goodbye to these good and hospitable people. They gave us a food supply for the journey, and our friend accompanied us for a long way, almost to Grodno.

In Grodno, as in so many other towns, we found no work, although we did not omit a single baker. Thence we went in the direction of Vilno, again along the railroad-line. My companion played the accordeon whenever he could, so we suffered no hunger and we had a few grosz. In one village where a shoemaker lived we had our shoes repaired. Thus, without any important adventures, we came to the neighborhood of Vilno and searched for night-shelter. We found bad people who refused to admit us into the house at all but told us at once to go to the barn, and sent us there cold potatoes and a bowl of sour milk. We did not eat the potatoes, but we began to eat the milk. But hardly had I taken the third spoonful when I found an enormous spider. I looked at my companion, whose attention at this moment was turned in another direction, and threw the spider away. Then I said that I did not want to eat any more, and my companion finished the milk. We slept very badly, and early in the morning we went to Vilno. But there again we found no work. When we finished visiting the bakeries, it was evening and we found night-shelter in a Jewish bakery, where a Polish journeyman worked. We had indeed 6 roubles, but we were afraid to spend money, for we did not know what awaited us. The next day we went to mass in the chapel of God's Mother of Ostra Brama [image reputed miraculous] and after the mass intended to go further in the direction of Riga. But we met upon the street a few bakers whom we recognized

from their clothes, powdered with flour. We approached, greeted them in our manner and asked them whether they knew anything about any work. But they were without work, like us. They asked us where we intended to go. We said that we were going to Riga, and there we should see what to do later. But they began to dissuade us strongly from going in this direction, for there we should find no work, and the winter was near. "Go rather in the direction of Kowno, there you may profit better." We agreed that they were right and started to Kowno, but only the next day. We spent this night again in the Jewish bakery upon the oven. I was really tired of this wandering and I should have been glad to work anywhere, at least for a few weeks. But since we had left Warsaw we had found absolutely no work. Our feet ached badly from continual walking, for although we never made more than fifteen wiorsta a day and sometimes even less, still we had blisters upon our feet, and we soaked them in water wherever we found it. So I did not want to leave Vilno, but I had to.

When we went out of the town we met three girls who were going in the same direction. We began to talk with them, and we learned that they were going to Kalwarya, to a festival. Each girl carried a rather large basket with *zakąski*, so when we reached a small forest, we sat down to rest, the girls took out their food and treated us, and my companion played the accordeon in return. We parted in Kalwarya. There were two bakers here, but they needed no journeymen. We started on, but now it began to get worse. It rained hard, we got quite wet, and thus we came to a village rather late and could find no shelter. The people did not understand Polish, and we knew no Lithuanian. We went from house to house, but nobody wanted to admit us, and we left the village quite wet and cold. Happily, beyond the village was a single farm, and there we were admitted. But there was no fire in the stove, and so we went without supper to the barn, in which there was not much straw either, but at least it did not rain upon our heads. We slept, closely pressed to each other. The next day it rained again and we could not go far, for we tried to shelter ourselves from the rain. We were hungry as dogs, for in the rain my companion could not play, and even if he could there was nobody for whom to play. We met nothing but poor villages, and whenever my companion took out his accordeon before a house he was at once driven away without being given anything.

They said something in Lithuanian, which we could not understand. And so we wandered for some ten or fifteen days, not along the railroad, but along a highway. Our fund began again to be exhausted, and misery looked into our eyes. Moreover it was autumn and it rained almost every day. And more than once I cried bitterly.

Once it began to rain hard about noon. We could not travel, so we sat down under a barn, waiting for the rain to pass, but we waited in vain. An old Lithuanian came out of a cabin which stood behind the barn and noticed us sitting under the barn, and completely wet. He approached and began to talk Lithuanian, but we did not answer, for we understood nothing. Then he began to talk Russian, and I knew this language well. He asked us why we were sitting here instead of going into his house. I answered that we were waiting for the rain to stop and we did not enter the house for we were not sure of being admitted. Then he inquired whence we came and where we were going. We lied as much as we could in order to dispose him favorably. Finally he invited us to his house.

In the house, O my God! dirt, darkness! The smoke pricked our eyes, for there was no chimney at all and the smoke which came from the clay stove filled the room and got outside through the windows and doors. The walls in the room were as black as soot. There was no bed, only a double wooden shelf; upon the higher shelf the parents slept, upon the lower the children. When it got dark they did not light any lamp, for they had none, only if some light was needed the housewife drew a piece of burning wood from the stove, and the sharp smoke pricked our eyes. We exchanged not a word with anybody except the host, for nobody understood either Russian or Polish. And the host himself was not very talkative. So we sat upon a bench, my companion and I, from time to time going outside to breathe some fresh air. When the supper was ready, a bench was drawn to the middle of the room and soup was poured into a single big bowl. We were invited to eat with them and given wooden spoons and a big piece of bread each. The bread was baked of flour ground at home in a stone mill and black like the holy earth. The soup was something like a cucumber soup, for bits of raw and unpeeled cucumber swam in it, but my companion and I, we could not eat it although we were very hungry. First, it tasted very bad, and then there

were some snivelling and dirty children who ate very indecently. A cat rubbed herself against our legs, and the children beat her with their spoons and afterwards dipped these spoons back into the bowl. Such was the order in our hospitable host's house! But even thus we were thankful to him, for we could dry ourselves a little and we ate a big piece of bread each, and this meant something also.

The second week was nearing its end since we had left Vilno. We had only one rouble altogether, and it was still far to Kowno and the walking hard, for the road was muddy. On Sunday afternoon we came to a large and rather nice village at the beginning of which was a big manor-house surrounded with a beautiful garden. I began to persuade my companion to play, for he had lately lost all wish to play, because everywhere he was driven away. Now I succeeded in persuading him, but with difficulty; the hunger which we both suffered helped my persuasion. He went, and I reminded him to ask rather for food than for money, for there was no place to buy any food. I soon heard him begin to play, and sat down waiting for the result. When he had played two pieces there was silence. I thought that he was driven away again and expected him to come, but for a long time he was not to be seen. I was curious and rose to go and see what had happened, and to help him if he needed help. But then I saw a butler in livery coming in my direction. He asked me: "Are you the companion of the man who played the accordeon?" — "Yes." — "Then come with me." I followed him. He led me to the kitchen where my companion was already sitting at a table upon which there was enough of everything — boiled meat, roasted meat, a good soup. Toward the end of the dinner a girl brought two glasses of beer which we had to drink with pauses, they were so big. When we had finished eating the girls asked us to play, and began to dance. More and more girls came and all of them danced. There was also the farm-manager and the farm-clerk, the butler, the chambermaid, some young drivers and manor-maids, and they all danced as much as they could. Finally the proprietor himself came with his wife and two girls, one fifteen and the other thirteen years old. When he came in all the dancers stopped and rushed into the corners, but he told them not to interrupt their dancing, and approached me, for my companion was playing. He was in the uniform of a Russian officer, but I

could not yet recognize what rank he held. I arose in order to show my respect, but he told me to sit down and began to inquire who we were and why we were traveling. I was afraid to lie for he could have asked me to show our papers, so I told the truth and related to him about our journey and its aim. He sympathized much with us, but could not help us. Finally he asked whether I knew how to dance. I answered that I did not, for how could I think about dancing in my present condition? Moreover my shoes hardly hung upon my feet. But my companion said that I could dance, and the proprietor, without listening to my explanations ordered me to dance the oberek which I danced well enough. So in order to satisfy him I went to dance with his older daughter who danced willingly and not badly. After the oberek I danced a waltz with the younger daughter. The proprietor applauded, and then went with his family into the garden, while I sat down again. Thus, amusing ourselves rather merrily for wanderers, we did not even notice how the evening approached and it was time to think about night-shelter. Perhaps this lord would have allowed us to sleep somewhere, but we did not dare to ask him and prepared to leave. They gave us again a supper before starting and wrapped many various meats into paper and gave us these with half a loaf of bread for our journey. The proprietor sent us, through his younger daughter, money wrapped in paper, separately for each of us. We thanked the little lady nicely, bade goodbye to the chambermaid and butler and started, for the sun was already very low.

We did not ask for shelter in the same village, for there were some buildings to be seen not far away. When we drew nearer we saw that it was not a village but a single cottage with garden and farm-buildings, a so-called "*hutor*." Usually it was I who went to ask for shelter, for I knew how to speak Russian and I imitated the long Lithuanian accent. Here I went also to ask, but I did not need to go inside, for a young girl stood upon the threshold. I approached, drawing my hat off while I was still a few steps away. Although she was a country girl, she did not run away as others did, but listened to my request, and then said, with a marked Lithuanian accent: "All right, wait a little. I will go and ask my father." After awhile an aged but powerfully built Lithuanian, with a big pipe between his teeth, came out and asked me whether I wanted night-shelter. When I said yes, he

said: "Please call your companion and come in, for when the guest comes into the house Gŏd comes into the house" [old Polish proverb]. I called my companion, and the Lithuanian led us into a room beautifully furnished, not in the Lithuanian way. He asked us to sit upon a sofa, sat down with us, offered us tobacco to make cigarettes and we talked of the news in the world, where we had been, what we had seen — in a word, we found a very talkative and good Lithuanian to whom I wish long health for his goodness and hospitality. After awhile his wife and daughter came, for he had no other children, and I saw that he loved his only daughter deeply. His wife and daughter were not worse than their husband and father. The daughter's name was Marya, and she was a very pretty little Lithuanian, talkative and sympathetic. When we had talked enough about various matters, Marya asked my companion to play the accordeon. He did it immediately and played several pieces. And before we had the time to look many young people came into the room. And I don't know whence they came, for as far as we noticed there was neither village nor cottage near. They began to talk among themselves of dancing a little, but nobody dared to begin. From this it can be concluded that the old Lithuanian enjoyed consideration and respect in the neighborhood. Finally some bolder boy, probably the son of a farmer, approached the old Lithuanian and kissed his hand, asking him for permission to dance a little. The old man laughed and gave the permission, and the dance began. I also made a few turns with Marya, for she pleased me much, but soon she disappeared and I did not dance any more. I asked the old man where she was gone. He answered that she went to help her mother.

The old man continually treated me with tobacco and led the conversation. I inquired also about Lithuanian customs and he related to me in detail about them, and I learned from him many various things. Thus we amused ourselves for almost three hours. Then the old man whispered me to tell my friend to stop playing and to come to supper. I told him this. He put the accordeon upon the sofa and we followed the old man through two rooms, also nicely furnished, into the third, which was a kitchen, large and clean. In the middle stood a table, covered with a clean table-cloth woven with various designs, and covered with plates. There were eggs fried upon bacon, freshly baked *pierogi* [cake filled

with meat, cabbage, mushrooms, etc.], *bliny* [flat fried cakes of buckwheat, oats or potatoes], fruit, bread, dry sausage — in a word, nothing was lacking. For a long, a very long time I have not seen a table so dressed. Our old man said: "Please sit down and eat what God gave, for, 'What the house is rich in, it is glad [to offer]." When we sat down, the old man crossed himself, we did the same and began to eat. But all that stood upon the table did not decrease much, for there was too much, and we were not very hungry, for we had filled our stomachs pretty well in the lord's house, thinking that we should go to sleep without supper, as often happened. After supper we returned into the first room, where the dancers were still waiting for us, and soon dancing began again, but it did not last very long, for at ten o'clock the old man drove all the people away. He led us to a separate and very decent room in which we were to sleep, but not both in one bed. I slept upon a sofa and my companion upon a bed. There were many pillows upon both of them, and feather covers. The bed linen was fresh and white. The old man asked us whether it would suit us to sleep here and said: "If you lack anything, please say so." But what could we lack? We answered that we were well satisfied. He shook hands with us and went out. When we were left alone, we began to inspect our beds, which seemed too clean for us. To tell the truth, we did not dare to lie down for we were not sure whether we had not some little "Egyptian rams" [lice]. During our wandering about the world they might easily have been bred, and we did not want to bring any to a house of such a good and hospitable host. So without hesitation we unbound our bundles and took fresh linen which we had washed ourselves. It was not washed very properly, for in cold water and without soap, but at least there were no lice. We changed our linen and lay down. We slept like kings. I could not remember when I had slept so well, nor could my companion. We said our prayers and fell immediately asleep. When we awoke we found a wash-bowl, a pitcher of water, a towel, and even a comb. We regretted leaving such a comfortable bed, for we did not know how long we should have to wait for another like it. As soon as we had dressed and washed the old man came to say good morning and asked us how we had slept. Instead of answering, we began to thank him very much for so comfortable a lodging. He asked us whether we were ready for breakfast, and told us to follow him.

We wanted to take our bundles, but he did not allow us, saying: "Let them remain, you may take them later." The breakfast was no less copious than the supper. After breakfast we wanted to bid the hospitable old man goodbye, but he would not listen and said that he had bread enough to treat us for a few days. He asked us to rest a little in his house. In the beginning we hesitated a little, but in our souls we were very glad to get some relief, and finally we stayed four days more with the old man. He led us about his whole farm and showed us his riches, saying that he would give all this to his future son-in-law. Here I thought that it was a pity that I did not live nearer, for it would have been worth while courting both the well-educated Marya and her dowry. Alas! "The sausage is not for the dog," and the daughter of the old and rich Lithuanian was not for me.

In the evenings the old man related to us about Lithuania, and I told him stories from the books which I had read. Sometimes I began to tell him something which he had also read and then we discussed the questions of this book we praised or blamed its heroes, etc. And thus four days passed pleasantly and rapidly. We regretted to leave such good people, but alas! we could not remain there always. On Thursday we left the house of the old Lithuanian, with stores of food and our pockets full of fruit.

Hardly did we come outside of this hospitable neighborhood when we met the farm-manager of that good lord who had treated us. The manager was riding and paid no attention to us. Nevertheless, my companion took his hat off and saluted him almost to the earth. But the manager pretended not to see it and rode further. I began to abuse my companion for greeting such a brutal man, who did not even deign to return the greeting. We quarreled and did not talk to each other. In such a state, a few days later, we approached Kowno. He remained in the country and I went to the town, and since then we have never met again in our life. It is difficult to judge who was right. The cause of our separation was that manager, who appeared upon our way like an evil spirit. My companion tried to prove that he did not notice his greeting, while I said that he would not return the greeting to such tramps as we were. And thus we had quarreled for four days. But near Kowno we divided the food which was left, he took the accordeon and I the money, of which there was almost three roubles. We shook hands and parted,

as I said above. And we were both such fools that neither would propose a reconciliation.

In Kowno I spent the night in a Turkish bakery, but I found no work and wandered in the direction of Suwałki. Tears were my steady companionship. And there was reason enough to cry, for almost from every door I was driven away. I traveled through a country where most of the villages were inhabited by the peasant nobility, those who had the proverb in old times: "A cottage nobleman is equal to a *wojewoda*." But I shall never speak well of them. Instead of "nobles" it would be better if they called themselves "brutals." When I happened to get into a village where such a nobility lived — God forbid! It never happened that any one of them would keep me over night; they always said: "This is a village of nobility; it is forbidden to stay over night." If any one of them had given me at least a bit of bread! It was fortunate for me that there were also not nobles, and these gave me something. Else I should have had to die from hunger among the peasant nobility.[1] But I held out through all this and arrived at Suwałki. [In Grajewo finds work at 2 roubles a week and begins to think of clothes and girls. Goes with another young baker] and he showed me where every girl lived. Finally I bought an overcoat and shoes, and agreed with my companion to go to the girls, but in the following way. He was to go first, and I was to follow him after an hour, pretending to seek him. Then he was to introduce me. He went first, and I walked a little around the market-place and then entered the house. A woman asked me what I wanted, but I had no time to answer her when my companion, recognizing me by my voice, came into the vestibule. We pretended that we had not seen each other on this day, talked for a while in the vestibule

[1] The peasant nobility had the same political rights as the other nobility, but socially its position was little above that of the free peasants. It consequently tries by all means to isolate and differentiate itself from the other peasants. As there is little or no difference of fortune, instruction, etc., this is the only means of keeping its alleged superiority, since the political privileges have disappeared. There may be a political reason also, since the peasant nobility of Lithuania had participated in all the uprisings against Russia and was afraid of spies.

and then he led me into the room, turned to two girls who sat sewing at the table, saying loudly: "I introduce," and then sat down, while I remained at the door, for I never had seen or heard such an introduction. My companion, knowing so well how to behave [irony], made a fool of me, for really I looked like a fool standing there near the door and not knowing how to act. Finally I understood the situation, approached the girls, and extended my hand to them. I did not stay long, I did not even sit down, and I left saying that I had no time to stay longer today. The girls must have known already about my visit for they tried to keep me longer and knew who I was. But I could not stay for I was awfully ashamed that I let my companion make such a monkey of me, so I left promising to stay longer another time. But this was my first and last visit.[1]

Once my master was helping me in my work. It was late at night and his son had not yet come home. The master closed all the doors so that his son could not get in otherwise than through the bakery. About one o'clock the good son returned. His father began to scold him. As long as his face was turned toward his son, the latter stood humble, but as soon as his father turned away the boy made various gestures which were very insulting to his father. I could not look at it without aversion, and when it was repeated a few times I gave the master to understand that he should turn rapidly around. He did it and saw with his own eyes what his son was doing. Then he gave him a good beating, during which he said that it was I who told him to look around. As soon as his father let him go, the boy threatened me with his fist, saying: "Wait, cholera, I won't forgive you this." It is true that I did not fear him very much, but I never liked to have enemies near me,[2] and I reproached my master for having told it.

[1] Exhibition of the importance of social formalism, particularly among the lower classes. The awkward behavior of his friend deprives Władek of the only form of beginning social relations with which he is acquainted. Thus the importance and rigidity of social forms are proportionate to their poverty and definiteness. The aristocracy is reputed to be the most formal class, but there the forms are so numerous and flexible that one well acquainted with them finds a socially sanctioned form in every situation. The awkwardness of the parvenu results from his adhesion to some particular forms.

[2] An expression of the desire for social response in its negative form. Not the consideration of the danger of having enemies but the unpleasantness of meeting hostile attitudes is the main factor of harmony in a primary group.

"Well, it slipped unintentionally. But I think you are not afraid of him." — "I am not afraid, but nevertheless it is not nice of you to have told it and I regret that I advised you to turn around, for now he will try to avenge himself. Well, it is done."

About this time my master's cousin came — Mr. Aleksander, whose parents lived also in Grajewo. He came very often to the bakery and we became friends, for he was not at all older than I, but very serious. He was preparing himself to be an officer. When I finished my work, I went usually to his room and we learned together, that is, he learned [aloud] and I listened, putting various questions, which he explained to me. And I learned much from him in matters of astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and geography. He tried also to explain to me some physics, but I could not grasp it.[1] Once we talked about girls, of whom he knew many in Warsaw. So we resolved to write letters, each to his girl, and to see which of us would get an answer sooner. I wrote a letter to Lubotyń, to Kazia, and he to Warsaw. In my letter I wrote that even if the hell's gates should divide us, I would tear them open and get her.[2] Here I must mention that since I left Bogusławice, I had written no letters to my parents and had had no news from them. Only from Suwałki I wrote a letter to my brother Aleksy asking him to send me a passport, for the yearly period of the one which I had was ended. Aleksy sent me the passport and wrote a short letter in which he abused me much, calling me a tramp, a scamp, etc. But what could I do? I did not wander for my pleasure; may God guard my worst enemy from such a pleasure! I was obliged to tramp for the sake of bread. And how many tears it cost me when I thought that all my brothers sat in warm rooms and had enough to eat and where to sleep, while I was beaten by wind and rain, hungry, driven by strangers from house to house in search of a night-

[1] This kind of unsystematic knowledge has certainly helped to develop Władek's self-conceit. In general the excessive pride of self-taught men, which we have seen typically in Part II, is due to two causes — the difficulty they had in acquiring knowledge makes them appreciate it highly subjectively, and the lack of systematization allows them to notice only what they know without being aware of the whole region of science beyond their knowledge; for only when science is assimilated in the form of a system or plurality of systems the vastness of its field can be realized.

[2] This outburst is probably imitated from the extravagant novels to which he subscribes in parts, and is a device to produce a quick response.

shelter. Could this be called a pleasure? So I preferred not to write to anybody, lest I should hear the same as from Aleksy. I soon received Kazia's answer, even sooner than Mr. Aleksander received his. The letter was as sentimental as mine. Kazia wrote that the school was burned and a new building was built of burned brick and much larger [etc.].

Meanwhile our apprentice became more and more sleepy every day, and when he worked with me he nodded from the beginning of the work like a Jew at prayer. But as soon as the work was over he ran out to loaf, either to coast or to throw snowballs at the passengers. And so it was every day. I did not want to beat him lest he should run away again. Moreover, I was indulgent, for when I was a boy myself I liked to loaf, but I was not sleepy. And misery would beat him enough later on and was beating him even now, for there was an awful misery in his parents' home. His mother refused to accept any money from me for washing in order that I might better teach her son, but I did not permit it and always left her dues upon the table. I threatened Stefan, I begged him, I promised him finally to give him a good licking, but this did not help much. I gave him even to understand that he should leave the baker's work and learn something else. I related my wanderings and lack of work, I showed him those old and ragged bakers who sometimes wandered through Grajewo and some of them stayed over night in our bakery. But it made no impression upon him. Moreover he knew neither how to write nor read; I even begged him to learn and gave him once twenty grosz to buy a primer. He bought it, it is true, but he did not learn. How often Mr. Aleksander tried to persuade him to learn! But even this helped nothing. Finally I lost patience with him and went to complain to his mother. The mother told me to beat him if he deserved it, only to make a man of him. advised his mother also to apprentice him to something else, but she did not want to take the trouble, and so things remained. Now, if Stefan nodded at night during the work, I often gave him a fillip. Then again I gave him a slight stroke with the dough, and so it went on. For if he had only nodded — well, never mind. But when he was sleepy, he spoiled my work. When he had to put the rolls upon a board, he put them in a single heap, and I was forced to make them over.[1]

[1] All this is evidently said in justification of his subsequent behavior.

Thus things went on until there was a fair in Grajewo. Four weeks were left until Christmas. We had very much work, so the master came to help us. I warned Stefan not to sleep, at least in the master's presence, and not to spoil the dough, for it was a shame for me to allow him to do it. We shall see how he listened. When we began to make the rolls, there was no help from Stefan at all. As usual, he put them into a heap and spoiled them, and the master laughed at me for allowing the boy to do it. The master stood at the right and I at the left of the boy. Finally, after a few fillips and strokes with the dough — and when this did not help — I got very angry, stepped back and struck Stefan upon the face with all my strength, with the palm of my hand. The stroke was so unfortunate that I drew air into his ear [*sic*!]. Stefan, although he was sixteen years old, fell down upon the master, who said: "Well, you have given him too much." I took water and poured it on Stefan's face, for I felt a great pity for him, but the harm was done. When he arose blood began to drop from his nose and water from his ear. He sat down and began to cry, without doing anything, but I did not care for his help. I hastened to do my work and his, being in a great fright, for water did not cease to trickle from his ear. When morning came, Stefan went to his mother and with her to a surgeon-assistant, who came with them both to my master in order to write a report and to sue me before a court. For, as the surgeon said, the membrane was broken in Stefan's ear and it would cost much to cure him, and I was to pay for it. But all this was done secretly, that I might know nothing, for Stefan even came back to the bakery, as if nothing had happened. [Advised by the master to run away.] I was very angry with Stefan and with myself — with him for having brought me to this, that I was obliged to strike him. Of course I did not mean to strike him so hard, and then, could I have expected such results? And then I was angry with myself, for why did I strike him? Would it not have been better to leave him in peace? Then I could have worked as long as I wanted, while now? Cold, snow, and I must wander and

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The boy was somewhat subnormal, at least physically, as the result of underfeeding, and Władek's impatience grows as he compares him with himself as he was during his apprenticeship. This measuring others by the standard of one's own personality is a source of self-righteousness, particularly in view of the tendency to idealize one's own personality.

tramp from town to town until I find work again. And shall I find it? This was still a big question, for if in the summer there was none, what about the winter, when everybody tries to keep his work as best he can? But what could I do, poor fellow? Remain and sit in prison? This did not please me, for I had never been in prison. No, this was not good either; I preferred to wander. And again I began to curse this dear baker's work. For what shall I come to? I thought. Perhaps I should be obliged to tramp thus about the world during my whole life. Really, if I had had a bottle of vodka at this moment, I would have drunk like a sw[ine] in order to forget at least for a moment my situation. I was not a drunkard and I had had no [strong] liquor in my mouth since we had drunk with the maid in Jablonna. But tomorrow I promised to treat myself.

[Hires a sleigh and runs away, to the neighboring Szczuczyn. Wanders to Łomża, then to Plock. Half frozen, full of self pity, thinks of home, and wanders thither to his parents. The trip takes about two weeks and leads through a number of towns. Reaches Bogusławice on Christmas eve.] When I approached Lubotyń, it was rather dark and I could pass without attracting the attention of my acquaintances. But passing near the house of my brother-in-law, I looked through the windows and the sight made me cry. I saw a Christmas tree nicely dressed, a table covered with white cloth, and plates put upon it. Then I knocked loudly at the window and went away, crying. When I passed near the school I noticed that my brother Stach and the brother of my brother-in-law came out from Mr. D.'s house. But I did not let them recognize me. I only felt still more grieved, and crying, with downcast head, I went to Bogusławice. For really, I had reason enough to cry, thinking about myself and my family. No one of my family even thought how much I had suffered since Pentecost, how much hunger and cold I had borne, while they were sitting in warm rooms and well fed. But what do they care, even relatives, if their own brother suffers there, in the far world, hunger and misery, provided they don't feel it themselves? Toward my mother I was bolder, and thus now, leaving my sister aside, I hastened to my mother, in order to weep before her and to complain about my misery.[1]

[1] The whole attitude toward his family — desire to show himself only in a decent state, expectation of being treated as a tramp, etc., — shows a com-

I knew well the custom of my parents, that there was always one cover too many on Christmas eve, so I would take it.[1] I was also sure that before the first star they would not begin to eat. Soon I stood under the window of my parents' home. When I looked in I saw them sitting already at supper. I looked up and saw not one, but thousands of stars. "So I am late," I thought, but I did not care to knock at once. Standing there under the window, I heard mother say rather loudly: "Where does our Władek eat supper today?" I did not hear anything more, for I cried aloud, and then I fell upon the earth and lost consciousness, either from all these thoughts which pressed themselves into my head, or perhaps from exhaustion, for I had had nothing in my mouth since morning. I don't know how long I lay there, and it would have been better for me not to rise any more. But I rose and looked again into the window. Nothing was changed; evidently, occupied with themselves, they did not hear me behind the window. My head ached terribly. I must have struck it in falling down. I did not look any longer, but knocked at the window, which roused everybody. . . . When the inquiries were over and I had washed myself, mother began to prepare the supper for me, saying: "It is a pity that you did not come a little earlier, we should have sat down to supper together." — "Never mind, I saw you eating and did not want to disturb you." — "And where were you?" asked father. — "Behind the

plete change in the character of the family. The latter has really become an equivalent of the community. The individual attitude to which it corresponds is the desire for recognition, not the desire for response — vanity rather than sentiment. This is one of the manifestations of the degeneration of the traditional forms of social life. We have seen (Vol. I, *Introduction: Economic Attitudes*) how economic attitudes that at first correspond to the communal life are later, with the growth of individualization, applied to familial life; the community becomes identified with the outside world and the attitudes which formerly found their expression in the individual's relation to all the members of the large family are limited to one or two (sometimes arbitrarily selected) members. Exactly the same decadence is observable in Władek's case; in the absence of a permanent community, the old and rich system of steady social relations is reduced to the family as milieu of recognition and to the individual members (the mother, Paweł) as objects of sentimental attitudes.

[1] The cover is for "the guest beyond the mountains," and the meaning is half social, half mystical. The guest may be a wanderer, or originally a religious being.

window," I answered, "and only when mother said my name, I swooned and my head pains me still from having struck a clod." Then again all the voices arose, for one heard a stroke, another a tap, mother again heard as if somebody were crying. . . . First we divided the wafer and I drank a glass of brandy, which I have not had in my mouth for a long time, for I had no money to buy it. After the supper we sat until late in the night and I related my adventures during the travel. Then we sang a few *kolendas* [Christmas songs] and went to sleep. I slept with father in his bed, but first I washed myself entirely and changed linen; I had none of my own and mother gave me father's. In this way ended my wandering of almost a year. Next morning I rose early, for I went to the pastoral mass, and called on my brother-in-law to divide wafer with them. They wanted to keep me for the whole day, but I would not even listen to it, for if I stayed I should be obliged to take my overcoat off, and then I should show my impossibly worn-out suit. I promised to come to vespers. On that day I was not in Lubotyń at all, only the next day I went to vespers, after which I stayed long into the night in my brother-in-law's house. Kazia and Pelagia came also and stayed for supper. Then everybody began to laugh at us, that is at me and Kazia, about that letter which I had written her from Grajewo. Kazia always carried that letter on her breast, but once she forgot it and it got into the hands of Miss Pelagia who carried it to my sister, and the latter told everybody about it, and only those did not know who did not want to know [everybody knew]. My brother Stach and my brother-in-law's brother Kazimierz knew it also. After supper we amused ourselves with conversation. Kazia sat in front of me, Stach and Kazimierz aside. Suddenly they took each other by the hands across the table, so that they divided us, and Stach said: "Well, Władek, you promised to throw hell's gates open and to get Miss Kazimiera, now try whether you will tear our hands asunder." I did not move from my place, but Kazia reddened like a cherry, arose from her place and said, very angrily: "What do you think, Mr. Stanisław? Am I an object of your jokes? Did I come here to have you laugh at me? It is not nice to behave so, Mr. S." Saying this, she left the room without bidding goodbye to anybody. All of us asked her not to leave, and her sister, who was then talking with my sister, even caught her by the hand, but she tore herself away and left us.

After this I became the object of the jesting and scorning of Stach and Kazimierz, and my brother-in-law helped them. I answered, but weakly, for I did not want to make any one of them angry with me. I was small [humble] and I had not the courage to pay them as they merited, for I thought that, if not today, then tomorrow or in a month I might need them. So I preferred to be silent, although in my mind I called them great fools. They took their caps, drew them off, and asked one another for *giszynk*. Then again they made a bundle, took it under the arm and a stick into the hand and walked about the room, crooked, in imitation of me. I looked with tears in my eyes while they laughed at my misery. There would have been no end of it if my sister had not scolded them. About eleven I left Lubotyń with a grudge against those who dared to scorn at my misery. Since these Christmas holidays my relations with my brother-in-law grew quite changed. I lost my sympathy with him, and with Stach also. For it was well for my brother Stach that our parents had given him instruction, although they got poor through it. In my opinion he should have thanked God that he was not obliged to wander and to try this pleasure. But at this moment I could do nothing, only I decided that I must earn enough money to start my own business, and then I would repay them. I resolved to leave as soon as possible in order to find some work quickly. With such ideas I came home and lay down to sleep without supper.

Two days later I called on Mr. and Mrs. D. Mrs. D. reproached me for allowing Kazia to be insulted in my presence. But I excused myself at once saying: "Is it my fault if the whole community knows about the letter? I wrote only to Miss Kazia and here I see that everybody knows about it. Why did Miss Kazia show the letter? If nobody had known there would have been no laughing." Then Kazia cried out in wrath: "It is this swine who stole it!" and she pointed with her finger at her sister. And they began to quarrel, until the entrance of Mr. D. interrupted the conversation about the letter. . . .

The next day my brother-in-law, my sister and Stach came to Bogusławice and we played cards. I sat down to play, to tell the truth, not for pleasure but for profit, for I hoped to win a few copecks for my wandering. I borrowed 10 copecks from Lucus, for I had not a grosz of my own. Fortune favored me, for at the

end of the play I had 60 copecks in my pocket. I gave Lucus 10 copecks back and 50 were left for the journey.

Meanwhile I began to prepare for the wandering. But at the mere idea of it my skin shrank, and I feared it like fire, for I did not know myself which way to go, and the winter was severe. I resolved to start on Monday, so on Sunday I went to Lubotyń to bid farewell, first at Mr. D.'s then at my brother-in-law's, but I did not stay long, for I was not disposed to talk. Before I left Stach told me that if I passed near Mokrsko I should call on him. The next day I started, although my parents wanted me to stay at home for a week more, "For you might freeze to death somewhere," said mother. But I left in spite of her words, having 1 rouble in my pocket, 50 copecks which I won at cards and 50 which my mother gave me. My shoes were repaired at my father's expense, my trousers patched and my linen washed.

I did not know myself where to go, and I walked thus for a few wiorsta. If somebody had asked me where I was going I should not have known what to answer. Only on the way I resolved to go through Tomaszów, Piotrków, Radom, Lublin. My wandering would not be so bad, for I met many towns on my way and I usually visited two in a day, but the awful cold and snowstorms oppressed me. I came to Tomaszów after two weeks, without finding any work even for a single night. Beyond Tomaszów governmental forests spread out, in which the tsar had a shooting every year; in these forests is the tsar's castle called Spala. In order to get to Piotrków, I had to pass through these forests. In the forest it was warm enough, for the wind did not reach there. I had only 12 grosz with me, but I did not fear hunger, for in the forest were big heaps of carrots, turnips, parsnips and around them whole herds of deer, boars and wild rabbits. I often approached such a heap and took whatever I wanted, and the good beasts said nothing and even were not much afraid of me. And thus I walked till evening, meeting no house, and I began to be anxious. Suddenly I heard a rattling behind and hope entered into me that perhaps this man would take me to some village where I could find shelter for the night. But I was

greatly mistaken, for when the cart came near me he struck me with his whip over the head so that the end cut the skin on my neck, then he whipped his horses and drove away. Really, if I had had a revolver with me, I would have killed this beast like a dog, for he was not worth more. But I was powerless, and he was far away, so I sat down and wiped the blood away, washing my neck with snow.[1] Meanwhile it began to get dark in the forest and I had no shelter for the night. But I went forward, hoping to meet finally some village or hut. I kept along the telegraph poles in order not to lose my way, but I did not know that these poles went in various directions about the forest, connecting the foresters and game-keepers. [Almost freezes; taken in by a game-keeper. Wanders further through many towns, with no success and after ten weeks finds himself in the neighborhood of Mokrsko, where Stach is teaching. Resolves to go there. There is a fair in Wieluń, and he visits the taverns in the hope of finding some one who will give him a ride to Mokrsko. Some rich peasants to whom he addresses himself recognize his resemblance to Stach, who is teaching their children. This makes everything easy and Władek is feasted enormously, driven to the neighborhood of Mokrsko, and kept over night in the house of one of the party, the under-mayor of the commune.][2] But I could not sleep, worried as I was with thinking how would Stach receive me. And even if he received me well I could not stay always with him. I had been ten weeks on the journey without finding any work, and I had no idea how long I should still be obliged to tramp about the world, and where was the end toward which I was going. A moment came when I wanted to rise, to

[1] The contempt, suspicion and hate of the peasant for the vagabond have their source in (1) the attitude of the settled member of a permanent community whose whole situation is socially known, whose life is socially determined, who feels behind him the sanction of the group and knows himself to be in perfect accordance with the authority of tradition, and (2) the undetermined, insecure, socially non-sanctioned status represented by the vagabond, and in general by any person who has either no permanent social milieu or whose milieu is not known. The wandering musician and the country beggar have functions to perform (the latter, so to speak, peddles blessings) and the peasant as a place for them in his system.

[2] As a brother of the teacher he is treated as a member of the community. It is notable also that Władek is always well treated by the German immigrants, who have a place in their system for the wandering journeyman.

take my stick and to go where my eyes would carry me in order not to see any men, whom I envied everything. For example, today such a peasant as the under-mayor had allowed himself to spend almost ten roubles on drink, and he knew that his own house and warm food awaited him. And who awaited me, who looked out for me? Nobody. "Brr!" I muttered, rose from the bed and began to walk up and down in the room. I heard a dog barking and I envied even him, for he had his kennel and received food from his landlady and his landlord cared for it that nobody should steal him or kill him, for he would lose his watch and shepherd. And to whom was I necessary and what for?[1] I could give no answer to myself, and again I approached the bottle and drank, in order to deafen those painful thoughts. Again I lay down upon the bed with my legs hanging, and wanted to sleep at least for a while, but I did not succeed.

[Driven the next morning to Mokrsko, he does not stop at the school but goes immediately to Stach's lodging.] I undressed myself completely and put on my brother's suit and shoes. There was water, so I washed myself. Hardly had I finished when a woman came in, greeted me by lowering her hand almost to the floor, and began to clean the room. But I did not allow her to take my clothes; I gathered them and hung them myself and threw my shoes behind the stove, for I was ashamed to show her my old clothes. I lighted a cigarette and went on the porch,

[1] The vagabond lacks a steady social background, a group of a determined composition and a permanent set of practical conditions. This social background makes certain demands and imposes certain obligations, but it gives also a feeling of security which the individual cannot obtain outside of a steady social system. Now the problem of choosing the vagabond life or the normal life depends upon how far the individual appreciates the security or fears the obligations, and this depends on his original attitudes and previous training. Evidently Władek, with his strong desire for response and recognition, has the appreciation of security very strongly developed. And thus his periodical passages from vagabondage to settled life is explained. Between the two, steady life-organization or change, he evidently leans toward change, but between liberty from obligations and social security the latter is more important for him. His action depends therefore upon which side of the general problem is in the foreground — the question of change as against regulation, or the question of liberty from obligations as against social security. And it is natural that a long stay in the same conditions, not satisfying his desire for change, causes him to forget the question of security and to wander, while a long wandering arouses the desire for security.

waiting for Stach. Before I finished smoking he came and we greeted each other in a brotherly way. Stach did not recognize at the first moment that I was dressed in his clothes and said: "Well, but you look well and decent enough for such a wanderer." — "Yes, decent enough, but look close and see whose clothes these are." Stach came near and laughed sincerely, saying: "See here, how rapidly he managed to dress himself in my clothes! Well, but you did all right, for yours probably look deplorable." — "What do you expect? You saw them in Bogusławice, and since then I have not worked for a single hour." — "For the sake of God, Władek, what are you doing? What will become of you? Almost three months have passed since Christmas and you have tramped during this whole time! Where have you been? But wait, you will tell me later, for I must now go to the school and tell the children to learn." He went and came back after a quarter of an hour, saying: "But probably you have not breakfasted yet, and I forgot to ask you." And without waiting for my answer he sat down, wrote a note, called a boy from the school, gave him the note and told him to go to the shop. Then he called the woman who lived also in the school-building, to whom he paid eighteen roubles a year, and who cleaned his room, cooked his food and washed his linen. He told her to prepare tea and to put water upon the fire to boil the sausage which the boy would bring. "Why did you send for sausage? I have mine which I received from the under-mayor's wife." — "From what under-mayor's wife? I don't understand. Speak more clearly." Here I began to relate how I had wandered and what had happened to me, and how I met the under-mayor, how he treated me and sent me to Mokrsko. I did not forget to tell him to look well after Franek, as the under-mayor had asked me to do. Stach sometimes laughed at my adventures and sometimes gave advice, such as, "Could you not have thrown a stone at that *Ham* who struck you with the whip?" or, "could you not have been more attentive? Then you would not have lost your way in the forest," and so on. While I related this, the boy had come long ago from the shop. Among the things which he brought was a bottle of alcohol which Stach mixed with berry-juice. The tea stood upon the table, and also warm sausage, so we drank a glass each and Stach told me to eat, while he went to the school. At noon the woman brought a rather good dinner. After dinner there was singing

in the school, and my brother played the violin. At four, when the children began to leave the school, Stach called Franek and told him to thank his father nicely: "Tell him that I will do what he asked me." Stach told the woman to bring tea, and we ate some of the sausage which I brought. During the tea Stach asked me whether I knew how to play preference? "I know," I answered. "And have you money?" he asked me, laughing. "I have one zloty." — "Oh, that is not enough, for we play more expensively." He lighted the lamp, and so we sat and talked until seven. Then Stach gave me 3 roubles, saying: "Take this for card-playing, but try not to lose the money." — "And where shall we go?" — "Not far away, to the commune-secretary. I go there almost every day." Here he began to teach me how to talk and how to behave.[1]

It was not far to the commune-office. Stach introduced me to the secretary, his wife and his daughter, Miss Ewa. We did not play at once, for we waited for the farm-manager. Usually the fourth place was occupied by the secretary's wife, who played very well. At nine she interrupted our playing, and gave a rather fine supper, during which the subject of conversation was my wandering, for Stach said, laughing, that I was continually tramping about the world. Numerous questions began at once, where I was, what I saw. I related only things which I considered suitable and I acquitted myself well, for everybody laughed much and Stach was satisfied with me, for later, when we left, he said: "Where have you learned to talk so, you wild man? I thought that I should be ashamed of you, but I was mistaken."

After supper we began to play again and played until one o'clock. The secretary's wife and daughter kept company with us, for in this game one player in turn is always free, and the ladies could talk with everybody. After the party the manager began to calculate points, but the secretary said: "Gentlemen, I don't know who has lost and who has won, but I propose to consider our play of today a mere amusement and not to pay

[1] We see that Stach is not so egotistic and devoid of familial feeling as Władek has represented, and that Władek's envy is not motivated by the behavior of the members of his family. The real background of the situation is the failure of the familial system under the new conditions, not the dissolution of the familial feelings in the individual. Władek does not appreciate this, and his bitterness is against the individuals, not the system.

money, for it would not be suitable since we have a guest, and he talked more than he played. Do you agree?" — "All right we agree," we all said almost simultaneously. But the manager was curious to know who had won and who had lost, and calculated to the end. The result was that I had won 75 copecks, the secretary 35, my brother 28, and the manager would have had to pay everybody. I did not know so well how to play, to tell the truth, but Stach in giving me the money told me not to lose it, so I never went high, unless the cards were good and the winning sure. I regretted that there was not any paying, for I should have had a few copecks for my journey, but it was done. Before we left, the secretary's wife asked Stach and me to come tomorrow to dinner, and Stach promised certainly. The manager also promised to come. So I amused myself on the first evening in Mokrsko.[1]

When we came home Stach asked me how I liked the secretary and his wife, and particularly their daughter: "For you see people here want to match me with her and I play politics as

[1] The party was typical for the lower-middle class, and also to some extent for the classes from which it is imitated. The general basis upon which people meet and enjoy each other's company depends of course upon the common interests they have. In the primary peasant community there is no need of creating any particular basis of entertainment, for all the main interests of life are common because of the similarity of the occupations and the identity of the social milieu, which is an object of a permanent interest to all of its members. In the meetings of young people the community of interest is present in the form of a background of sexual attitudes, considerations of eventual marriages, etc. Æsthetic interests (dancing, music, dress) are frequently added, and this, with the satisfactions of vanity involved, is sufficient to make the meeting interesting. On a higher level of culture the community of general intellectual interests is usually a sufficient basis of social entertainment. But with the dissolution of the permanent primary group and its whole community of interests there arises a new problem — how to create a basis of entertainment for persons who have not similar occupations, who have not a sufficient circle of common acquaintances to fill their time with gossip, whose intellectual and æsthetic interests are meagre, and who are past the time of love-making. Card playing appears here as an easy solution, and therefore we see it developed to an exceptional degree in the new lower-middle class, and in the higher-middle class of provincial towns. It increases also in the old classes of nobility and peasantry along with the dissolution of the communal life, and before a new sphere of common interests is developed with the progress of social reorganization. It marks here a transitory period while it assumes a character of permanence in the moveable and unroganized lower-middle class.

well as I can, and therefore I am very well off."—"All right," I said, "a rather fine girl. Has she much money?" — "Eh, she has a fig [nothing], not money." — "Well, and do you intend to marry her?" — "I don't even think about it. I have other duties which I must fulfil first. [Similar gathering again on the following evening.] On the way home I told Stach that he seemed to lead a merry life. "Oh, wait, I will show you something better; when we go to the mayor you will see how he will treat us. He has also a pretty daughter. Try to please her, perhaps she will fall in love with you." — "Listen, Stach, do you go thus every evening somewhere, as since I came?" — "Almost every evening, unless I don't want to." — "In that case living costs you nothing?" — "As you see."

[Stach is betrothed already on a romantic basis to a girl in Chocz, and complains that the parents and Aleksy are annoying him and urging him to get a better place. His plan is to do this as soon as possible and to keep his parents five years (until his marriage) but not longer. He has a standing invitation to dine with the mayor, and he takes Władek there. The entertainment is very elaborate. The daughter is pretty and well disposed toward Stach.] Thus days passed and I should have been very glad of my visit to Stach had it not been for the thought of my wandering. If I had been going immediately to work from Mokrsko I should certainly have fallen in love with some girl, but the thought that I must tramp again about the world destroyed my wish for anything.[1] Moreover I wanted to leave as soon as possible, for I could not look with dry eyes on how he wallowed in everything and had whatever he wanted. Everybody respected and appreciated him; everywhere doors were open for him, and he prized lightly everything he had, for he had never experienced any evil or misery. For if I had only one half of what he owned, how grateful I should be to God for h's goodness. And tears flowed from my eyes when I compared his lot with mine. Fortune, how unjust you are! You drive one man

[1] A very plain expression of the dependence of hedonistic attitudes upon the feeling of practical security. For Władek love means nothing but pleasure, and the organization of life in view of pleasure is originally possible only if the essential practical problems are already solved, or if the attitude of complete negligence of them is developed, as in the accomplished pauper or vagabond.

about the world and you have no pity on him though he is whipped with wind and snow and cold stops his breath. People treat him worse than a dog and drive him away from their doors, without asking: "Have you eaten? have you a place to sleep?" And when he asks for anything they are ready to beat him, like that peasant who struck me with the whip. And what for? Perhaps this mayor would have acted likewise if he had met me somewhere on my journey, and today he sets tables for this same tramp.

What a difference between us! Why we have the same parents, the same name! And perhaps he is better considered because he is better instructed than I? In my opinion, not even for that. Or perhaps because he is nobler and handsomer? No, not for that. He merits consideration only because he has a secure existence, because he has bread. Let him wander into an unknown country; would he be better considered than I? No, a thousand times No. So if I want to merit consideration and respect, I ought first to win this [secure] existence. And how shall I win it and where? Shall I find it in tramping about the world? No, I must work, put money together and establish my own bakery. Then I can say boldly that I have [a secure existence] and even a better one than a teacher.[1]

For in what respect is a handworker worse than an employee? [2] In my opinion, only in this, that the first lives among paupers,

[1] This is probably the moment when the idea of having a bakery of his own, which remains Władek's dream and keeps him from complete pauperization, is established as a definite practical aim, while formerly it was rather an indefinite expectation of something to come in an undetermined future. The desire for recognition is the main basis of this aim; even comfort and security are secondary. The attitude was established by the humiliations of his wanderings and the crisis is constituted by the comparison of his own situation with that of Stach, which makes him understand the strong position given the individual by conformity with social regulation.

[2] The current classification of the occupations is: (1) manor-owner, (2) manor official, (3) manor workman, (4) farmer (peasant), (5) citizen (house owner), (6) industrial entrepreneur, (7) merchant, (8) free professional (doctor, lawyer, literateur, scientist, artist, etc.), (9) employee or official, that is, one employed in government or private business and who does not do physical work, (10) handworker, that is, skilled workman, whether in a factory, in his own shop or as a journeyman, (11) unskilled factory-worker, (12) certain classes outside of this enumeration (clergy, army) having a special character. The classes do not correspond with the social hierarchy.

smyruses and in general brutal people, while the second from childhood is among intelligent people, and a well-known proverb says: "With whom you keep company, so you become." [1] And whose fault is it? Whose, if not the parents' who allow their sons to loaf about the street until their fifteenth or sixteenth year and then give them into apprenticeship. If it were at least real apprenticeship! But in fact they give them as *parobeks* to the master, who is not more intelligent than his own apprentice, for he knows often neither how to write nor to read and does not know how to appreciate his apprentice even if he wanted to do it. And he inculcates into them such principles as he has himself, *i. e.*, he teaches them drinking, brutality, fornication and some even teach their apprentices to steal. As the time passes, out of this apprentice grows again a journeyman and then a master. And if among them a man with better ideas is found, he gradually gets accustomed to this mob. And what do the parents say to it? They are glad that they got rid of their child and that is the end of it. Does a father ever ask his son whether the master tells him to go to church or to drink liquor, whether he gives him good advice, good books to read? No, the father never asks about this, for he does not care. But whether the master will buy him, the boy, shoes, shirts, etc.—oh, about this he does ask for he fears he may have to buy them himself.[2]

In such an environment I lived habitually. Well, how could I in these conditions get to a better existence? Let your com-

[1] He does not realize that the selection of the social milieu depends largely on himself, as it has done throughout his career. He rejected an opportunity at Lódż to associate himself with the intellectuals, in connection with Mr. Malicki.

[2] His criticism is in general correct, and this represents again the misadaptation of the old system to the new conditions. Under the old familial system the child was a value, particularly in the country; it represented an increase of the family and thereby contributed to its social importance; economically it was a burden in the beginning, but even in the sixth or seventh year it began to be useful and was an increasing family capital. When the familial system is dissolved the increase of the family ceases to mean anything socially, and the individual, particularly in the city, is only a burden, for there is no possibility of using him at an early age, and when he becomes productive it is usually on his own behalf. Therefore the attitudes of familial solidarity and pride that were sufficient to make the parents care for their children under the old system are no longer sufficient, and a new set of attitudes of personal affection and obligation must develop

panions only know that you have some copecks, and they will take them away, even by force, and perhaps beat you into the bargain. How can you think about putting money aside for your own bakery among such companions? There is an answer, it is true — get rid of them. But is it possible? Why, you work with them, you spend with them your whole time. One time, ten times you will drive them away, but the eleventh time they will tempt you. And now I have visited scores of towns, and what did I get? A dozen lice behind my collar. And I don't know when I shall find any work, and finally perhaps they will allow me to earn enough for new shoes somewhere, and again I shall go further. Oh, really it would be better if I had not been born, or, if I knew neither how to write nor to read; then perhaps it would be easier to bear everything! I leaned my head against the table and began to cry. I resolved to leave next Tuesday, for I could not bear my misery, which appeared to me still more terrible in comparison with Stach. The entrance of Stach interrupted my reflections. Seeing that I was crying he asked the cause of it. Instead of answering, I waved my hand, for I lacked the words to express what I felt at this moment. But he did not feel it, only laughed, drew nearer and said: "Oh, I know why you are crying. Certainly you are very much in love with the mayor's daughter." I could not refrain from laughing, but then I said seriously: "Don't jest, you can guess why I am crying. You know that I have wandered for so long a time and again the same awaits me." But Stach did not let me talk about it. He turned the conversation to another subject, for I knew well that it was not pleasant for him either that I was tramping thus. He said: "Do you know, Władek, against sorrow drink is the best." He poured brandy into glasses and we drank. Soon the woman brought tea. Stach did not allow me to talk about my misery; he played the violin and the flute, and said: "After storm and lightning the sun must shine." [Stach invites Władek to stay "until it is warmer," but when he continues bent on going arranges to send him as far as Wieluń with the shop-keeper who is going there to a fair.] On Wednesday we rose earlier. I put on my old suit and shoes and drew from my pocket those three roubles which Stach gave me for cards, but he refused to accept them, saying that I could pay them back when I earned some more money. I thanked him. I took also the rest of the sausage

and a part of the hare. Stach bade me goodbye in a brotherly way and asked me to write to him. I promised this solemnly, and we drove away. When we came to the town the shop-keeper invited me to the tavern to take, as he said, one glass to warm ourselves. We drank not one, but three glasses each, and separated. I went to the bakeries, and after this bought new pants for seventy-five copecks, went to a privy, changed, and left my old pants. I went to Złoczew, Sieradz, Dobra, but there was nowhere work. [More wandering.] Finally I came to Kutno and there I stayed, for I found work as *Weisskneter* at 2 rb. 50 a week. My master's name was Krasowski. He was still young, thirty-two, and his wife was ten years younger. I must mention that she was the most beautiful woman in Kutno. Mr. K. kept two journeymen and a *parobek* and besides these a cook and a nurse for his two children. In a word, things looked rich in Mr. K.'s house. Mrs. K. was the daughter of a pensioned post-official and had two sisters in the same town who were still girls, and lived with their parents. But they spent more time in my master's house than in their own. My master's father-in-law, Mr. D. was a very old man. He wore whiskers half a foot long and white as milk. His whole work was going to church in the morning and reading papers in the afternoon. His wife was also very old, but weakly. Mr. K. had his bakery on the market-place, under the name "Warsaw Bakery," for he was a Warsavian himself. They had one good horse, a cart and a small coach. The house in which they lived had three floors, but the rest of the apartments were occupied by Jews, each of whom kept a Polish cook. The bakery was on the first floor in a back-wing of the house. Counting my master's servants, there were seven maid-servants in the house. They could often be met all together in the courtyard, in a very animated conversation. In such an environment, among so many girls, I began to work.

The bakery was rather nice and clean. As *Werkmeister* there was also a decent man, serious enough, about thirty-six years old, sympathetic and intelligent. We soon became friends. The *parobek* was a young man, Stefan. When I got there it was near

Easter. I went nowhere, for I had no clothes, so I preferred to sit in the bakery. The lodging for the bakers was upstairs, above the bakery. The *Werkmeister* whom I shall call Mr. M. d'd not go out often either, though we sometimes went to the church. Mr. M. advised me not to keep company with the cooks, for the master disliked it awfully and had no consideration for such a journeyman. "Your predecessor was dismissed precisely for this." Mr. M. did not need to warn me very much, for I did not like it myself. The meals were very copious and good. I did not need to take money for cigarettes from my master, for every evening the cook brought us, with the supper, twelve grosz for sausage and I spent this money on cigarettes and washing, and whatever I earned remained with the master. I did not need to buy brandy either, for we got a glass each at lunch every day. So we never went to a tavern. Sometimes Mr. M. sent the *parobek* for two bottles of beer, sometimes I did it, and in this way I needed no money and left it with the master, that I might buy myself whatever I needed. In a word, I tried to be a decent man and soon I had the good favor of Mr. and Mrs. K. From them Mr. and Mrs. D. and the girls learned it, so whenever they met me standing before the bakery they always said something to me or laughed. But I did not try to get into a nearer acquaintance with them. Mrs. K. was also very kind to me whenever I went into the kitchen, and I had to go there every day. First I went only to the kitchen, but then I grew bolder and went straight into the room. There I often met Mrs. K.'s sisters. The older one's name was Józia, the younger one's Wikcia. They were not very pretty, but very well educated. Each of them had finished a school in Warsaw, and it was very pleasant to talk with then, particularly with the younger one. So whenever I met them we always talked for awhile in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. K. Mr. K. boasted before other bakers that he had such decent workmen, and we tried to merit this praise. We knew whatever Mr. K. said about us, for the cook and nurse informed us about everything.

Thus without any incidents, we had worked for ten weeks. Easter passed and Pentecost was near. [Mr. M. overheats the oven, resents the reproof of Mr. K. and leaves. Mr. K. gets another journeyman who is "a true baker." He drinks and has escapades with the servant girls and spoils the work. Meanwhile the behavior of Władek remains exemplary. He leaves his

salary with Mr. K. for three months and hardly leaves the bakery. Mr. K. urges him to go out and shows him a garden in which he can walk. Finally he buys clothes and shoes.] I walked now often, usually alone, sometimes with Mr. D., who liked me much, although I had not yet been in his house. But today I was no longer the old tramp; everything was fresh and clean upon me. But rumors reached me that the bakers intended to beat me, because I kept no company with them and because I fawned too much upon Mr. K.[1] But I did not care for it, for I never went to the tavern. I had always my existence in mind, that is, I always thought about establishing my own bakery and this was the only end of my life, for the wandering stood always before my eyes. Therefore I put money aside and I had enough to dress myself. The other journeymen envied me, for they saw me very often going either with my master, or with Mr. D. or with his daughters, while they never had anybody except Jewish maid-servants for company. On Sunday I more than once spent the whole afternoon in my master's apartment, and sometimes when Mrs. K.'s sisters took a drive in the coach, I accompanied them. The other bakers saw all this, and what they did not see, the *Werkmeister* told them.

Now I received very often letters from my family and acquaintances, particularly from Kazia, who in every letter gave me to understand that I could marry her. But I was not thinking about it. No changes had happened in my family. Paweł was already a salesman and earned 35 roubles a month. Stach expected to be transferred very soon, sister Marya returned to our parents, for her lady was going far away, to Wołyń, and she did not want to go with them. Father complained about want in his letters. I wrote also to Mr. and Mrs. R. in Sosnowiec asking them how Miss Dora was getting on, and soon I received an answer. In a word, I corresponded on all sides and was satisfied with my existence.[2]

. . . Thus came Pentecost. Mrs. K. sent us good brandy in a bottle and various meats and cakes. After breakfast I dressed myself and went to church for the main service. I returned home with the intention of eating dinner and then sleeping, but the

[1] In connection with this fawning tendency, *cf.* p. 1916, note.

[2] The beginning of a settled life brings again a revival of all the social relations.

cook came and asked me to go to the room to dinner. I was astonished and asked the cook what it meant that such an honor was bestowed upon me today. The cook answered that she did not know, only mentioned that Mrs. K.'s parents with their daughters would be at dinner also. . . . I greeted both families only with a bow, for I must add that I had never yet shaken hands with the girls. Mr. K. indicated to me a chair and I sat down. Mrs. K. began to inquire why I was always so sad and not like the other bakers. I told her who I was, who were my brothers and that they disdained me because I was a baker. "Then they are silly," answered Mrs. K. But I did not allow her to say anything against my brothers and explained why they disdained me and laughed at me. Here I related in short that I had to wander and tramp, ragged, often hungry, and therefore when I came to them in such a condition they laughed at me, for they would have liked to see me always decent and nicely dressed. And I was thoughtful because I was thinking how to get money as soon as possible for my own bakery. All the listeners agreed that I was right. And Mr. K. said: "Why do you grieve? Are you the only man who wanders? Why I was also a journeyman, then served in the army, and now I have my own bakery." — "And where did you earn the money for the bakery?" — "I will tell you some other time. And now let us take a drink and that is the end." When dinner was over I wanted to leave, in order not to disturb the family, but Mrs. K. did not allow me to go, saying: "What is your hurry? Are you badly off with us?" — "No, but —" — "No, 'but,' please sit down, that's all." And I stayed and became bolder and merrier at every moment. Mr. K. asked me to sing the song which I usually sang in the bakery, and indicated the melody. When I finished everybody was pleased and they asked me to sing something more. I did not let myself be begged, and sang a few more songs, while the girls accompanied me a little. In this way we spent the time till four, when Mr. K. told Stefan to put the horse to the cart, saying that we would go to his *kums* in the country, three wiorsta away. [Description of the trip, without interest.] We younger people returned afoot. Mr. K. told me to accompany the girls to their house, and for the first time I was in the girls' home, and stayed there more than an hour.[1]

The meaning of this whole party for Władek is not so much the practical

[*Werkmeister* discharged for burning rolls and leaving his work to run after girls] and for a few days Mr. K. and I worked together. It was very pleasant to work with the master, for he had much to relate about Warsaw and about the army. He told me the following story of how he got his bakery:

"When I went to the army I had nothing except a few roubles, and when I returned to Warsaw I could not find any work. Then I remembered my uncle, who had at that time a bakery in Kutno. I wrote him a letter asking him to accept me as a *Weisskneter*, and in a short time I received an answer saying that there would always be work for me. I worked for three years with my uncle and put aside more than 100 roubles. At the same time I got acquainted with my wife, but I did not dare to marry her, for I had not money enough to establish my own bakery. I heard that my betrothed was to receive some hundreds of roubles as dowry, but I was not sure and did not dare to ask.

"Once my uncle began to persuade me to marry and to take the bakery from him, for he intended to leave Kutno and to establish a bakery elsewhere. 'How so?' I asked, 'for what shall I take your bakery? Why, I have no money.' — ' I won't take much from you. You will give me 300 roubles for the whole business.' —

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significance of being on good terms with the master as the social significance of being for the first time since he left Sosnowiec and Dora's house in a social circle superior to his own. The very fact that he remembers all the details shows the importance it had for him. And in all his conversations with the editors the happenings of this kind stood forth as the prominent facts of his life. His self-respect is almost exclusively based upon them. And this is the typical feature of all members of a society with a strong feeling of social hierarchy, combined with a climbing tendency. The value of the individual in his own eyes is determined by the attitudes toward him of the highest social class with which he comes into social contact, and only when these attitudes are distinctly deprecatory he resigns himself to accepting the appreciation of his own class as the basis of self-esteem, and when this is refused looks for recognition still lower. Of course the position of the class and the position of the individual within his class combine in determining self-appreciation, but so long as the climbing tendency is not developed the latter is fundamental, while with the growth of this tendency the most insignificant marks of favor from a few members of a superior class outweigh any respect and consideration he may have within his own class. The result is a curious social instability of the individual, who has no deep roots anywhere, and this is frequently as harmful to a normal organization of life as the unregulated tendency to change as expressed in vagabondage.

'All right,' I answered, 'but where shall I get so much money?' — 'I will give you credit, and when you marry you will give me the money back. Don't worry about money, everything can be done, only tell me whether you want to marry and to take the bakery?' — 'I do,' I answered without hesitation. I did not know that my uncle had already talked with my present father-in-law. Soon after this conversation I proposed and a few weeks later was my wedding. I received 800 roubles of dowry, paid 300 to my uncle, and 500 were left. In the beginning I worked myself and had one journeyman to help me, and now, as you see, I am almost rich and don't need to work myself. So don't worry, the same luck may happen to you." — "Yes, I believe you, but only if I had such an uncle as you." — "Eh, what do you say! Sometimes strangers can help still better than your own people."

[Mr. K. goes to Warsaw and leaves Władek in charge, promising to bring him a nice gift if everything is in order on his return.] Eight days passed, and when Mr. K. came back from his journey he praised me but did not give me any gift, as he had promised. But when the cook brought us the supper she said: "Mr. *Weiss-kneter*, what a nice gift the master brought you!" — "What then?" I asked, curious. "What will you give me if I tell you?" — "What can I give you unless a nice kiss?" and I pretended as if I wanted really to do it. She ran about the bakery, calling: "I will tell, I will tell!" — "Then tell me." And she said: "Well, Mr. K. brought his sister Miss Helena, very pretty and young, perhaps seventeen, only very black." — "How is that? You say she is black. I don't understand. Tell me properly." — "Well, I will tell you. She is very pretty only her hair is deep black and above the eyes also." [1] — "And this is to be a gift for me?" — "I heard Mr. and Mrs. K. laughing and saying in the presence of the miss that when you come Mr. K. will show you the gift." I tried hard to guess what this could mean — whether he was only playing a joke or really looking for a girl for me. So I resolved to be very careful and also to try to learn from the cook what Mr. and Mrs. K. said about me. Today I did not go for the paper, but sent Stefan and told him to observe Miss Helena.[2] When he came back he said that she was very pretty and so plump. I did not go to the shop this evening, but next day I had to go and to ask

[1] The peasant ideal of beauty is fair.

[2] He shows here the suspicion and caution of the peasant.

for orders before beginning work. I talked with Mr. K. and at the same time looked through the door of the bed-room in which shone a pair of black eyes. A few times during the conversation with Mr. K. those eyes met mine and I noticed that they were very frolicsome. On passing through the dining-room I noticed that a bed had been placed there and I guessed that it was the bed of Miss Helena. On that day again I did not go for the paper, but Stefan brought it. The following day again I saw only her eyes, and again sent Stefan for the paper. But he returned with nothing, saying that Miss H. was alone in the dining-room and reading the paper. "When she saw me, she asked what I wanted. I said that I came for the paper. 'Do you read the paper, since you come for it?' she asked. 'I don't want it for myself but for Mr. *Weisskneter*,' I said. 'Then tell Mr. Weisskneter that if he wants to read let him come himself,' she said, and told me to go away."

I had still two hours of time till the dough grew, so I mustered all my courage and went. The door to the dining-room was closed, so I knocked and when I heard, "Come in," I entered and closed the door behind me. I said: "I beg your pardon, but may I beg you for the paper? I sent Stefan, but you did not deign to give it to him." — "I did not give it to him because I had not finished reading, but I am finishing it and I will give it to you presently. Please wait awhile." While she read, I could observe her well and I noticed that she was a dark brunette with black eyes and a somewhat dark complexion. She wore a red dress and a black apron and had nothing of particular in comparison with other school girls whom I saw in Łódź, only her movements betrayed that she was very nimble and her eyes that she liked to flirt and to laugh at boys. She was a true type of Warsaw girl. While I observed her thus she finished reading, folded the paper and stretched it toward me. I approached to take it but she withdrew it rapidly and put it upon the table, pressing it with her hand and saying: "Are you in such a hurry that you want to leave already?" — "Oh, no, I am not in a hurry at all, for I have more than an hour before I begin my work." — "In that case sit down for awhile, we shall talk." — "All right, but what about? I don't know anything with which I could interest you. You may know something, for in such a big city as Warsaw there is always something new, so tell me something, for I know little of Warsaw."

But neither she nor I could find any subject of conversation, so we talked about trifles. Miss Helena made no great impression upon me; I had already seen prettier girls. As I noticed later, she liked to talk about balls, romances [romantic novels] and the like, while I wanted a friend to whom I could pour out all my thoughts. Nevertheless I went every day to Miss Helena for the paper.

While this was going on in Kutno, I received a letter from my parents informing me that they were going to Stach, who had received a place in Straszkowice, five wiorsta from Koło. Stach wrote me that he would pass through Kutno in order to visit me, and I was very glad of this promise. And again days passed monotonously. I spent the evenings with Miss Helena, and we became friends and rather intimate. It happened that she was half undressed and sat thus in her bed, and I sat near her and flirted. Sometimes at night I helped Stefan to carry out the rolls, in order to look at Miss Helena as she slept, and often I found her uncovered and her nightgown drawn higher. So I stood and looked at her body, and then various ideas came to my mind, either to kiss her, or to lie down near her. But I had not courage enough for I was not sure how she would accept it. When the evening came I told her how I had seen her at night, and she laughed heartily. In the day time she often went to the garden and always passed through the courtyard, and I waited for her and talked for awhile. On returning, she brought me some flower every day. Once she held some yellow flower in her hand and gave it to me to smell. When I did it, she painted my whole face with this flower, laughing at me. And then — I don't know how I could dare to do it — I embraced her, pressed her against me and kissed her. When I let her go she was awfully powdered with flour from my clothes. She looked at herself, laughed and ran to the apartment. I was very frightened, for I thought that she would tell it to Mr. K. and he would scold me. But my fear was groundless; she mentioned it to nobody, only ordered the cook to brush her dress, and said that I had powdered her with flour. And when I had dared to do it once it was easier, and I got a kiss almost every evening.

Once I resolved to bring her flowers also, and with this intention started outside of the town to a certain garden to buy a few roses. But I met a few bakers, among them our former

Werkmeister, who held me up and began to inquire what was the news in the bakery of Mr. K. Finally they began to demand that I should treat them. I refused for a long time, but finally I yielded and went with them into a tavern. I ordered a bottle of vodka and *zakąski* and sat down with them at the table. When the bottle was dry our former *Werkmeister* began to make reproaches, saying that he had left through me, that I was holding too much to the master's side, and so on. And before I could have expected it, he struck me rather strongly on the face and swung his arm to strike me a second time. But he did not succeed, for I struck him with my stick on the head and ran out into the street. Of course I went rapidly to the bakery and told Mr. K. everything. He said: "It is all right for you. I told you more than once never to go with them into the tavern." [Two days later buys a bouquet of roses, but Helena refuses to accept it. He implores and threatens to tear it to pieces. She relents.] I breathed freely for I began to feel hot from shame at the thought that perhaps she really would not accept the nosegay and I should be obliged either to throw it upon the floor or, with my head hung down and the nosegay in my hand, and with a very long nose, to leave the shop. And Mr. and Mrs. K. stood behind the door and observed us till the last moment, and this took my courage away still more. I thanked her for accepting it and went from the shop into the street with a strongly beating heart.[1] In the evening when the cook brought the supper she said that Miss Helena kissed and embraced this nosegay and had changed the water more than once. Mr. K. scolded her for letting me beg so long, but she said that she pitied me, for I must have spent much money on this nosegay, and that if I had gathered the flowers myself she would have accepted them at once.

[Visited for a few hours by Stach and Lucus. War with Japan imminent and Mr. K. who belongs to the reserves] was going for the second time to Warsaw and Miss Helena intended to go with him. I had not gone any further in my romance. I went every

[1] His excitement is heightened (1) by the fact that she is spoiling the effect which he had long and carefully prepared, and the presence of Mr. and Mrs. K. made the failure worse, and (2) not to accept a gift is considered among peasants, and in general wherever the same attitudes of social solidarity are found, a serious offense, since (as we have seen in Vol. I) the gift is intended to establish symbolically a familial relation.

evening to her, I kissed her often enough, but I made no plans for the future. Whenever Miss Helena wanted to talk about it, I always turned the conversation to some other subject. When she told me that she was going away I accepted this news with my usual indifference, for as the reader knows already, I did not know how to love. One must have been blind not to notice that this bringing of Mr. K.'s sister to Kutno was not without intention, for not only Mr. K. did not try to hinder our private conversations, but on the contrary, he tried to let us meet as often as possible. I don't know what to judge, whether Mr. K. wanted me to marry his sister or he and everybody else only made a fool of me. But this latter supposition is improbable, for in that case would Miss H. have allowed herself to sit with me half undressed, as happened more than once? I had to use my will in order not to violate her. Sometimes I left the room in order not to be tempted, for if I had foolished with her I should have been obliged to marry her, and she was not a suitable wife for me. If she had been a little wiser and more serious, I should have perhaps acted otherwise.

Just while I was occupied with the thoughts of how to act toward Miss H., I received a letter from Mr. and Mrs. R., who informed me that Miss Dora had married a glovemaker from Turek. They sent her address and wrote that they did not force her to this marriage. In the beginning Dora showed an aversion to it but later she agreed and they were living in good concord and loved each other well enough. When I read this letter I felt a deep regret for my Dora, who was now lost to me once and forever. Shall I ever meet another such Dora in my life? I had spent with her the most pleasant moments of my life. Without waiting I sat down and wrote a hearty and long farewell letter in which I scolded her a little for not having invited me to her wedding, and sent it on the same day.

Meanwhile Mr. K. went to Warsaw and took his sister, to whom I bade goodbye as usually every evening. And again I was the master in his absence, and I behaved well, so that he had nothing to reproach me for when he returned. But after his return our relations became strained. He did not show me the same regard as before and talked to me more brutally. I broke my head thinking what could be the reason of this coldness of Mr. K. and I could not understand it. Only later, when the *Werkmeister* left again because he had kept the cook too long in

the bakery, and we were working together, I reminded him of that gift which he had promised to bring me from Warsaw. Then Mr. K. laughed ironically, saying: "How is that? Did I not bring you my sister? It is not my fault if you are a gaper." — "Well, how could I guess that it was destined for me, this gift in the person of Miss Helena?" — "It is a pity," said Mr. K., "perhaps I should have brought her to the bakery or to your room?" I answered nothing, for I did not want to talk any more about it, because I saw that the master was very angry. And now I could guess easily what was the reason of his changed behavior.[1] Slowly I lost also my old sympathy with him; I never went any more for the paper, for the orders I went to the kitchen only, and there Mr. K. met me.

[A new *Werkmeister* is engaged. He is a dangler after women and in his society Władek "foolishes" with cooks. The reservists are now being gathered in Kutno.] Every day more and more people flowed in, and we could not make enough bread. Our hands fainted from rolling of dough and our legs from standing. For we stood without any rest twenty-two or twenty-three hours every day. These two or three hours we were obliged to rest, for the dough had to grow. Nevertheless, Mr. K. did not improve at all, but became more and more brutal toward me and manifested his superiority, while it was not so formerly. So I resolved to change my place. I would have done it before if I had not feared the wandering. Winter was approaching so I stayed and bore patiently everything, believing that it would change. But there was no change, on the contrary, every day it got worse. So I resolved really to leave—I only waited for a good opportunity. And so days passed.[2]

[1] There could hardly have been a greater offense to Mr. M. than Władek's implicit refusal to accept his sister as wife. Moreover Władek had professed to be anxious to advance in life; this is normally effected by marriage and dower, and Mr. K. had offered him a career. It seems incredible that Władek did not grasp the whole situation at once, but we know how serious a mental effort is necessary at this stage of development to reflect, and to understand any new and relatively complicated situation. Władek does not speak of having thought it over, and as he usually remembers and quotes at length his reflections, he evidently did not have one of his periods of thinking. During the period of Helena's stay nothing sufficiently definite and important had happened to arouse his reflective tendency.

[2] He had been treated as a member of the family, while now he is treated

[Letters from home and from Kazia, of no interest, and from Dora] who wrote that she was succeeding very well but that she was not very happy. She wrote that she regretted [longed for] the past days in her parent's garden in Sosnowiec. She asked me not to omit her if I ever came to Turek, for she would be very angry with me if she learned that I did it. In reading this letter, I reddened to the top of my ears in remembering those days about which Dora wrote and I was very glad in my soul that she remembered me and did not forget our friendship. I resolved to visit her on the first opportunity, and meanwhile I answered her, thanked her for her remembrance of me and promised that on the first occasion I would visit her and would pay those ten roubles back. I answered Kazia also and my family, warning them not to write me, for the letters might not find me. And I wrote the truth, for three weeks later I was no longer in Kutno.

[Both workmen oversleep and Mr. K. finds the bread unbaked.] Then Mr. K. began to abuse me for not watching over the work. He said that he did not need people to sleep, but to work. "I am paying," he said, "so I need everything to be done on time." Moreover he swore rather strongly. I did not answer in the beginning at all, for I felt that I was guilty. Moreover I was not bold and not foul-mouthed. As to swearing, I was almost unable to express it. Nobody of my acquaintance or family had ever heard from me the word "*psiakrew*" [dog's blood]. My only oath was "*psiakość słoniowa*" [dog's bone of an elephant (parody of the first)]. In the worst wrath I sometimes expressed myself, "*A co do pioruna*" [what is this? Let the thunder strike it], and this was the end of it.[1]

So now I let Mr. K. talk, for I thought: "He will scold and then he will stop." But I was mistaken, for Mr. K. did not cease to abuse me and to swear. Finally I was weary of listening, and I said: "It is easy for you to scold, when you have slept as much as you wanted You know that we have not slept almost at all for a few weeks, so it is not strange that we have slept a little, for we could not stand the sleepiness." — "It is the devil's business,

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as a mere workman, and this is probably what he means when he says that Mr. K. "manifested his superiority." The change has meant much for him, in view of his strong desire for social response.

[1] His strong desire for social response leads him to avoid anything which might provoke an unfavorable reaction.

not mine, if you want to sleep. I need to have the bread in time and pay for it, not for sleeping." — "How is that, the devil's business? It is your duty to give the workman what he needs and only then to require from him exact work. Moreover, I have enough of this *katorga* [Siberian penitentiary]. Instead of being grateful that your workmen are working to exhaustion, you swear. So from tomorrow look for another workman, and I will wander further." And I said not a word more, but approached the table and began to work, telling Mr. Józef to hurry. Mr. K. scolded a little more and went into the shop.

The next day my week ended, so I began to prepare for the journey. Up to the present nobody believed that I would really leave, but when they saw that I was getting ready they began to dissuade me. I would not listen to anybody, although really I regretted to leave, but I did not want to beg Mr. K.'s pardon, for I was more than sure that in a few days the same thing would repeat itself, while Mr. K. was too proud to beg me to remain with him.[1] When I was ready to leave I went to the shop for my money and found there Mr. and Mrs. K. When Mrs. K. saw me, she asked why I was leaving, whether I was badly off there, whether I wanted to wander again as I did before. She told me to stay, the passage of reservists would end soon and then it would be easier. But I was deaf to her entreaties, only answered that such work was too hard for me, and moreover Mr. K. treated me brutally, although during the whole time I had tried as much as I could. So I could not remain, for I did not like if anybody did not know how or did not want to respect my work. Saying this, I asked Mr. K. for money, for he was present during our conversation, without taking any part in it. So he began to calculate how much money I had taken and how many weeks I had worked. I had it written down also, and soon the calculation was ready and Mr. K. paid me 17 rb. 50. He gave me my papers and said that if I didn't find work I could return to him at any time.

[1] His unwillingness to stay after he has thought of leaving is characteristic (*cf.* p. 2007, note, and 2027). In view of the awakened desire for new experience actual conditions appear as undesirable, even independently of their objective value.

[Leaves well provided with clothing. Has a watch worth eighteen roubles. Plans to spend a few days with Stach and makes the start in a vehicle. But in Krośniewice he goes for *giszynk*, and in the second bakery is offered temporary work and accepts it.] I very soon got acquainted with the cook, for whenever she brought me something to eat or came to clean up she sat down and began to talk with me. We became bolder and more familiar every day, and as I had got acquainted already with cooks in Kutno, I behaved more boldly and began to persuade her to foolish. I promised her always that I would come to her to the kitchen at night, for I had free entrance, because I carried the glowing coals from the oven and put them into the kitchen stove. I always put my hand under the cover in passing and pinched her, for which she was not very angry. When I became more and more insistent, she told me to come at night, and I went, without caring that Mr. and Mrs. H. slept across the hall. I had a small room upstairs in which I slept after the work. I was always roused for dinner and afternoon luncheon. Sometimes Miss Wanda or her sister did it, but they only knocked at the door and when I answered told me to come to dinner. But when the cook was rousing me she entered my room boldly and pinched or tickled me. It was the same today. I pretended to sleep fast, but very slowly drew to the edge, rapidly seized her and threw her over myself upon the bed on the side of the wall. She defended herself hardly at all, only told me to hurry lest somebody should find us. Later I went every night to the kitchen and foolished, and nobody ever disturbed us. But finally I ceased to go to the kitchen, for I began to loathe her, but even then from time to time we foolished, but in my room, for when she came to rouse me I could not get rid of her. She pinched and tickled me until I gathered again the wish to foolish. But I ceased positively to go to the kitchen, and I even thought about putting a lock on the door of my room, but had no time to do it.[1]

[1] This case probably gives the key to Władek's behavior in sexual relations. Disgust here follows spontaneously a period of probable sexual excess. The same process seems to have occurred in all other cases, except that in the relation with Dora the reaction did not go so far and was limited to a feeling of satiety. Thus there seems to be a certain periodicity in his sexual impulses, alternations of periods of interest and periods of indifference. These periods are, however, not absolutely fixed as to duration and rate of succession, and thus pyschological factors, such as the desire for change, the romantic attitude, practical troubles, can always shorten or lengthen a period.

In this way I lived until Christmas. About this time I got acquainted with a girl, Miss Zofia. She was rich enough, very pretty, instructed and still young. I went to her house often enough. She lived alone with her mother, for she had no longer a father and her only brother, also a baker, worked at that time in Częstochowa. But Miss Zofia was very proud and inaccessible. I could never get a kiss from her, although I tried hard. If I made a *randka* she never came. One might say that she did not care for me at all, but on the other hand she tried always to meet me and invited me to her. In her mother's house we spent the time cheerfully, but seriously We mostly read books, and rather moral ones, and discussed them later. Up to this time I had always succeeded in profiting from every girl I knew, so I resolved to get å kiss from her, but in such a way that she would not get angry.[1] I told her that I must kiss her, and she answered: "If you succeed it will be your luck." I might have stolen a kiss, but I did not consider such a kiss, a kiss, for it is not difficult to kiss somebody who does not expect it. I wanted it differently, I wanted her to allow herself to be kissed willingly. And thus days passed and I could *in*vent nothing. [In the last days of carnival he disguises himself as a girl and enters the house of Zofia.] I inquired whether the mother of Mr. K. who was a baker in Częstochowa lived there. "Yes," answered Miss Zofia's mother, "I am his mother, and this is his sister." — "I am very glad to make your acquaintance," I said, and I began to greet them in the feminine way. I kissed Miss Zofia straight on the lips, her mother on the hand, and as soon as I did it, I began to laugh at Miss Z. for kissing me. Miss Z. was a little ashamed, but called me a cheater and a thief. In this way I reached my aim with Miss Zofia and got a kiss from her.

[1] He develops the Don Juan attitude, "profiting" from every girl he meets. Vanity plays as important a rôle as the sexual impulse, since, in the present case, "getting a kiss" becomes a point of honor. Success of this kind becomes an easy substitute for a career, and it is probable that if Władek had lived in a city, affording much opportunity of change and if he had had a secure position, his life would have limited itself to this sphere. It is characteristic that the Don Juan attitude is developed either among the leisure class, whose position is already secure, among employees, whose position is secure, but affords little opportunity to rise, or among artists, whose ambition is never satisfied.

Two weeks later I wandered to Koło with a smaller sum of money than from Kutno. For in Krośniewice I kept company with the sons of Mr. B. and spent money, playing with them the rôle of a gentleman. I not only spent everything I earned but I touched even those 17 roubles which I brought from Kutno, and had less than 14 roubles after having worked for more than ten weeks. I quarreled with the cook on the day of leaving, for she had done much slandering. I almost struck her with my stick, only Mr. B. hindered me. Such thanks she had from me. I did not regret that I left Krośniewice, for I should have become dissolute.

During my stay at Krośniewice I wrote no letters anywhere and received no letters from anybody. Now I resolved to stay until Easter in Straszkowo and to rest, and after the holidays to wander further into the world. With this plan I was in Straszkowo two days later. I was received at first very kindly, but when Stach learned that I intended to spend five weeks he began to grumble, saying that he had enough persons to feed and could hardly earn enough for them, and here I came also to eat his food. For really there was misery in his house, and mother was in a very bad condition. Although father sent home his salary and sister Marya earned a little also, all this was not enough. For of course Stach did not give his whole salary to mother, but kept more than half for himself, and his salary was 21 roubles a month. More than once they had to eat dry bread with coffee, for there was no money to buy butter. When I got acquainted with the situation I decided to leave as soon as possible and went on the next day to Lubotyń, to my brother-in-law. There I intended to spend a few days, return to Straszkowo, take my clothes and start wherever my eyes would carry me. Today it was twice as bad for me as formerly. Formerly I had at least a home where I could rest after the labors of the journey, and today even this was lost to me; I had no home any longer and I had no right to say that I was going to my brother. I felt very pained that my parents, through their own carelessness, must be now a charge and divided. This was not good for the children, for they had no place to tend and no shelter of their own. Although my brother was not bad he was only a brother, not parents.[1] But I had no way out of it.

[1] The last function of the family is to give a "home," a refuge to the mem-

Reflecting, thus I went to Lubotyń. The road was good, for spring came early. Often I met farmers plowing their beds in the fields and heard their merry calls. Those calls were accompanied by voices of larks somewhere on high. It was pleasant to journey at such a time, but not for me, who went thinking profoundly, with tears in my eyes. I did not care for the beauties of nature.[1] I was not a child any longer. "Next year I shall be called to draw the lot for military service and certainly I shall go, for who will intercede in my favor? Perhaps it will be even better for me if they take me," I thought, "for when I come back I shall perhaps get some governmental place and I shan't need then to tramp so much. Perhaps I shall even take my parents to me? Well, it will be what God gives." [2] I raised my head and went somewhat more rapidly, for evening was near.

In Lubotyń I went almost every day to Mr. and Mrs. D. for tea. Kazia was very friendly toward me, but she did not try to persuade me to marry this time. Mrs. D. never called me otherwise than "my son-in-law," and seriously promised me to give me her Kazia as wife after the drawing of the lots, if I was not taken to the army. Now no boy called on the D.'s and they spent their time sadly. On the fifth day I left Lubotyń and I did not know that I was leaving Kazia for years; neither she nor I supposed it.

Without incidents I came to Straszkowo and prepared to leave. But I did not know myself where to go. I left with Stach everything I had. I gave him those shoes of shining leather, and the next day I was ready to start. I had no money either. I gave mother a few roubles, I gave a little to my younger brothers

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ber who, even after the dissolution or rejection of the stable milieu, needs a point of permanence to which he may return after his wandering. It is interesting that the traditional heaven, with God the father, expresses a primary group need. The sinner is merely a heavenly tramp of whom the hope is cherished that "if goodness lead him not, yet weariness may toss him" back to the heavenly home. We no longer have homesickness and a poetry of the home because wandering has assumed the character of normality.

[1] His complete absorption by practical problems hinders his enjoyment of nature as it hindered him in romance and sexual pleasure.

[2] He is at this point content to resign an actively regulated career and accept a passively regulated stability.

and sisters, and finally no more than 1 rouble was left in my pocket. Meanwhile father came on a visit. He brought a small bottle which we emptied, mother, father and I, for Stach was gone to Koło to his betrothed. During this evening father said clearly to me: "Do you know, Władek, although you are the poorest, I love you the most." These words of my father astonished me much, for it was the first time that I heard from him anything like this. He told me to write more often than I had up to the present. I started in the direction of Konin. I had never yet been in this direction, so I resolved to try my luck there. . . . Having found no work in Konin, I started the next day toward Słupca. But I had hardly gone a few wiorsta when I overtook a man with a crooked leg. I went along with him and tried to start a conversation. "Where are you going?" — "To Prussia," answered the peasant. "Tell me how is it in this Prussia, better than in our Poland?" — "It is not better, but one can earn more. There I earn easily 50 roubles during a summer, and sometimes more." — "And have you been going to Prussia for a long time?" — "For some years. What I earn during the summer I spend during the winter." — "Are you not married?" — "No, I live with my brother. When I come from Prussia, I give him the money and he gives me to eat during the winter. For even if I wanted to marry, where is the girl who would take such a crooked man?" — "And you give all your money to your brother?" — "Oh no, I always keep a little for myself, I have already 200 roubles lent to a farmer at interest." — "And it won't be lost?" — "No, I have a note." — "And tell me, could I get through the frontier?" — "Why not, if you have a passport?" — "I know it, but I have precisely no passport." — "Hum! Then you must go during the night. If you succeed it's all right." — "And if I don't succeed?" — "Then they will lead you to your communal office by *étapes* [from prison to prison], you will sit a little in prison, and that is all." — "And could you not sell me your passport? You can get another." — "Why not? I can sell it." [Gets the passport for 3 roubles, selling his watch to a Jew for 9 rb. 50, and takes the name of the crippled peasant, Jan Jacek. At the frontier there are hundreds of others.] About an hour after I gave my passport up another window opened and a second official began to call the names. When my turn came he called: "Jan Jacek." — "He is here," answered. — "How old? From what com-

mune?" When I answered correctly he gave me the passport, which I received with joy. Perhaps a hundred steps away from the control-building was the frontier. When I approached an official inspected the passport and when he saw that everything was in order, he dropped the chain and I passed the frontier. Only now I began to walk upright. for up to the present I had pretended to be crippled.

In Strzałkowo, the first Prussian town, there were people like ants. Some of them had already waited days for their "*Vorschnitter*" [who makes the contracts and takes them to work]. There were even those who had waited for a week or two, and they were in an awful misery, for all their provisions were exhausted and they had nothing to eat. For sleeping, barracks were established three stories high, and straw was laid as if for cattle. I went through all the floors in search of any familiar face, but I did not succeed. So I took my coat off and sat upon it, for there was no question of sleeping; the crying of children, the playing of accordeons did not allow it. From darker corners came laughing, puling and heavy puffing, and all this proved that the people there were not lazy, but profited of the opportunity to foolish. In a word, these barracks could be called a house of revelry, and the whole of Strzałkowo, with these barracks and taverns, an ante-chamber of hell. The temptation came to me to throw myself into this maddened throng and to share with them this inhuman revelry. I tried to get acquainted with some boys, but I did not succeed; whenever I asked one about anything he answered, looked at me and went away. They despised [neglected] me, and I did not know why; perhaps because I was too decently dressed in their opinion. In the morning I noticed a woman crying. This woman held on her arm a child less than two years old. Pity took me and I approached, asking her why she was crying. She answered that she had been there for some days with her husband, they had spent all their money and now had nothing to live on. "Yesterday I did not eat during the whole day, nor the child either, and we cry because we are hungry." [Buys herrings for her and puts half a mark in the hand of the child.] After this I listened during

the whole day to the peasants coming to an agreement with the *Vorschnitter*. Some of these *Vorschnitters* took 200 or more people each, and I never heard them sending away less than fifty. They left with these people, and in their place new ones came, while in the place of the workmen who went away twice as many flowed in. In this way more and more were crowded into this antechamber of hell. So I began to reflect whether to return to my country or to go further into Prussia. I did not know the German language, I had no idea whether the bakers here gave *giszynk* or not, and on the money which I had I could not go far. For when I entered Strzałkowo I had 6 roubles, and now only half of this was left. So if I stayed here three days longer I should be left without a grosz. "What shall I do? What shall I do?" I broke my head thinking. Perhaps I should also hire myself to some *Vorschnitter* as farm-laborer, get acquainted with the Prussian customs, and then — whatever God gives. . . . Only on the fourth day I decided positively to hire myself on a farm, and with this aim I began to turn still more about the *Vorschnitter* and to pay attention to them. One of them pleased me, and as soon as he settled the matter with some peasants I approached and said: "Mr. *Vorschnitter*, perhaps you will take me also to work." He looked at me attentively and asked who I was. Evidently I had to lie, for I was sure that he would not take a baker to work. So I said: "I am the son of a poor farmer. My father has three morgs of land, so it is difficult to live on it, and I resolved to go to work. You have pleased me, and I beg you to take me with you." This *Vorschnitter* took a pinch of snuff-tobacco and said: "All right, I can take you, but why do you lie? Tell the truth, who you are, then I will take you. But why should we talk here? Come to the tavern, there you will tell me the truth." And we went. My *Vorschnitter* drank a glass of vodka to me [inviting him to drink] and told me to sit at the table and eat some sausage. I did all this and at the same time reflected how to lie better, that he might believe me. And when he asked me for the second time who I was, my answer was ready. I said: "You must be not a stupid man since you recognized at once that I had lied." — "What do you think? Did I eat bread from a single oven? I know people at once." — "Well, you see, *Vorschnitter*, I was a farm-clerk in my country, I quarreled with the manager and fled abroad. Now, if you wish, believe me; if you don't wish, don't believe it,

but I have told the whole truth." — "Well, now it is different and not difficult to believe, for you look like such a scribbler. And I need such a man, for I have 150 people and I don't know how to write Polish rapidly, or how to count, for I learned in a German school, and you will be useful. You will get one mark a day now, and in the summer one and a half. Do you agree?" — "If you pay everybody as much why should I ask more?" — "Well, then, give your passport." But as it was written in Russian he could not read it. Only the name, province and commune were written in German also, but not the age and not that I was crippled. The *Vorschnitter* treated me to a dinner, a few glasses of vodka and beer, and led me to the barracks where those 150 people were separated from the rest, and he said: "I bring you one more, he will be your clerk."

I sat aside and began to observe my companions. There were forty girls, about sixty boys, and the rest grown-up men and ten women. They all sat in groups, drinking vodka and eating herrings. One of them played the accordeon. I sat for a long while aside, but as I was very tired with loneliness during these last days, I arose, approached a peasant with big whiskers and began to talk to him. "Do you know," I asked, "how long we shall travel to this farm?" — "I don't know how long, but it is rather far, in Pomerania." And I put some more questions, so that the man became talkative, and finally he invited me to his bottle and treated with vodka and herring. Meanwhile a few boys approached, and the acquaintance was made. Those boys took me among them and began to treat me. I did not want to accept it at first, for I knew this proverb: "Peter, Paul, whatever is your name, you drank other people's, give yours," and I could not give mine, for I had less than 2 marks in my pocket and I must keep it for my journey. The most sympathetic of the boys was Franek, who knew how to play the accordeon. He took me by the arm and led me into the tavern, and after us came two other boys and they did not spare pfennigs for liquor. I became nicely tipsy in their company, for although I did not give mine, still I did not want to refuse theirs, for I wanted now to have as many friends as possible. This proverb also was not strange to me: "Whoever goes among crows, let him croak like them," so I wanted to be like my companions. We returned to the main company where some were playing cards. Soon I had a mark in

my pocket and ceased to play, for the boys called me to them. Enough that I succeeded in gaining sympathy and everybody knew me and called me "Jacek." Although some of them began to call me "sir," I did not allow them, saying, "I am just such a 'sir' as you. Call me Jacek." And thus I remained Jacek. Two girls pleased me rather well and I sat down near them, telling them various anecdotes. Finally the whole throng surrounded us, listening to what I was relating. In this way time passed till one o'clock at night, when the *Vorschnitter* came and took us to the station. The *Vorschnitter's* name was Moraski, and so I will call him. Well, Moraski showed us the cars in which to mount, and the mounting began. I wanted to go where most of the boys were gathered, for I calculated that it would be merrier with them, but I got accidentally alone with three girls, for the divisions were such that no more than five persons could sit in one. If they had been at least a little prettier! But I got just among the least attractive ones.

We traveled long, two nights and a day. In the beginning I felt somewhat constrained but gradually I became bolder and behaved as at home. I took off my coat and collar and began to joke with the girls, who were very eager for this. To say the truth, they were also somewhat ceremonious in the beginning, but soon grew tractable. I sat near the window, drew out my inseparable ocarina and began to play a little, but they did not allow it, and began to jest madly, and moreover to pronounce various ugly words which I won't repeat here, for although I am a man I am simply ashamed to repeat them. So I made no ceremonies with them either and behaved very brutally, as they merited. They were not old, for the oldest was no more than nineteen, but they were already well driven through Prussia, every one knew what a man was and had foolished more than once. I would have foolished also, but I was ashamed to do it in the presence of other girls, for if I had foolished with one, two more would have looked at it. Why, I was a man, not a beast! But they tried to persuade me, and told me not to be ashamed, for they said themselves that they knew it already. And they raised their petticoats and exhibited their ———, wanting to give me thus more appetite, but instead of appetite I got more and more aversion. I should have preferred to find myself among beasts rather than among these, as I may call them, she-devils. I felt toward

them an awful aversion and could not look at them without disgust. Why, I was no longer an innocent child, but I had no idea of such shamelessness. I prayed to God that we might come to our destination as soon as possible. When I was tired and wanted to sleep I leaned my head against my arm in order to doze a little, but they did not allow me to do it. I was already in an extreme wrath, when the train stopped, and I jumped out in order to find another place, but I had no time. The next night two of them lay down upon the floor and slept fast, and one, as if intentionally sent by Satan, began to tempt me to foolish with her. She put her hand saucily into the slit and took me by the member. I did not want to beat her, for I was afraid of the consequences, so in order to get rid of her I satisfied her desire, and only then she calmed herself a little and slept. I followed her example, but when I awoke I could not recognize myself, for I had neither trousers nor drawers, and stood only in my shirt and vest. Moreover, they did not want to give them back at once, but concealed them. And thus I had to sit naked. I was finally obliged to humiliate myself by begging them to give me the trousers and drawers back. They did it, but I had to give them my word that I would foolish with the two others [which he does]. I shall never forget what I lived through during these thirty hours, so profoundly these three companions were driven into my memory.[1]

The town in which we stopped was called Anklam, and thence we had still nine kilometers to travel. Big carts spread over with straw were waiting for us. We drove rapidly and soon we saw the village, but before the village two carts turned to the right and drove to another farm. Fifty persons went to this other farm, and I noticed that among them were my three companions. I was very glad that I should not have these disgusting girls before my eyes, for whenever I remembered them my skin shivered.

We arrived soon in this village, Stolp, as I learned later, was

[1] There is a certain number of girls of this kind among the season workers (just as there is a certain number of drunkards among boys) and some of them become prostitutes in German cities. It is not, as in the case of servant and factory girls, a mere dropping of the familial attitude towards sexual matters, which leaves still a certain degree of modesty and moderation and brings with it simply an a moral standpoint, excluding the idea of evil, but excluding cynicism as well. This explains why Władek, who had had so many relations without the romantic attitude, still feels so disgusted in this case.

its name, and drove before a big two-story barracks of brick. [Describes the sleeping-conditions and food, sour milk, potatoes, black coffee, with no sugar, bread and grease.] In the morning we went into the farmyard and there Moraski gave a new pitchfork to each one of those who had none, but everybody had to pay for them, for everybody was obliged to have his own. So for the first time in my life I was the owner of a pitchfork. After half an hour we came upon a meadow and had to scatter earth about, so we began to carry it about, some with shovels, some with pitchforks. . . . The rain did not stop, but, on the contrary, increased every moment. Water poured from everybody, but it was more easy for them to bear, for they were used to it. For me it was a real torture. I shook from cold, my teeth chattered, as in fever, tears came to my eyes, rolled down my cheeks and fell upon the German meadow. Again my whole life stood before my eyes, and I could not keep from crying. Moraski stood, leaned against a short pitchfork, covered with a rubber overcoat, water poured from his hat, the wind flapped his overcoat, but he stood immobile, as if carved in stone. And in general everybody looked rather bad, even the boys stopped laughing and joking, which seldom happened. But certainly nobody of them felt as pained as I, and nobody had such ideas as I on this cold, windy, rainy March morning. I intended already to ask Moraski to permit me to go home, for I was unable to hold out any longer, when suddenly a whistle was heard and the voice of Moraski: "*Frühstück*." At this word everybody left his tool and squatted wherever he could in order to eat a piece of bread, wet with rain. I followed their example and put my hand into the pocket of my overcoat, but instead of bread I drew dough. When I drew it and held it in my hand, I looked strangely upon it and suddenly it got dark before my eyes and I swooned. When I awoke two boys held me under the arms and Moraski stood before me and asked what had happened to me. "I don't know," I answered and looked around, not yet quite conscious. They all stood around me and observed me. After a while I recovered consciousness, thanked the boys and asked Moraski to permit me to go home. He permitted me, I took my pitchfork under my arm and left the meadow. Wet, ashamed, I dragged myself home, crying aloud the whole way. Such was my first morning's work in Prussia.

[Buys rubber boots and continues to work. Cannot eat the

food and buys at the tavern on credit up to 10 marks.] Soon sowing began in the field, and every day some boys went to the granary to pour grain [into sacks]. I went also, when my turn came. In the granary the men were inspected by the clerk, a young man, about twenty-eight. At the first look he began to sympathize with me, and after that I never went into the field, but worked in the farm-yard, either in the granary, or in the butter-shop. I was, indeed, for a few days in the field during harvest and during the plowing also. For I had to go behind the plow. But the plowers were inspected by a field-steward, a German, an old man, but good and patient, for he spent more than an hour in teaching me how to plow. Later he walked with me and related about the Franco-Prussian war, in which he had taken part. I did not understand everything, it is true, but he explained until I understood. In this way we spent many days, while I plowed, and I learned many curious things from him. Soon I liked him greatly, and he liked me also. He even treated me with his chewing tobacco. Of course I did not use this, but I accepted in order not to offend him and put it into my mouth, but when I noticed that he was not looking I spit out this pig's stuff.

But I come back to this clerk. He knew no Polish, so in the beginning it was difficult to understand each other. On the first day he began to inquire who I was, what I did in my country, and why I came to Prussia to work. I told him the whole truth. The clerk listened to my story and told me to come again the next day to the granary. But I told him that we were going there in turn. He wrote a few words to Moraski, and I went there every day. There were many days when I went to the granary when there was no work at all. On such days we sat down together and he taught me how various things were called. When his duties called him elsewhere he closed the granary and told me to lie down on the grain sacks. [The clerk invites him to his house, sends to Berlin for a German-Polish language book, and teaches him German somewhat systematically.]

When the sowing was finished and I had really nothing to do at the granary, the clerk sent me to the stable where some hundreds of cows stood. My whole occupation was to drive the milk to the dairy. But when they went into the pasture I loafed about the yard. I got acquainted with a few German girls who worked in

the dairy and with a rather pretty maid who served in the inspector's house. For the proprietor of this estate was dead long ago, his wife lived in some big city, and the only master on both farms was the inspector, a widower. The maid was of Polish origin, from Posen, but she did not know any Polish. Her name was Ludwika. I profited much from this Ludwika, for she often brought me a piece of hare or duck, sometimes a bottle of beer under her apron, and whatever she could. She invited me to come to her room; I promised, but did not go, for I feared the inspector, and thus days passed with promises. But I resolved to go to her as soon as I learned better German, and so it happened.

Meanwhile Easter came. We celebrated only one holiday, but we celebrated it merrily. Some boys and girls went to the inspector asking him for permission to dance. Moraski himself sold at such times beer in bottles, for he had a little profit on it. When the feast had begun Moraski whistled, and when the music stopped, he said: "Let everybody take a bottle of beer on my account." Then the men ordered brandy and began to drink, Moraski with them. When he was pretty tipsy, he called: "Jacek! Where is Jacek? Call him, let him come to me!" They did not need to call me, for I stood quite near and heard it. I approached and asked him what he wanted. He answered nothing, but poured about half a beer-glass of *Schnaps*. But I said: "What are you doing? I cannot drink so much at once, for I should get drunk." — "What does it matter, Jacek, if you get drunk? It is a holiday, and moreover you are my clerk and must drink." What a clerk I was! Besides having read the passports I did absolutely nothing in his office. But what could be done? Let it be! So I took this brandy and drank it to the bottom, and it "roared" in my head, and I began to sing Polish songs. Before this I had drunk some beers and brandies, but not for my own money, for there had been no payment yet, only many people treated me. From almost every boy something was due to me; for one I wrote a letter, for another I copied a song, for a third I wrote wishes; another treated me so that I would tell him some nice story the next day, another still in order only to drink with Jacek. So I was everywhere the first, and when I became somewhat tipsy I forgot who and where I was and the old gaiety came back to me, for all these people behaved delicately toward me

and I tried also to get into nobody's way, and so I was well off.[1]

When the cows went to the pasture hundreds of hens, cocks, turkeys came to scrape in the troughs and my duty was to drive them away that they might not make dirt in the troughs. Once I threw a stick so unhappily that I killed a big cock. I was awfully frightened and looked rapidly about, whether anybody had noticed; but happily there was nobody near. I took the cock quickly and threw him before the stable, reflecting about the accident, and afraid somebody would guess that it was I who killed him. I kept my eye upon him and waited for what would happen. After a short time the inspector passed near the stable, swore, kicked the cock, and seeing me through the door, called me and told me to throw him away lest the other poultry become infected. I took him and concealed him, and in the evening I cleaned him, bought grease and roasted him and began to eat him. Everybody laughed at me for eating a carrion cock, but I did not get disgusted, only gnawed the bones. And I took such a taste to this cock that I killed a fowl almost every day. I threw them in a different place every time, so that nobody would have any suspicion that they were killed intentionally. So I did not need now to buy any bacon or sausage.[2] The cook lent me a pot and sometimes roasted the fowl herself, but ate none of it, for she was disgusted that it died from sickness. Everybody thought the

[1] Nothing could show better the importance of social recognition than this period of Władek's life. Away from his family and country, in a work strange to him, with no romantic interests and without the slightest possibility of a career, the satisfaction that his desire for recognition obtains from this crowd of people who recognize his superiority is enough to offset all this.

[2] "Taking things to eat" is not a serious matter, and Władek does not feel that he is violating a moral norm but simply overstepping a practical prescription. The two types of regulation are easily distinguishable. Authority can be the source of only the second type of attitude, for which we may use the term, "feeling of legality," while the "feeling of morality" is produced only by social opinion. This distinction is shown by the whole peasant life. Centuries of influence of state and church have not succeeded in provoking anything more than the feeling of legality with regard to actions that have no sanction in the interior life of the community, while even the seemingly most trifling actions enjoying this sanction are the object of the moral attitudes of the individual. Of course an action prescribed by authority may acquire with time the sanction of social opinion and then provoke a moral attitude, as in the case of the Chinese cue; but there must be some factors added to this evolution.

same, and I tried to make them still more certain of it. If there had been only one clever person among them he would have guessed my trick, but there were no such persons among my companions, so I did not need to fear too much anything or anybody.

[Urged often by Ludwika to go to her room, "but I could not decide, for 'fear has big eyes,' and I feared the inspector." In the absence of the inspector, goes, but "I took letter paper and an envelope, for if any one found me in the room I would say that I came to get her to write me a letter in German." Ludwika serves brandy and food.] I talked, and reflected in my mind how to act with her, whether to begin to foolish or not. For on the one hand if I tried perhaps she would make a noise and I could find myself in an unpleasant situation, but on the other hand, I thought, why did she invite me to her; she was not a child any longer not to know what a man was, and still she feared nothing. Moreover she closed all the doors and windows. I looked at the window on the back side of the manor-house and thought that in case she began to clamor loudly I would jump out of this window, and I settled the whole plan of activity and prepared myself for everything possible. [Persuades her easily.] But on the way home I had enough to think about, for Ludwika did not allow me to foolish with her before I told her that I would stay here through the winter and marry her. A nice career — to marry a maid-servant, and a nice and enviable job — to become a driver on a Prussian farm! And the stupid girl believed me! But I was probably not the first who had promised her this and I shan't be the last. I laughed at the naive and silly girl, for I did not lose anything by it; on the contrary, I had profit, for I could eat and drink well, and this cost me nothing, and I had a girl for my need, which means something also, and not everybody succeeds thus.[1] So I went three times a week to Ludwika, who gave me meat enough, and therefore I did not need to kill fowls so often.

I wrote letters to my family and I received answers to them to

[1] His standards of sexual life sink lower and lower. In the beginning they were more or less romantic, mixed with social interests; then gradually dissociated from other interests as pure physiological pleasure; finally no longer sufficient in themselves but demanding to be supplemented by the additional pleasures of food and drink. One further step and we should reach the level of the "cadet."

my assumed name. They were greatly astonished that I was working on a farm, but what could they do? I did not write anywhere to my acquaintances, for I did not want them to know that I was in Prussia, for I was awfully ashamed that I had to work as a *parobek*. Meanwhile I received a second letter from brother Stanisław, who informed me about very important things which were happening in the Kingdom — that the constitution was proclaimed in the country, that people organized meetings, spoiled Russian inscriptions and tore Russian eagles down. And on the side of the government innumerable arrests and banishments to Siberia. "It is well that you left the country," he wrote, "for I don't know what could have happened to you here. There were constables to take me, but happily I succeeded in hiding myself. I don't teach the children any more, for people want their children to be taught only in Polish. I wrote to the direction about it and they told me to close the school for some time. There is no Russian eagle before the school any more, for the peasants have destroyed it with stones. I had to conceal the picture of the tsar, for the same lot would have befallen it. I stay now seldom at home over night, fearing a raid of the constables. Mr. and Mrs. D. don't live in Lubotyń any longer, for the peasants have driven them away. It happened thus. When the constitution was proclaimed the peasants persuaded their children to talk Polish in the school. So when the children gathered in the school and Mr. D. said the prayer with them, he said in Russian: 'Take Russian books and hefts.' Then Genia Z., a twelve-year-old daughter of the game-keeper, said: 'Children, take the Polish books and hefts.' And all the children listened to her. Mr. D. repeated his order for the second and third times, but Genia repeated the same in Polish as many times. Then Mr. D. got angry and led Genia out of the school. She went and related it to her father, he gathered some dozen peasants, they broke everything in the school, threw the teacher with his family and all the furniture upon the street, and nailed the doors and windows of the school. Mr. D. had to spend the whole night upon the street, only the next day he was taken to the commune-office where his family lived for some days. He went to the direction and got another place in Domaniewo. I pitied Mr. and Mrs. D. much, for they were like my second parents." "Poor people," I thought, "why did they let things come to this, that they were driven away from their house and

had to spend the night upon the street. Shall I ever see them again?" [1]

[Some of the workmen find nets set in canals, and persuade "Jacek" to lead an expedition to steal the fish. He writes boastfully, but he managed it stupidly, going in a boat instead of afoot. Pursued, but escaped with enough fish for everybody. Make four expeditions in all, and also steal a net, to fish in the manorial pond.] [2] And again days flowed monotonously. I was calling every day upon the clerk, who taught me well enough how to read and to write. Both the clerk and Ludwika were sure that I would not return to my country. Only the clerk persuaded me to go to Berlin, and Ludwika to stay in Stolp and to marry her. I promised the clerk and Ludwika alike, but I did not know positively myself what I would do. I knew only that I would not stay in Stolp and still less marry Ludwika, but I did not betray myself to her. For among our girls there were also some who would marry me willingly and, as they said, they were rich enough at home, had a few morgs of land and would get some dowry. One of them thought seriously about it and I must agree that she was a decent girl and I never noticed her anywhere with boys. Her name was Józia, and she was here with her brother Franek. Her brother was twenty-two and she was nineteen years old. I was in friendly relations with Franek, for he wanted, as he said, to learn songs from me. He knew neither how to write nor to read. He ordered his sister to wash my linen and she had done it for some time; whenever she washed hers she came to me for mine to wash. Soon people "took us upon their tongues" and called us engaged, but neither she nor I cared anything for it. For my part, I took nothing from the brother or the sister for writing letters or anything else of this kind. Józia knew a little how to read written characters, so I copied for her a few songs which she learned during the dancing.

I danced mostly with Józia. For I must mention that almost

[1] This is a particularly inspiring moment in Polish history, but neither here nor elsewhere does Władek show more than a perfunctory interest in social or national problems. He is exclusively occupied with his own personality and finds nothing interesting for himself in the letter of Stach except the news about the D. family, and his sympathy is here with them and not with the patriotically inspired peasants.

[2] Cf. p. 2107, note 2.

every girl had her adorer with whom it was possible to meet her in any corner suited to foolishing. But I did not try to do this, for I had enough, up to my ears, from Ludwika, and here I only observed the others and came to the conclusion that it was impossible to live more dissolutely than these Polish young people did who came to Prussia for work.[1] And this work did not bring much profit to them, for the girls wasted their heavily earned money on dresses, while the boys spent more than a half of it on drinking. And if they had only drunk themselves! But they poured it into others' throats. Here they enjoyed the world, nobody guarded them, there was neither father nor mother nor priest, nobody to fear, for everybody was the master of his own person, listened to nobody, feared nobody. And sometimes it was possible to hear the exclamation of some boy at such a dancing-party: "Revel, soul, there is no hell!" And more than one of them did not know that he was sitting already in the hell up to his ears [was damned]. There were exceptions, it is true, but it would be necessary to burn a dozen candles to find them.

To tell the truth, I was not much better than the others, for I poured into my throat also, and not behind my collar, and I ran after girls as others did. But I did all this with reflection, for if I had not jumped like them [allusion to proverb: "Who gets among goats must jump like them"], I could not have been and worked with them.[2] But please, dear reader, ask some companion of my work, man or girl, how many moral lectures I gave them every day, how many instructive stories, how many examples and anecdotes not less instructive. And they sighed during my narration, more than one girl wiped a tear secretly, the boys decided to be different, but all this lasted only as long as I talked, and when we broke up it was the same as before. It happened that those who did not go to the church on Sunday went upon the meadow, and sat down, I among them, and I made efforts to tell them something exemplary. And I did it not worse than the priest in Anklam, for I knew the gospel for almost every Sunday, and I

[1] We must remember that most of these sexual relations are preliminary to marriage.

[2] Again the unconscious selection of the side of things favorable to the subject's self-appreciation. He does not realize that with his egotism, calculation and hypocrisy he is more immoral than they, with their naive enjoyment of life.

lectured to my companions. But they profited no more than if I threw peas against a wall. More than once Mr. and Mrs. Moraski were present, and the shoemaker and his wife. At these times Moraski said: "Jacek talks well," and the shoemaker confirmed it. Such talks lasted for a few hours. Józia and her brother omitted none of these discussions, and they both listened with attention and tried to act accordingly.[1]

Once I was at the clerk's house when an elegant young man came to arrange for a dancing party on Sunday. I was introduced, and after a few glasses of good brandy he invited me to come the next day to the dancing-room. "All right, but they won't admit me, for I have no sign that I am invited." Instead of answering he took a small colored bow from his pocket-book and gave it to me, telling me to fasten it at the left buttonhole of my coat on entering the room. I accepted, thanked him and promised to come, for I was very curious to see also the better German society. The clerk was also to be at this party, with his wife, and told me to come certainly.

When I returned to our house I did not fail to boast that I was invited to a ball, which astonished even Moraski, who said: "You, Jacek, screw yourself everywhere. This ball has been

[1] The development of the self-righteous attitude of the moral preacher can be followed here. Its basis is the desire for social recognition. In view of the general, willing or unwilling, acceptance of moral standards, and the seriousness with which moral problems are treated, the man who seeks recognition by emphasizing these standards occupies a particularly strong position. His recognition becomes in a way compulsory, for any refusal to recognize him personally is usually taken as a refusal to recognize the things for which he stands. Of course this compulsory character of the recognition makes him more or less of a bore, and therefore this means of getting social recognition is usually selected by men who lack the necessary gifts to get credit, not for the things they stand for, but for the things they do. And this also makes pharisaism so frequent a fact among moral preachers; when no recognition can be claimed on account of deeds, words have to secure it. And the method is easy with an uncritical crowd like Władek's hearers; an intellectual effort is needed to analyze the preacher's actions, while his words can be passively received, and find a ready response in the pre-existing traditional attitudes.

here in Stolp every year and they never invited a Pole. Only do your best and don't throw shame upon us all." Suddenly one of the peasants, named Żelazny, said: "What does Moraski talk! I have not this ribbon and I will go to the ball as well as Jacek and will also dance." — "You are stupid, Żelazny, you won't be admitted there at all." — "What do you say? If you don't believe me let us bet." — "All right," answered Moraski, "put 5 marks on the table." Then two camps arose; some took the side of Moraski, others of Żelazny, who considered himself very clever and always disputed with me in every conversation. Today he wanted also to show that he was not worse than Jacek and would go to the ball. So the parties began to call: "I bet for Żelazny!" "I bet for Moraski!" and each of them added 1 mark to the 10 marks which lay upon the table. Soon 18 marks lay upon the table on each side.[1] So Moraski told the shoemaker to take charge of these 36 marks, and the money of the side which lost was to be spent on drink next Sunday afternoon. I belonged to no party. I guarded my sign so that Żelazny or somebody of his party might not steal it. The shoemaker and the musician were appointed as witnesses of this whole business.

On Sunday, when the boat landed, the party came off to the sound of music. At one look it was possible to recognize that all of them belonged to the better society, for their movements and dress betrayed it.[2] There were perhaps fifty persons, more ladies than gentlemen. When the whole party disappeared behind the door of the tavern, Moraski said: "Well, Żelazny, which one pleased you. With whom will you dance." — "Don't laugh, for you will see that you have lost."

[The clerk passes with his wife and sends a man to call Jacek.] I went down and slowly made my way to the dancing-room. I was dressed poorly but properly. I had my light Sunday suit, without a vest, and a rather beautiful silk shirt which cost me 3 marks. I carried no collars in Prussia, for there was nobody to iron them. The shirt was bound about the neck with silk bows

[1] The fact that Żelazny had partisans indicates that he was not the only one who took a critical attitude toward Władek. Thus the popularity of the latter was certainly not so general as he seems to claim. Here again he does not notice details unfavorable to his vanity.

[2] They were people of the petty bourgeoisie, which explains Władek's easy adaptation.

which were added to it. I had a nice and broad canvas belt with pretty clasps. The shoes were not new, the same in which I came, but now they looked nice, for I had cleaned them pretty well. Upon my head I had a white hat of rice-straw, and the cane which I had in my hand completed my dress. Thus clothed I looked not the worst at the first sight.[1]

I did not go straight to the dancing-room from our house, for upon the threshold stood a few ladies and gentlemen and observed the Polish girls who stood near. I went around the house without being seen and reached the road in the village. Thence I turned back toward the dancing-room.[2] I greeted the ladies who stood at the entrance and went in. Near the door sat the manager in a paper scarf; he cut a bit of my bow with small scissors. At this moment my new acquaintance approached, led me further and introduced me without omitting anybody. He told everybody that I was a Pole and did not talk German very well. This function took much time, and when it was over I felt a little bolder. My acquaintance left me and I went to the clerk who sat with a few gentlemen. I joined the conversation, and secretly I looked toward the door to see what Żelazny was doing. He stood very near the door and sent a curious look inside. The dancing had not yet begun. The men were drinking beer and smoking cigars; one of them treated me. The beer was free and stood in kegs in a corner of the room; there was also a table, and upon it brandy, various glasses, a box of cigars, some oranges and candies. The gentlemen approached from time to time and drank whatever they wanted, but all this went on very decently and nobody lingered at the table longer than was necessary to drink a glass of beer or brandy. As to the ladies, they were very elegantly dressed and had enormous décolletés. After an hour

[1] This dance marks the culminating point of Władek's vanity, and at the same time falls in the period of his life when his intrinsic value is the lowest — when he has no determined position, no ideals, and his self-appreciation depends exclusively upon his appreciation by others. He must have been received by this society as more or less of a curiosity, or at least very indulgently, but the most insignificant detail assumes in his eyes a tremendous importance and gives food for self-conceit. All the conditions co-operate in the creation of a permanent background which constitutes at the present moment one of the main features of his character.

[2] He was ashamed to let it be known that he came from the barracks.

one of the men called, "Music! Music!" Rapidly eight musicians appeared and played a nice waltz. I noticed that they danced in the same way as in our towns, only when the dancer led his lady to her seat she courtseyed to him, and he, still holding her hand in his, raised both hands and kissed hers. So I was a little afraid that I should not be able to perform this with such ease, and I observed closely. When I was somewhat sure of myself, I invited the clerk's wife, for I reflected that even if I did not do something quite right she would forgive me. I acted exactly like the others. It went on quite well. I would not have believed it myself, but the clerk approached and told me this. His praise gave me more courage, and without reflection I went with the lady who sat near the clerk's wife. Now I did not observe so long but went to dance at once, not with a single lady, but changing them often. With one only I danced somewhat longer, for she wished it. This lady's name was M., for I asked her about it during the dance. She was tall and rather stout, in eyeglasses, with a very large décolleté. In dancing she pressed herself very close to the dancer, but she danced splendidly. Moreover she was very talkative, and when I wanted to seat her she said, "*Noch! Noch!*" She was the first with whom I talked a little longer. The clerk instructed me to tell everybody who asked me who I was that I was practising to be a farm manager. Mrs. M. was very curious and asked me what I was doing here. I told her that I was practising to be a farm manager. When I seated her she made a place for me near her and we talked. During the conversation I learned that she was the widow of an official and childless. Now I felt no longer bored at this ball for Mrs. M. did not let me go away from her. In her company I got better acquainted with other ladies; we walked about the room and at once Mrs. M. made another man of me. They played also the polka-trotteuse and I went first with Mrs. M. She pressed herself against her dancer still more in the trotteuse, for this dance requires it. I embraced her also more strongly with my arm and during the dance smelled the sweat of her body, which struck from her décolleté, straight into my nose, and her breasts jumped like two balls. Not everybody danced the polka-trotteuse, for probably not everybody knew it, so there was room enough. The clerk with some other gentlemen stood and applauded, and I noticed that up to the present he had been satisfied with me. I had scarcely finished

dancing with one lady when I took another, and they went willingly, for there were few men and they wanted to dance.[1]

During this time I had gathered a dozen cigars which hindered me in dancing, and I was not a lover of cigars. So I resolved to give them to my companions, and with this intention I went out of the room. But my lady, Mrs. M., followed me and caught me by the arm, asking where I was going. I explained to her my intention and she appreciated it, so I began to draw the cigars from my pocket and to give them to the men who stood nearer. The nearest one was Żelazny, but he would not accept the cigar; he was angry, for up to the present he had not succeeded in doing anything. But besides him enough were found who were willing and soon I lacked cigars. But Mrs. M. did not think long about it; she went into the room, brought the box of cigars which stood upon the table and treated those who had not received any. The gentlemen, curious to know to whom Mrs. M. was giving cigars, and seeing what she did, would not be outdone by her. One of the officers ordered the tavern-keeper to give everybody a bottle of beer, another a glass of brandy, a third a cigar, and all this was very rapidly done. When the tavern-keeper had finished we returned to dance. I thanked Mrs. M. for having shown so much goodness to my fellow-countrymen and kissed her hand. This tickled her pleasantly.[2]

[Intermission at five o'clock. Walks with Mrs. M.] We went near the *Stube* and whoever was there came out in order to look at me. Moraski was sitting before the house, and when I looked at him he twinkled me to approach. I begged my lady's pardon and went to ask him what he wanted. But he asked me only whether Żelazny had danced. I answered that up to that time he had not. Moraski said: "You are getting on pretty well, Jacek; this pleases me." My companion tried to make me

[1] He was a good dancer and this explains to a large extent his success, since at European dancing parties little more is required. The best dancers have a social importance during carnival in curious contrast with their insignificance the rest of the time.

[2] He puts himself for the moment in the middle class and in a way participates in the attitude of benevolent superiority assumed by the dancers. That this was the significance of his behavior is shown by the reaction of Żelazny, who does not accept the cigar and thus implicitly denies Władek's implicit claim, while others by accepting consciously recognize their social inferiority.

bolder, but she succeeded only in part, for I was ashamed that I could not talk suitably. She asked me whether I ever went to Anklam. "I am there often enough, for I go there to the church." — "So perhaps you will call on me sometimes? I live not far from the Polish church." She took a pencil and a bit of paper and wrote her address. I promised to come some day, took the address and kissed her hand for the second time. I felt very constrained with such a lady at my side and thinking about myself, who I was at that moment and with whom I was walking. Certainly Mrs. M. would push me away from her if she knew that I worked at this farm as a "*Bursch*." But perhaps she would not? For I felt that at every moment she was pressing my arm, and this made me very embarrassed, for she was not a young girl, but a lady of about thirty. If I had been with a girl I should have acted more boldly and instead of kissing her hand I should perhaps have kissed her cheek. Mrs. M. told me that they were to leave only at two o'clock and supper was about ten. She told me to come and take her and we would eat it together, and then she joined the other ladies who were already in the room. I went to the *Stube* to wash myself and to shine my shoes. In the *Stube* they all surrounded me and praised me. Żelazny and the witnesses were also in the room, and Moraski laughed much at Żelazny, but the latter still said that he would win, only a little later. I returned into the garden and searched for the clerk. I found him looking at a group playing cards. He was very glad to see me and asked where I had been and how I amused myself. I said that I had walked with Mrs. M. and amused myself very gaily. "O, Jacek! Jacek! I did not expect that you would amuse yourself so nicely." At this moment one of the players left the game and the others proposed to me to play. I sat down and the clerk was behind me. I don't know how this game was called, but we played exactly like "*kiks*" in our country. One hand cost 10 pfennigs. To tell the truth this was too big a game for me, but I wanted to try my luck. I had in my pocket my whole fortune, about 10 marks, and I always had some luck in cards. Well, and even if I lose some 3 marks what does it matter? With such gentlemen it is not a pity. I must add that these gentlemen not only played cards but rapidly emptied bottles of cordial and beer. I helped them pretty well, but I had only begun, while they had played long enough, so vapor rose from their heads

and they played without any attention. Meanwhile I played very attentively. Soon I felt my pockets swell with pfennigs; but there were not only ten-pfennig pieces but also fifty-pfennig pieces, and even marks and thalers showed themselves upon the table. The clerk stood during the whole time behind my chair and looked at the game. I don't know how long this game would have lasted, but the darkness hindered us. From the dancing-room tones of music had reached us long ago, but I did not dare to interrupt the game, for I was winning. Finally an officer threw the cards upon the table and rose from his seat. We shook hands and the game was finished. When the players left, the clerk shook my hand and said, "Jacek *du kluk men* [kluger Mann]." [1] We went in the direction of the room. Mrs. M. began to scold us for walking while there was nobody to dance. On the way I had divided my coins, a little into each pocket, for in one pocket they were too heavy and clinked. Before the door of the dancing-room stood most of the Poles, and in front Żelazny. Up to the present he either had not wished or had not dared to enter, although his partisans pushed him to go in. He was probably afraid of that manager with the paper scarf, who sat there continually. [Dances "without omitting a single girl."] When I had an opportunity, I carried a cigar to Franek, Józia's brother, and asked him why Żelazny did not come to dance. "Tell him that supper will be soon and they will stop dancing, for I want him to win." [Supper in the garden with Mrs. M.] She began to complain that she felt very hot, so I took the fan from her hand and began to fan her strongly enough, but I did not forget about myself either, for I fanned her twice and myself once. This joke amused her, so she took her fan back, took me with one hand under the chin and fanned me with the other. During this she advanced her face nearer and nearer to mine, so that I felt her hot breath and finally her hair got into my eyes. I could not hold out, rapidly advanced my head and, against my will, kissed her lips. She did not withdraw, only

[1] Władek seems unable to lose self-control in new and extraordinary circumstances. The preservation of poise in the face of new circumstances (aside from temperamental differences in the subject) may be the result of one of two contradictory pre-existing attitudes — the feeling that one's position is so secure that his behavior at the actual moment can in no way endanger it, and the feeling that it is so insecure that he must be on the *qui vive* to preserve it. Władek's poise is the product of his habitual feeling of insecurity.

raised her eyes and turned around to see whether anybody had seen it.

When we returned to the room some louder movement in the room caused me to look around. I saw that the manager was holding Żelazny by the hand. Żelazny was already in the room, and both talked energetically. But soon the manager let Żelazny go, and the latter rather ran than walked to the lady who sat the nearest and saluted her, although rather clumsily. Alas! he did not meet a pitiful one who would have helped him to win his bet. She made a denying gesture with her fan and said, "*Nein.*" And he could not try his luck with other ladies, for a gentleman took him by the arm and led him out of the room. The lady whom Żelazny had saluted reddened deeply, but I don't know why; perhaps from shame, for everybody looked at her. But one of the gentlemen approached and asked her to dance. I went near the door to see what Żelazny was doing. He still stood there, with the real patience of the Polish peasant. He evidently wanted to try his luck again. But I was certain that he would not succeed, for he had not begun it right, and now the manager watched better. I could not warrant that if he had got into the dancing-room, some of the ladies would not have danced with him, at least for the sake of a joke. If he had entered, stood for awhile and tried to choose whom to invite, it would have been better for him. But he ran in like a fool and acted like a fool, so he was acted with in the same way.

[Many gentlemen reel from drink. "I had had so many impressions during the evening that I could not get drunk so easily." When the steamboat blows Mrs. M. places a note in his hand. Goes with her to the boat.] I went from the boat with the clerk and his wife as far as their house, and wanted to leave them, but the clerk drew me inside for some warm coffee. The clerk and his wife knew no limits in their praise of me. He asked me also how much I had won in the garden at cards. "I don't know how much, but we shall see at once." And I began to put money upon the table, a little from each pocket. I had won 17 marks, 30 pfennings. The clerk shook his head and said the same as in the garden: "Jacek, you are a clever man." His wife asked me what the peasant wanted who came into the dancing-room. I told about this bet, and they both laughed heartily. I said that on Sunday afternoon we would drink for this money. "Then I

will also come and laugh at Żelazny," said the clerk. He explained to me about different persons who were at the ball, and also about Mrs. M., for I inquired most about her. But I did not learn any more than from herself.

Next morning I and a few other boys went to the stable for horses and I gave myself up to thinking while I rode into the field to rake the rye. And I had much to think about after the ball of yesterday, for really a strange concurrence of circumstances had led me there. And all this through the clerk. I could not explain to myself his goodness to me. He taught me to read and write German, he invited me constantly to his house and tried to give me the easiest work. He made me pass for a practising agricultural manager, and through his protection I was at the ball. I must add that he had me photographed, and I had sent already two of these photographs to my family. And for whom did he do all this? For a *Bursch*, a *parobek*. Why, I was not different at all from Wojtek, Franek, or other men and boys who were here, and he made the only exception of me.[1]

Then I transported myself in thought to this lady whom I had the pleasure of kissing a score of times. I owed it also to the clerk, for if it had not been for him I should not have known her. Here I was reminded of that note she gave me on bidding me goodbye. I put my hand into my pocket; but I had left it in the other

[1] His growing success with these foreigners is a practical proof of the efficiency of the methods he has developed in the course of his life. Those methods were particularly methods of adaptation to people in a higher social position — the methods of a climber. Compare the insufficient adaptability of Władek's peasant companions whose methods are suitable to let them live within a community of equals, and are much more limited in their application, the required behavior being more automatized and requiring few new efforts. The distinction between active adaptation, profiting from the given conditions to enlarge the sphere of control, and passive adaptation, limiting the subjective claims to the given conditions, is probably due in a large measure to this difference of training. But there are, of course, many methods of active adaptation, and the one displayed by Władek represents the lowest type, because its success depends, not upon the individual's efficiency in any particular line of activity, but upon his ability to turn other people's activity to his own benefit, to attract their benevolent attitudes to himself as object.

suit. "But what sort of a woman is she," I thought, "to fall so rapidly in love with me? And those eyes! She has really bewitched me with them." And now, at the remembrance of them, a shudder passed through me. And she was so pleasant, so plump, that it was difficult to keep from kissing her. There, on the meadow where we were sitting, with what warmth she kissed me, with what caresses, with what interruptions between one kiss and another, as if she were teasing me and giving me slowly this candy to lick instead of putting it at once into my mouth. Things would have gone perhaps even further if I had known better how to talk German. And I felt pleased at the thought of this woman and that moment when I mustered courage enough to kiss her breasts. Brr! I shook off this musing and raised my head. But it was still far to the field, and the horse went slowly, a real farm-horse, who was not in a hurry to work. Above my head larks sang their morning prayer to their Lord and Creator for having created them and given them life and caring for the lot of such a small birdie. And it behooved me also to offer thanksgiving to the Lord God for his mercy and for having allowed me to meet good people here, in a foreign country. So I crossed myself and said, "When the morning-dawn arises" [Kochanowski's psalm]. After this prayer I felt lighter and more blissful, and the morning seemed still more beautiful to me.[1]

Soon I came to the appointed place, put the horse to an iron rake, sat down upon it and began to drive monotonously up and down, raising the rake from time to time. And again I loosened the reins of my thoughts, and they floated from Stolp to Berlin and back to Stolp, to the inspector's maid, and further to my country, to my family, to Kazia and finally stopped in Turek, in the fine house which belonged to Dora. For how could I ever forget her and her black eyes and those pleasant evenings? No, it could not be so easily forgotten.[2] But what is the difference?

[1] He is absolutely happy because he lacks any serious criteria of personal value and any ideal by which the present situation could be judged, and is consequently absolutely dependent on actual social recognition in whatever form and on whatever ground it is manifested.

[2] The remembrance of Dora returns always only at moments of social success or in general whenever his mood is above the normal level. In this way the image of Dora is always associated with the most interesting and subjectively the highest experiences and is progressively idealized.

Fate divided us. I was a whelp and she was a grown-up girl. I was a beggar and she was rich, and moreover I was a Pole and she was a German. Such impediments and obstacles divided us, so we separated, and now I am a *parobek* in a manor, while she is a great lady in Turek. Shall we ever meet again in life? Will she grant me one evening, as formerly, will she allow me to kiss her? Oh, no! She is now a lady and married, and this word forbids me even to think about it. And now, after four years, I meet another such woman, and we are divided by the same obstacles. She is a lady, she has her own house and I am a *parobek*. She is a German and I am a Pole. If she were even five times as rich and beautiful I would never give myself up to her forever. She invited me to her, but what for? The answer is clear; in order to amuse herself with me as with a not very wise child. For certainly not with the intention of marrying me, for opinion would never permit her to do this. She wants only to play, as I have played with girls. I have gone then my own way, and she will go her way, after having amused herself. Shall I go there? Yes, why not? But only once, to have more experience, to see what such a lady can do.

Thoughts like these crossed my mind. Dinner-time approached and in the *Stube* my first thought was to read the sheet. I found it in my pocket. I read the following words: "Mr. Jacek, come for the whole night. Write when you will come, and tell nobody." There were some more words below, but I was not able to understand them. I tore them away, without the two letters with which they were signed, to give them to the shoemaker to read. I learned from him that they were: "Tear this sheet lest somebody should get it." I tore it up in the eyes of all, but only this part; I had the rest in my pocket.[1] Then I went to the tavern, drank a bottle of beer and took half a pound of sausage with me to the field; I could indulge a little since I had won a few marks. And again some days passed without any incidents. I was occupied with composing a letter to Mrs. M. and in a few days I had it ready. It was composed of only a few words: "In two weeks

[1] Neither a gentleman nor a peasant will show a letter from a lady, but with the former discretion is the manifestation of respect for the woman, while with the latter it is the result of the same caution which makes him keep all his personal matters secret. And the peasant will keep the letter as an eventual weapon.

from next Saturday I will come by the steamboat." I told nobody about this and nobody knew about my *randka*. I was very much interested to know what would happen and I kept the note from her in order to have a proof in case she meant to play a joke.

[On Sunday all drink for Żelazny's money. He adds more, and each drinks on his own account also.] Everything would have gone all right if the married women had not got drunk, for they spoiled our whole amusement. They hindered us even in singing by their shrill squalling and puling. Moraski was awfully angry, for he liked singing, and I had already taught Wojtek and Franek a few songs and they helped me. Moraski bought us beer after beer and invited us to drink. He ordered one woman carried upstairs and shut up, that she might not hinder us by her singing. I must quote here at least one of her songs:

"I have a hole in my shoe,"
I cannot dance.
Play for me, little musician,
I will raise my leg.

I will raise one,
I will raise both,
We shall arrange it
Slowly for ourselves."

This is the prettiest one of her songs; there were many worse.[1] Only when this woman had been taken upstairs, we could sing suitably.

I went to sleep with the others but toward dawn I wanted to go outside, and so I went as I was and barefooted. When returning I suddenly saw what looked like flames coming from the roof of a house. My eyes had not deceived me, for the fire grew bigger every moment. I returned rapidly to the room and cried, "Fire!" At this call the peasants began to raise their heads, and as rapidly as possible I put on my trousers and boots, and ran in the direction of the village. Upon the roof there was already a broad flame. I had to run by the manorial farm-yard, at the entry of which hung a bell for calling people to work. With-

[1] The source of his aversion to obscenity is not so much sexual idealism as the same attitude manifested in his unwillingness to swear, and in general in his efforts to keep external respectability. *Cf.* p. 2092.

out any reflection, I began to pull the rope. Then without waiting for anybody to come, I ran toward the church bells. There were two of them, but I rang only one. And then I ran toward the fire. At the alarm of the bells noise and movement arose in the village, and from the *Stube* some men were running already. When I was passing the house of the clerk, I saw light in his windows, so I did not need to rouse him. When I approached the burning house there was nobody there besides the owner, who was running around the buildings and lamenting, "*Mein Gott*! *Mein Gott*!" I did not try at all to talk with him, but entered the house, where the family of the German was running here and there, carrying nothing out, only repeating, like the old man: "My God! My God!" I began to throw out whatever fell under my hand; the bed, clothes from the closet, and other objects. Following my example, the family began also to carry things out and Franek and some of the men came. As soon as I had finished carrying out the furniture, I ran behind the house where there was a sty or stable. The proprietor followed and begged us to save his hog. I called for an ax, but as they gave me none I broke the lock with a stone. The hog was fat and big and did not want to leave the sty, and I had nobody to help me. Again I had to call for help and at my call this time the clerk and the mayor appeared and began to urge the men to work. The clerk crept into the sty, but even two of us could not draw the hog out; only when two more came we got it out. And it was high time for the roof was ready to fall in. Hardly had we thrown the hog out when I returned and began to catch hens. I had carried a dozen of them out and intended to go in again, but somebody held me back. I looked around and saw an unknown German. But I tore myself away and carried three more hens out. There was nothing more to save, and even if there had been anything it was too late, for the roof was falling in. The owner approached the crowd and began to beg them to save the bacon which was in the cellar under the living-rooms. As soon as I heard it I began to break the window which led to the cellar with my heel, and I lay down on the earth in order to creep down into the cellar. When my head was already inside somebody drew me back by my legs, and when I arose I saw the same German who had hindered me once already. I called in German: "Why do you hinder me? Go away!" But he barred the way with his person, and as he was very big and

stout, I feared to begin a fight with him and only swore in German and went aside. He looked at me for awhile and went away also.

At breakfast Moraski came into the room and said: "Jacek, you won't go to work today, and at ten you will go to the clerk. But who ordered you to ring the bell at the gate and the church bell, eh?" — "Nobody ordered me," I said, "but it was my duty to call for help." — "Well, wait, the *Landrat* will show you. Only don't forget to go." I slept until nine, and went to the clerk. There I met that German who had withheld me twice at the fire, and as I learned later, he was the *Landrat*, or mayor. When I came in the clerk asked me to sit down and seated himself at the table, ready to write. The mayor began to inquire how I saw the fire, etc., and when he could not understand me the clerk explained, for we understood each other better. The clerk wrote down my whole narration. Finally the mayor asked why I rang the bells and who ordered me to do it. "Nobody ordered me, but I know myself how to call for help. For if I went from window to window and called people it would take too much time, and everything would be burned before our arrival." — "And do they also ring the bells in your country when there is fire?" — "They do it also," I answered. At last the inquest was finished and the mayor drew a thaler from his pocket and gave it to me, saying, "Brave boy." Then we drank a bottle of beer each, the mayor drove off, the clerk went to work, and I to the tavern for lunch, for I merited it. On the way I found in my book the word with which the mayor gratified me, and only then I learned that he called me "brave." In the tavern I asked for half a pound of sausage, a glass of brandy and a bottle of beer. After lunch I went upon the meadow, lay down and learned German. I did not even go to the *Stube* to dinner, but in the evening Moraski asked me what the *Landrat* said to me. I related our conversation and boasted that he gave me a thaler.

Days passed again, one like another, and the time of the meeting with Mrs. M. approached. I went to Ludwika two or three times every week, but I did not always foolish for I got tired of her, and if it had not been for the eating, I would not have gone

at all. I always promised her that I would not go to my country but would stay in Stolp for the winter, and the silly girl believed me.[1] [The clerk arranges to have him released from work on Saturday at three.] I dressed myself as well and as cleanly as possible, and before six I was in Anklam. First I went to the address, in order to find the house where Mrs. M. lived. It was a nice house, two stories high. And when I was sure that I should find it later without questioning I went away and dropped in to take a drink for boldness. For I must confess that an awful terror began to overcome me, some fright that perhaps I should fall into an ambush. So I found that note from her and put it into my pocket-book, in order to have it ready in case I had to excuse myself. I could not sit in the tavern, but ran about the streets like a fool, driven by some frightful thoughts. More than once I stood before the house of Mrs. M. but I had not the courage to enter, and I was ready to go back to Stolp, but I reflected: "Why, they won't kill me. And if I see that she is not glad to see me I will stay for a quarter of an hour and return to Stolp; it is not far." Thirst burned me more and more, and I drank at short intervals five bottles of beer. Finally when it became dusky, I mustered my courage, crossed myself mentally and pressed the latch on the front door.[2] I knew that Mrs. M. occupied the second floor. Upon the door there was a white tablet with the name of my lady. So I knocked at the door, it opened and I saw a rather young girl. I said, "Good evening," and asked whether Mrs. M. lived there. Instead of answering, this girl asked me whether I was the cousin of her mistress. I did not know at first what to answer, but soon I understood the situation and said yes. "Then please wait a little here and I will tell my lady." I asked myself why I had admitted the cousinship. Perhaps she was really waiting for a

[1] It is an interesting character of this autobiography that the author does not occupy any consistent standpoint in writing it, but enters unconsciously into the spirit of every period of his life as he describes it, and occupies again all the standpoints that he had successively occupied. Thus he does not even try to justify this behavior toward Ludwika, and he would certainly have tried to do this if it had happened three or four years before, when he still felt the binding character of such promises as he makes and considered this kind of relationship below his standards.

[2] The problem of "existence" is always weighing heavily on his soul, and his fear-thought assumes here almost the character of a true phobia, manifesting itself in the absurd thought of an ambush, etc.

cousin; he might come at any moment and we should meet eye to eye, and what then? But I had not much time to reflect for at this moment Mrs. M. came and this girl behind her. She embraced me as if she were really my aunt, and kissed me on both cheeks, saying, "Cousin Johann! Cousin Johann!" After this sentimental greeting, I kissed her hand, and all this in the presence of the maid.

[Spends the night. Sleeps with Mrs. M. "But I put my trousers on a chair near the door, for I was mistrustful."] The breakfast was copious, moistened with much cordial and lasted very long. Mrs. M. asked me when I would come to her again and urged me to come as soon as possible. I promised to come and to inform her by letter. She wrote my address down, and after a dozen kisses and as many glasses of cordial I left the kind hostess and at half-past one was already in Stolp.

Moraski was very glad when he saw me, for he thought that I had run away. Up to this time I could not gather my thoughts after the night and I could not believe myself what had happened to me. For I should never have dreamed that anything like this could ever happen to me. I thought that Mrs. M. had invited me to her in order to play with me as with a naive child, but I did not regret it, for I also amused myself enough, even too much, for I felt still feeble and sleepy.

After pay day there was usually drinking, and once I went with three boys to the tavern and we drank there until late in the night. We were well tipsy and finally wanted girls. So we planned to go to our girls, and to foolish upon their beds. I must mention that every one of my three companions had his own girl and had foolished with her more than once, but of course not upon his bed, only in different corners adapted to this. I had no girl to whom I could venture to go, but at the instigation of my companions I selected Józia. I knew the place where she slept, and her brother Franek was one of us, and he persuaded me himself to go to his sister.[1] So we took off our clothes and remained only in our shirts. It was dark in our sleeping-room and in that of the women. My three companions went in and lay down near their girls. I followed but could not find Józia at once in the dark. I knew that two very young girls slept by her, so I put my hand under the cover to ascertain which were the young girls and which

[1] Franek probably hoped that this would lead to marriage

was Józia. I felt the first, then the second, and found out easily that they were still very young girls. The third was evidently Józia. At this moment a woman at the other end of the room called out: "Michał! Light a lamp, for I feel bad," and in a moment Michał lighted the lamp. Those young girls whom I had felt were evidently not asleep and knew what was going on, but gave no sign of it. Now made bold by the light they began to call: "Pawlak! Come here, for somebody is here, and put his hand under our pillows." I felt cold and hot, for Pawlak was coming in my direction with the lamp. Without reflecting, I caught the shoe of some girl and threw it with all my strength and broke the lamp to pieces. [He escapes, but the other boys are caught and "belted." It becomes known from the talk of the other boys that Władek was also of the number, and they have to pay 2 marks each for drink.]

[The season is approaching its end. The clerk advises him to go to Berlin, and gives him letters of introduction. Mrs. M. writes, and again asks him to destroy the note. "But I concealed it with the first, for I regretted to part with such proofs." Makes two more visits to her.] On the day before leaving I went to the clerk to bid him farewell, and from him to Ludwika, with whom I ate a good supper and foolished before the journey. Ludwika was certain that I would remain in Stolp for the winter, and I kept her in this belief. Next morning carts drove up and we left Stolp to the sound of music and singing. Soon we were in Anklam. A few hours still remained, as I had to go only at eleven o'clock at night. It was only three o'clock so I went for a walk about Anklam, but there was nothing to see, so I soon got bored with my walk. I had already been a dozen times opposite the house of Mrs. M. but I had not courage to enter, and I went away only to come back again after a few minutes. I don't know how many times I had done this when suddenly I met her face to face. It was too late to run away, for she was very near, recognized me and was coming to meet me with an outstretched hand, covered with a white glove. "Mr. Jacek! what are you doing here today? I did not expect you at all. Why did you not write that you would come? Have you been in my house already?" And she covered me so with questions that I had no time at all to answer. Only when she finished and we were going back toward her house, I answered that I had not called on her because I had no time today;

I was going to Berlin. "To Berlin? Why then?" — "I don't know myself. I have letters and am going with them." — "Well, then you still have time." And although I defended myself a little, she drew me into her house for coffee, as she said. In a few minutes the table was covered with food and drink, and soon I was pretty well at home. At ten I prepared to leave, but my efforts were vain, for Mrs. M. refused to let me go and succeeded in persuading me that I should lose nothing if I stayed till to-morrow. As the cordial was very good and I had drunk some glasses, I listened and remained. I had with me about 50 marks and was a little anxious not to lose them, and while Mrs. M. was occupied with something else I put them rapidly into less visible pockets, for although I did not fear that Mrs. M. would take them, still I preferred to be sure, for if I had lost them I should have remained without any means to live. . . . When I was leaving Anklam, I must confess that I did it with regret, but it was impossible to do otherwise, for I would not stay as a toy of Mrs. M. I did not tell her at all who I was and that I was leaving her, Anklam and Stolp forever, but on bidding her goodbye I promised to come to her as soon as time permitted. Perhaps if I had told Mrs. M. the truth, who I was, she would have thrown me out of the door. But perhaps she would have helped me and advised. But I was ashamed to do it, and afterwards I regretted it very much.

[He takes three letters to Berlin, one to a hotel, another to the Baker's Club, and the third to the brother of the clerk. He pays a month in advance at the hotel, but after the month pays for the room only. Among the bakers he finds no work, but *smyruses*, as in Poland, who make him treat them. The clerk's brother has moved, and Władek tears up the letter to him, as he cannot find his new address. In two months his money is gone and he is wandering the streets. Gradually sells his clothing, etc.] Now I accosted hundreds of people simply on the street, asking for advice about finding work or for work. But every one simply shrugged his shoulders and went on. Once I met a gentleman and I noticed from his physiognomy that he was probably not a German. I approached with the same question, but he began immediately to talk Polish: "Are you a Pole?" — "Yes," I answered, "how did you recognize it?" — "From your accent.

And please come to dinner with me; perhaps you are hungry." And without waiting for my answer, he led me toward a restaurant and ordered a dinner for two persons. During the dinner I told him my present critical situation. He complained also about Berlin, said that he had not worked for a long time and that it was difficult to find work in Berlin. He was a brush-maker, born in Warsaw. After dinner, we went upon the street, and in bidding me farewell he put a thaler into my hand and went away rapidly. I looked after him and went my own way. . . .

Thus I wandered about Berlin, having 5 pfennigs in my pocket. I must add that it was winter, it snowed heavily and I had had nothing warm for some days. It was painful to pass near a restaurant, through the window of which people were seen eating many dishes. I stood under such a restaurant sometimes waiting whether somebody would throw some remnants through the door. But my waiting was fruitless, for nobody threw anything, and I walked further, until night fell. Suddenly I saw a lady walking rapidly and carrying a package [hand-bag] upon a thin chain. At the first moment I felt a strong desire to jump, to tear this package off and to run away. I had already made a few steps toward her with this intention, but I could not do it. Fear and something else, I don't know what, hindered me and the lady passed undisturbed. I went on farther and began to pray, thanking God for not having permitted me to become a thief.[1]

[1] The step from vagabondage and petty dishonesty to explicit theft is difficult to take when a man has been brought up in a normal social environment and is strongly dependent on social opinion. Social condemnation and contempt have the same character of discontinuity as legal sanction; they attach themselves to definite classes of explicit acts, while leaving more or less out of consideration the graduations of intermediary behavior, with their multiplicity of shadings. Thus a series of acts may express attitudes indefinitely approaching an attitude and an act characterized as criminal, and the difference may become psychologically quite insignificant, but as long as the precise act condemned by social opinion as criminal has not been formally committed neither the group nor the subject himself realizes that the region of criminality has already been entered. And if the subject stops before the explicit act, this is perfectly natural, for the whole odium with which social opinion has surrounded the act stands in the way. Władek has stolen food and fuel, money from his father's and his masters' drawers, a fisherman's net from the open, has killed the poultry entrusted to him, etc., and he did this without necessity; but even in the worst necessity he stops before robbing a lady of her hand-bag, this being universally and explicitly recognized by public opinion as plain theft.

I came to an avenue where some benches stood and sat down upon the first. The snow began to cover me, but I was not allowed to sit here long, for a policeman came and pushed me so brutally from the bench that I fell upon the earth. I said not a word and went on. I approached a railway station and entered to warm myself, but I happened to come there in a bad moment, for before I had the time to sit down some porter began to drive away all the persons who were there and me with them. It snowed more and more, my teeth chattered from cold. And again I wandered about the streets of this big city which could not give me any shelter. Thus I walked till morning, and my legs failed, but I had to walk, for there was no place to sit, and it was forbidden, although I should have preferred to freeze during this night in some street-kennel and not to live until the next day. Alas! this did not happen, and the day came and a worse one, for I was still hungrier. Noon came, and I had invented nothing and had no aim. Like an insane man, for I was already so to some degree, I walked about the streets. Suddenly I met a small detachment of soldiers and then an idea flashed. I thought that today I ought also to be a soldier instead of tramping, hungry and frozen, about the streets of Berlin. Here I remembered that in every capital city there must be a Russian consul, so I was sure that there was one in Berlin. With this idea I approached a policeman and asked him where was the Russian consulate. The policeman drew a book from his pocket and began to search in it for a very long time; only after perhaps an hour he gave me the answer that he lived on Lindenstrasse and that it was very far. He asked me whether I would go by the street-car. "Afoot," I answered.— "Oh, it is very far, you won't get there today." And he showed me the street along which I had to go. I started, but the policeman was right; the evening came and I had not found the consulate. And again I spent a night upon the streets of Berlin, impossibly hungry, for since I had left the hotel I had had nothing in my mouth. Moreover the cold oppressed me awfully. . . . During this whole night sobs shook my body, and I met no pitiful person who would give me a few pfennigs, although I did not cease to accost people.[1]

[1] This aimlessness and helplessness of a usually resourceful man (we saw the same thing in Warsaw) is significant for the position of the immigrant in a large city. In a city the whole external organization of life, the system of relations uniting the whole institution, is essentially impersonal, although

[Reaches the consulate.] A gentleman approached and asked me in Russian what business I had. I told him that I belonged to the army and wanted to be sent back to Poland. This gentleman told me to show him my passport. I had no such passport and told him that I had none. "In that case we cannot send you home. We have no right to do it, for everybody could come and say the same, in order to be sent without paying." Saying this he went away and left me alone. But I did not move from my place, for I did not want to go upon the street any more; I knew well what awaited me there. I resolved not to leave unless they threw me out by force. After awhile another came and said: "You have nothing to wait for, you won't be sent back to your country. You may go." — "Where shall I go? To perish upon the street from hunger and cold? I have had nothing in my mouth for three days and have not slept, and now you drive me away? I won't go from here of my own will." [1] Thus I answered this second gentleman who wanted to get rid of me. He looked at me for awhile and saying not a word, went away. I reflected that perhaps I had acted too sharply, but now it was quite indifferent to me whether I went on the street and died of hunger and cold or sat in a prison. So I sat more comfortably upon the chair and waited. Soon a third gentleman appeared, with a long gray beard and in uniform. At his approach I wanted to rise, but he gave me a sign with his hand not to do it, and I sat down again. He drew nearer and began to observe me. Then he inquired in what way I had got to Berlin and in general all about the details of my stay here. I related it. When I finished, he asked: "Do you want to work?" — "I do," I answered. — "That is all right," he said, and went out. After awhile he returned, carrying a paper in his hand. He gave it to me saying: "Here you have an address; go there and you will get work. You will work there until you earn for your journey." — "And is it far from here?" — "Very far; you must go in a car, for afoot you would not reach

below this system are found innumerable variously mixed and conflicting personal relations. The solitary newcomer is usually theoretically in an even worse situation than Władek, because lacking any means of communication with the new milieu. This explains why the immigrant to America is obliged to settle for a time among his own people.

[1] This is the only point where Władek rejects every caution; there is no longer a feeling of insecurity, for he has actually nothing to lose.

it before tomorrow." — "But how can I go in a car, since I have not a pfennig and I am very hungry?" He took 3 marks out of his pocket and gave them to me. I thanked him very warmly and begged him to explain what car I should take and where to change, and I wrote down everything he told me, in order not to lose my way. Then I thanked him once more and left. First I found a restaurant and ate, . . . bought tobacco, mounted into a car and went. Thanks to my prudence [cleverness] I did not go wrong, but I reached my end only when it was rather dark.

[Works from the middle of January to the end of February in a large garden, with hot-houses, attached to a Russian church. Paid 2 marks a day. Leaves, after some purchases, with 30 marks. Smuggled across the frontier by a Jew.] At Słupca I paid the Jew 5 roubles and began to reflect about what I should do now. But I did not reflect long, and resolved to apply to the district government to take me to the army at once. So I started to Konin afoot, and before night I was there. I went to the chief of the district, who after looking through some books told me to present myself in two days. On leaving the office I did not know what to do. I had no home and I did not want to go to brother Stanisław, for I was almost sure that instead of showing compassion he would scold me. I should have preferred it if they had taken me at once, but I could not force them. I wanted to see my family, and finally I decided to go. I thought: "What can Stanisław do to me? I won't let him beat me, and if he does not give me anything to eat I shall go without it. I can also pass the night in some farmer's home." So I bought a pound of blood-sausage, rolls for 5 copecks, and started to Straszkowo. It was thirty-six wiorsta to Straszkowo, but I had the luck to meet a coach going the same way and for a few copecks went on it a long part of the way. The driver was not very talkative, so I loosened the reins of my thoughts. I reflected why I had indeed gone to Berlin. I was there almost four months and found no work, and if it had not been for the consul I should perhaps have died or been sitting in a German prison, for I was very near it when I met that lady with a hand-bag, but God had preserved me from it. And all this my good clerk had done. He promised me that I would find work in Berlin and gave me letters, but those letters were without any importance for me. So instead of being grateful to the clerk, I felt a grudge against him. The army appeared to me now a

plank of salvation, although others would like to lose hundreds and even thousands to get free from military service.

With such sad reflections I reached Straszkowo. As soon as I opened the door, an awful clamor arose, as usually at greeting. When it got a little calmer mother and sister Marya, who was also at home now, began to abuse me much for having returned from Prussia. "Why, they will take you now to the army and you will fight your own brothers, for a big revolution is coming." But I did not care for it at all, and said: "It is better if they take me, for I have got tired of living. I will gladly go to serve in order to stop tramping about the world." Sister Marya cursed me even a few times for being willing to serve the Muscovite, but she did not know, poor girl, that I had suffered worse than a soldier in military service.[1] Stanisław was not at home but in Koło, with his Wanda. They began to inquire how I had succeeded during this year in Prussia. I related as well as I could, omitting the worst. During my relation I ate a little. I told my mother that the district chief ordered me to appear in two days and there was no doubt that they would take me to the army. Mother began to comfort me, saying that perhaps they wouldn't take me, for I was very thin. But this grieved me more than comforted, for if they didn't take me, I should be obliged again to tramp like a beggar. I preferred to work the hardest possible, day and night, only not to tramp, only to work in the same place.

It was after twelve when we went to sleep. I lay down in Stanisław's bed; we had to sleep together. I wrapped my 40 copecks in a handkerchief and put them under my head, for if somebody was curious and searched my pocket, it would be better if he found nothing than those 40 copecks. After some time Stanisław came in. Lucas told him at once that I was there and was sleeping in his bed. "And why, mother, did you admit this tramp into the house and put him into my bed, that he might fill it with lice? He could have gone to the barn to sleep, since he came to serve the Muscovite." Mother tried to calm Stach and to persuade him as well as she could, but he did not cease until he lacked words for further insults. Finally he calmed him-

[1] The whole country was swept during the period 1905-1906 by a powerful movement toward national and social liberty, and Władek does not grasp the civic and patriotic ideals which have moved even his old mother.

self a little, came into the room where I slept and lay down. I turned myself toward the wall and pretended to sleep fast, but did not sleep for almost the whole night. Such was the greeting of my family; instead of comfort after a rather hard year I met insults.

[Goes to Konin, is enlisted and returns.] A few minutes later I bade goodbye to mother and my younger brothers and sisters. Mother pressed into my hand some copecks wrapped with paper, but could not withhold her tears, and everybody cried. Stach was in the school, so I went and knocked at the door. He came out. "Well, remain with God," I said, "I am going to serve." — "Have they taken you?" — "They have," I answered. We kissed each other, and I went. But I had hardly taken a few steps when I began to cry, so that I was unable to move. I leaned against a tree and stood there for a few minutes. When I calmed myself a little and looked around, they were all standing there and crying also, without excepting Stach. I took my hat off for the last time, threw my last, "Remain with God," and started away.

[Taken to Łeczyca. The other recruits are well equipped with provisions and clothing.] And what was my fortune in comparison with theirs? Zero. But I was richer than they in wit and this made me succeed. I always went into the kitchen and got a piece of meat; there was more soup in my bowl, I had almost always a whole loaf of bread in my chest. And therefore also my companions kept with me, and I drank often, thanks to them, a glass of brandy or beer.[1] Here I must mention my three best companions. The first was of the same district as I, stout and big, but little developed; his name was Gabryszak. The second was Piechocki, Gabryszak's neighbor, smaller than I, but more

[1] Władek's success in the army is explained by the particular character of his practical abilities. During his vagabondage he has preserved and developed the faculty of invention of details from moment to moment. And this is precisely the faculty needed in the army, where material existence is assured, there are no distant and important plans, and the whole life consists in details.

developed than Gabryszak. The third, Nogaj, was always as if he lacked the fifth stave [was crazy] and he was a great card-player. I mention them here because I served with them my whole term.

We were in Łeczyca about two weeks and then we went to Odessa. In Odessa we waited for the ship which was to carry us to Batum. . . . After six days we arrived at Batum, and thence by railway through the mountains of Caucasus to Aleksandropol, which was the end of our long journey. For every day of the journey where we got no food we were to receive 25 copecks, and there were seven such days. But when we asked the elder sergeant for money he said that we would receive it from the military chief. Precisely now the elder led us to the military chief, gave him the papers and wanted to leave, but I did not let him go, asking him to pay us for the seven days past and for the present eighth. But he was stubborn and refused to give us money. A quarrel arose whose noise brought the chief himself. The chief asked what was the matter. I explained that boarding-money was due to us for eight days, *i. e.*, 2 roubles to each. The chief called the elder into his office, and after awhile gave us 2 roubles each.

The detachment to which we belonged now was called the local detachment of Aleksandropol, and was composed of no more than a hundred men. Their duty was to escort various prisoners and deserters to various towns, of which the most important one was Erywan. Without boasting I was the best soldier among the young recruits, for the Muscovites were stupid like boot-heels; they know hardly how to cross themselves, and among thirty-two only six knew how to read and write. . . . The chief of this detachment was the lieutenant-colonel Polonkin, but I will call him simply the chief. There was a sergeant-major, an old drunkard of sixty, a good and indulgent man; two older sergeants, one [illegible] and three younger under-officers. The detachment was divided into squads, the first and the second. I belonged to the second. The sergeant was a man from the province of Podole, of Polish origin, but he knew not a word of Polish. He was a piece of a scoundrel and tried to make Muscovites of all the Poles who served in this detachment. He was helped in this by a Pole from the province of Kalisz, Milczarek, who was a corporal. Besides the four of us there were eleven other Poles, but the oldest of them was this Milczarek.

After supper I lay down, and some Poles surrounded me, everybody inquiring about his own country — what was the news. At the same time Milczarek returned to the barracks and one of the men who sat near me called: "Come here, Milczarek, here is your countryman." But he, instead of approaching and asking what was the news in his country, answered in Russian, "Shall I —— him, this countryman?" Then I raised my head and answered in the same language: "You shall not do it to me, but you may do it to a bitch." Then I added in Polish to those who sat around me: "What a vulgar Ham!" They all even grew pale that I dared to offend thus a corporal, but I did not care for it at all. When Milczarek abused me in Russian and threatened that he would not forgive me, I laughed at him, saying that he had forgotten to talk Polish. After this I did not talk to him any more. He was precisely the assistant of the head-sergeant of the second squad and they both tried to russify the Poles, but God had sent me to stand in their way.[1]

The chief came to the barracks once a day, at nine o'clock in the morning, spent about one hour and went away. On the third day we began to learn. But there was nothing to learn, for I read the statute a few times and knew everything, and the next day when the chief was listening the teacher asked me some questions, as the best pupil, and I answered without hesitation, so that the chief himself said, "*Spasibo*" [thank you]. In a word, the learning was easy for me. The drill with the gun was a little more difficult in the beginning, but even thus I was ahead of my companions, and often when they were learning I was free.

A week before Easter the sergeant-major allowed me to search for work in some bakery, and I found it with an Armenian, for 1 rb. 50 a day. I worked six days and earned 9 roubles. For this money I bought a big *babka* for the sergeant-major, treated the elder teacher and bought boots; only I did not spend it all.

Meanwhile summer came and we moved to the camp, and

[1] Of course he could become thus suddenly patriotic only if the patriotic values made indirectly some appeal to his pre-existing egotistic attitudes, and this happened when the behavior of Milczarek aroused a strong personal resentment; and he came to identify himself with the patriotic idea because Milczarek was anti-patriotic. Moreover he was led to emphasize the national separatism because in this way he secured an easy distinction in the eyes of his patriotic fellow Poles. The process is typical for the origin of many a political, social and religious leadership.

learning began for those who were to go into the school detachment [to become under-officers]. I was assigned to this school, as well as two of my companions, Piechocki and Gabryszak. Nogaj went as orderly to the chief's house. Our teacher was now the sergeant of the second squad, who did not know even addition well; in a word, he knew less than his pupils. But "service is not friendship," so we had to listen. There were only two hours a day of this learning. Aside from this I gave all my free moments to learning the military service, and when I did not know anything I went myself to the first sergeant, who taught me and explained. My sergeant was awfully angry with me for not going to him. He tried to annoy me at every step and Milczarek helped him.

Once a gala day came and some soldiers went to the Russian church. My sergeant began to drive me there, but I refused positively to go. He threatened and swore, and at this moment Milczarek appeared and began to instigate him still more. Then I said: "You renegade, you dare to incite the sergeant to make me go to pray in a Russian church?" And it came to this, that the whole detachment surrounded us and listened to our conversation. I talked Polish and he Russian. All the Poles stood behind me and incited me to tease Milczarek, for he was not liked in the barracks by anybody except the sergeant. During the quarrel I said to Milczarek not to be so proud, for the time might come when he would be obliged to salute me. "O ho, you won't live till the moment when I salute you!" And the sergeant added: "I will try not to let you go into the school." And here the quarrel ended.

The time passed rapidly. Five of us were selected to go to the school-detachment. I was a little afraid the sergeant would prevent my going, so I went to Nogaj and asked him to talk in my favor to the chief. And Nogaj evidently did his best, for the next day during the learning the chief came in and sat down at the examination. He told us first to read, then he dictated and we wrote. Finally each of us in turn went to the table and made the calculations which he ordered. After the examination the chief selected four of us, among whom I was, and ordered the sergeant-major to name us: Piechocki, Wiszniewski, Bundarow and Gregorow. . . . My sergeant and Milczarek were almost mad with anger. All the others were glad that I was to go to the school-detachment, for they liked me enough, because I was bold, talka-

tive and spoke in favor of everybody when it was needed. And as I knew the whole statute and knew how to present matters clearly it happened often that my request brought good consequences. For example, when the days of confession arrived I requested the sergeant-major to free us for three days, and we were freed, which never happened up to that time. I was in particularly friendly relations with Bundarow, and more than once he spent the whole night with me, learning from me arithmetic. And as he was very intelligent he surpassed me in this.

Our detachment had no school of its own, but sent its selected soldiers to another regiment in the same town. We had to spend five months there. The chief of the school was a captain, a very good man and still more indulgent. His assistants were four younger officers. Our teacher was also good but only to his own squad, while from others he required even too much when he had an opportunity. The sergeant-major was a piece of a devil, but I knew a little how to keep his brutality in limits. The books which I received for learning lay in my chest without use, and I could learn enough from listening. Some times, when something was more difficult, I took the book from Bundarow and read it a few times. I spent the rest of my time in reading Russian novels which I took from the town library, paying 10 copecks a month. When we sat in class the officer walked about and we had to learn. I had always two books before me; one was the hand-book, the other some novel. When the officer approached I put the first above and when he turned his back I drew my novel.

Once the officer noticed it, approached, drew the novel from under my hand-book and began to look over it, laughing. Then he asked where I got my books. I told him. He laughed and said: "You read novels, and do know the lesson?" — "I know it," I answered. "Well, we shall see." And I always knew the lesson. Gradually the four young officers liked me a little and brought me themselves books to read. Once when we were learning in the class to handle the gun, my officer approached and began a conversation with me. Soon his three companions did the same, and when the conversation assumed wider proportions every one of them put a pupil in his place to command the others, and we discussed. We talked about heaven and hell, then about heavenly bodies; about Adam, our first parent and his sons, . . . whence Cain took his wife; about the deluge, and so on. We began imme-

diately after noon and we talked continually until it grew dark. I stood, leaned upon my gun and talked as if with equals. We could not finish the conversation. Finally the officers noticed that it was dark and said: "Tomorrow we shall finish." They went away and I went also to the barracks.

After that the officers treated me still better and very often we had discussions like that one. Meanwhile I tried much to draw the sergeant-major into a discussion, for I wanted to tell him how inhumanly he treated the soldiers. For indeed it was inhuman. Every evening after the prayer he kept us standing, sometimes two hours, and we had to stand straight and immovable while he explained quite unnecessary things. If it had been only this! But every evening he made an inspection of the *onuczki* ["Russian socks," *i. e.*, pieces of linen], the feet and the neckties, and if he noticed a dirty *onuczka* he ordered the owner to hold it in his teeth. This never happened to me, for I had always clean *onuczki* in my pocket and showed him these, but this behavior towards us pained me much and I sought for means to tell him this. . . . So I began to make advances in every free moment, for he slept with us in the barrack-room, in a corner separated by a curtain. I went often to him, asking him to explain something or other, although I knew it well myself. Gradually I succeeded in drawing him into discussions, trying always to make military service its subject. Finally I was in quite friendly relations with him. More than once we ran about the barracks like children, he after me. Once I went to him and we began a conversation. Slowly a whole heap of soldiers surrounded us and listened to our talk. During the conversation I asked him whether he knew soldiers who had no parents or very poor parents. "I know some," he answered. "And does somebody send them money here, to the army?" — "No, who would, since they have no parents or the latter are poor?" — "Then you see that they are poor people and cannot buy new *onuczki* every few days." — "Let them wash them." — "All right, but if it is winter and the water is frozen, where can they wash?" In short, I showed him everything which I noticed that he ought not to do and which the service did not require. And I began to make him ashamed in the presence of all the soldiers who sat near us, saying that he called himself a father of the company, while he did not behave as a father ought to. "Even a step-father does not act thus. Ask your own reason

whether you behave well, and soldiers whether they think well of you. Do you think that they have no feeling and don't understand your behavior?" The sergeant-major reddened a little that a simple soldier gave him such a lesson, but he could not answer me clearly and the farther we progressed in our conversation the more he got entangled. Finally I led him to this, that he promised to be a real father. And he did not lie, for it showed itself on the same evening. He kept us standing much shorter, and if he noticed a dirty *onuczka* he ordered it washed and not held in the teeth. And as I did not cease working, he became more and more indulgent every day, and he made the inspection only for the sake of appearances and did not notice if anything was dirty. He liked me more and more, and if sometimes I did not go to him he called me himself, that I might relate something to him. I always tried to relate something moralizing and exemplary.[1]

On the examination I succeeded the best possible; I had only one four and the rest fives. I must add that only five did not pass the examination. They had to remain for another five months, and this displeased them very much and they began to cry. I received as a token from my officer a big ocarina, and another gave me skates. I and Bundarow were younger under-officers a week later, and I took at once command of the second squad. A month later I got the third galloon [sergeant], for the man who was to take the command before me was sent to another town. . . . Now I was getting on very well. I had 72 roubles of salary a year, and there was other income [tips] when I began to command the escorts. Milczarek belonged to my squad and had to listen to me, but not long, for soon he went home. I was liked much by the prisoners also, for I treated them always humanly and permitted them to do whatever they wanted, provided they did not go beyond the limits. It happened that as soon as I entered the prison yard and the prisoners saw me, voices were heard: "Our escort-elder! Our escort-elder!" And this was not without profit for me, for it happened more than once that none of the prisoners accepted even a grosz of the boarding-money

[1] Władek's function as moral preacher evidently corresponds to a real social need, for he seems to be almost always successful in various milieux, at least in attracting attention. Has this need been developed by religious preaching, or does it express a general social attitude to which religious preaching itself owes its success?

from me, and when I was going to Erywan I had boarding-money for two days — 15 copecks for each — and there were fifty or more prisoners, so sometimes 10 or 15 roubles were left for me. Again, I took their irons off in the car, allowed them to smoke cigarettes, to play cards, sometimes to drink a bottle of wine, which I drank with them.[1] Some of them were rich, had a hundred or more roubles, broad belts full of gold, while according to the law it was forbidden a prisoner to have more than one rouble with him, and if he had more he must give it to the escort-elder to keep, and he gave him a receipt.

When the prisoners were put in a line I approached and asked whether anybody had more than one rouble of money with him. When he answered that he had none, searching began about his person and in his bundle. It happened that the soldiers found money sewn in the collar or some other place; then they tore it open and gave me the money, and more than once some hundreds of such money were gathered. . . . It was also forbidden to keep glasses or bottles [probably to avoid suicide], only iron cups could be used to drink tea. So we had each about a dozen glasses in our chests. Among those happened to be expensive ones, but only escort-elders got these.

We escorted them with naked sabres and loaded revolvers to the station. The car was specially built, with iron bars in the windows. When the train was running the prisoners' irons could be taken off, but only the handcuffs, never the leg-irons. But this depended on the elder. Then in the car the prisoners could use no other food but bread and water, but this depended also upon the elder. As I said, I permitted them to have whatever they wanted, and at their request I gave them even the money back which I had taken during the search. They again bought so much to eat, to drink and to smoke that no soldier had to spend a grosz.

As soon as the train moved I had to give them boarding-money, and I arranged the following trick. I always called first a rich prisoner, about whom I was sure that he did not care for these 15 copecks. The man called refused the money and told the others in Armenian not to take it, and they all said as one man that they did not want the boarding-money. If a poorer one

[1] This part of Władek's behavior is all right from the standpoint of public opinion. The prisoners were mainly political offenders, and any act committed by themselves or by others to alleviate their lot was socially sanctioned.

happened to be among them and wanted the money, the richer ones gave him these 15 copecks and did not allow him to take them from me. Nevertheless, I called all of them in turn, and when I had performed this act I asked them in the presence of the soldiers whether they had any claims and whether they had received the money. They answered aloud that they had received the money and had no claims at all. Only then I was sure, for even if they complained they would not benefit at all.

Besides this we had income from another source. We admitted into this car people as "hares" [without tickets], and these paid us 2 roubles each for the journey. There were never less than 10 roubles, sometimes more. But I never kept this money for myself; after coming to Erywan we ate and drank for it, and therefore the soldiers tried to get as many such "hares" as possible. The conductors often saw it and were angry as devils, but could do nothing, for nobody was allowed to enter the prisoners' car except those officers whom I knew personally. And there were only two of them, the military chief and the chief of our detachment, and I knew well that they sat in Aleksandropol. Besides them, even if the emperor himself wanted to come in and I did not know him I had no right to admit him. Once when we had taken on an unusual number of "hares" the conductors told a general who was on the train. They did it out of spite, because we refused to share the profits with them. The doors of the car were locked; I had the keys in my pocket. I was calmly lying upon the sofa in the office when a soldier knocked at the door and said: "Some general wants to see you." I got rapidly up, put my belt in order, put on the revolver and sabre, left the office, closing it with the key, and approached the door behind which the general stood. There was a glass in the outer door and I could see him very well. I saluted him in a proper way and asked what he wanted. "Open!" answered the general. I asked for the second time what he wanted. "Open, I want to inspect the prisoners." — "It is not allowed," I answered. "How is that? It is not allowed? Don't you see who I am?" — "I see," I answered, "but I don't know you, so I have not the right." I excused myself and moved away from the door. The general swore violently, threatened me with his fist and went away, while I returned to my office.

There was also an income from a third side, and this one I kept

wholly for myself. When we came to Erywan with the prisoners various people came to see them. This was also not permitted, but when people put some copecks into my hand, well, then it was permitted. In this way also some roubles were put together. But not every escorting was so. It happened that I scarcely earned enough to live, or even that I had to live on my boarding-money, of which we got 25 copecks a day. In Erywan we always spent two days and a night, and in returning we took prisoners again to Aleksandropol. It never happened during my service that a prisoner escaped.

The following year, when new recruits came again, I was assigned to be their elder teacher, and now I seldom went with the escort. There was a Russian, Malcow, who would never learn and always pretended to be sick. Once I ordered them to dress and stand in line. My Malcow dressed also but would not stand in line. Although I told him to stand more than once, he answered that he was sick. I got into a terrible wrath for his refusing to listen in the presence of all, so in my anger I gave him an ear-box with my whole strength, so unfortunately that blood began to pour from his nose. He began to cry and bent over the bed, so that the blood from his nose dropped upon it and stained the cover. I caught him by the collar and pushed him away from the bed, and sent for the surgeon-assistant whom we had in the detachment. The surgeon-assistant came, stopped the blood and then approached me and began to abuse me in a half voice, saying that I had not the right to beat soldiers and that he would write a report against me. I was afraid, for it was forbidden to beat, but I gave no sign of it and began to drill the soldiers, while Malcow went with the surgeon.[1] This happened before nine, and at nine our chief was due at the barracks. A little before nine I sent a soldier to watch for him and when the soldier informed me that the chief was coming I went to meet him and bore a complaint against myself. The chief answered: "You did badly in beating him. You should have told me, and I would have punished him in my own way." — "I lacked patience," I answered.— "Well, the devil take him. And I will tell the surgeon not to mind things

[1] Compare this abuse of authority with the case of the boy Stefan, in Grajewo (p. 2066). Władek had never had such an opportunity to satisfy his desire for recognition as during his military service, and was probably very jealous of his authority.

which are not his business." Then we both went into the barrack-room. The chief ordered Malcow sent for, told him to stand in line and would almost have added some more [beating]. The surgeon got a scolding also and thus my fear ended. After that Malcow improved, and the others also feared me more, for they were sure that I should sit in prison, or what would be worse, that one of my galloons would be taken away. . . . Meanwhile time flowed rapidly and our service was soon to come to an end.

Suddenly one evening the chief came to our barracks and said there would be a review tomorrow, for the general was coming. He ordered us to prepare everything for gymnastics. "But we have neither a ladder nor a barrier." — "You must borrow them from another detachment." — "But the soldiers don't know how to do it." — "Then go at once, borrow them and teach the men a little today." [This battalion has no apparatus because it had been used as fire-wood in the winter. The plan is followed of putting the older men on the right wing, as the review usually began from that end, but the general begins with the left wing.] The general ordered our grades to be lowered, the sergeant-major to be put in prison for fifteen days, and made a remark to the chief. Such was our reward for the review. I and Gregorow wanted to tell the general that we had no ladder nor barrier at all and that those were borrowed, but the chief noticed it and approached rapidly saying: "Don't grieve, I will give you back the grades which you have." We believed him and said nothing to the general. . . . Two weeks later an order came; I had to become a younger under-officer, Gregorow a corporal, and the sergeant-major to sit in prison. And although we begged the chief to try to get back the grades we had before, he promised and postponed it, and finally we went thus into the reserves.

Meanwhile there was sent to our detachment an under-officer who had lost all his galloons. I was to escort my last party and this degraded officer requested me to take him. [Goes without incident except that two university students among the prisoners pay him to allow them to ride to station in a cab.] Returning I

had many prisoners — thirty-two great criminals with handcuffs and leg-irons, and as many lesser offenders. The chief of the prison asked me whether I should be able to take as many with my men. I answered that I was a little afraid and asked for help. The chief telephoned, and some forty shooters [particular corps] with an older under-officer came, but in spite of this I was the commander. Among the prisoners there was a young Greek girl who could not go as rapidly as the other prisoners and remained in the rear with me. We talked on the way, for she knew Russian, and I persuaded her to allow me to foolish with her in the car, but she warned me that among the prisoners was her betrothed and he might not permit it. "I shall find a way with him," I answered. Talking thus, we arrived at the station. The car was not yet there, so I told the prisoners to sit under the wall, surrounded them with my escort and sent the shooters back. Meanwhile we were followed by a still larger throng of people; they were the acquaintances and families of the prisoners, and they came to bid them farewell. They stopped about a hundred steps away, without daring to come nearer. Some were very rich, as could be seen from their broad golden belts. A few bolder ones drew a little nearer, but the menacing looks of the soldiers held them back. One clever man was found among them; he went into the waiting-room and gave me a sign to follow him. I left my assistant in my place and went. All these people waited only for this; they ran in throngs into the room. The man who had called me, when I asked him what he wanted, told me to drink whatever I wished. I did not let him repeat it and drank a few glasses of wine. But this was not the end, for he bought two bottles of good wine for me and gave me a rouble, asking for permission to bid his brother goodbye. I led him to his brother and let them talk, while I returned to the room where others waited for me. Everybody offered me something — half a rouble, some less, some more, and everybody got permission to talk for a few minutes. Moreover everybody treated me. Finally I would not drink more, for I was afraid of getting drunk, so they gave me whole bottles. The car was brought and I led the prisoners into it. We had to wait two hours and the farewells did not cease. Now all the soldiers profited of it, for vodka and wine were carried in bottles. I saw what was coming and asked the soldiers not to drink, but to keep those bottles for later; when we came to the

barracks then we would drink. But not all of them listened to my words. At their head was that degraded under-officer, and although I admonished him more than once, he did not listen at all. There were already about ten bottles of vodka and twice as much wine in my office, and three teapots full of wine, and people carried still more. Some soldiers were quite drunk. I regretted much having permitted it in the beginning and prayed to God for the train to start, for I was in an awful fright. Finally the train started. I did not take the irons off, posted the more sober soldiers at the doors and windows and was continually among them. Suddenly I noticed that the degraded under-officer began to flirt with the Greek girl in the presence of the prisoners, which could have unfortunate consequences. So I took the Greek girl and started to push her into my office, but three or four prisoners got up and barred my way, saying: "Mr. Elder, she has to go with us." Seeing that it was not a joke, I drew my revolver and pointed it at the first man, calling, "Sit down!" They sat down, and I led her into the office. There I had to guard her myself, for the window was not latticed. I did not think about foolishing with her, for I was in grief, but she did not allow me to sit quietly. At every moment she approached the pot and drank wine, persuading me to foolish. And so I foolished three times rather shortly, but forbade her seriously to drink any more wine, fearing she would get very drunk. Soon we had to begin for the fourth time, when Piechocki knocked at the door. I opened and noticed that he was very changed. I asked what had happened. "The prisoners have cut off the revolver of the degraded sergeant." — "The revolver? How? When?" I belted my sabre, rapidly took my revolver and jumped into the car. There all the soldiers were pressed together in one place and looked at me with terror, while that drunkard lay upon a bench among the prisoners. The cord of the revolver hung down, but the revolver was not there. His trousers were wet, for he had urinated and vomited. I took him by the collar and threw him down from the bench, but he got upon his feet and with one movement drew his sabre and wanted to strike me with it. But I had the time to catch his hand and we began to struggle, while the sabre was up; but others came rapidly and helped me to tear his sabre away. I took the handcuffs of one prisoner off and put them upon his hands, for I could not quiet him although I gave him a dozen blows on the ear. Then

I began to search for the revolver, but although I omitted not a single spot I could not find it. I was almost crying, for if I did not find it I should be court-martialed and three years of the disciplinary battalion awaited me. Finally I mounted a bench and began to beg them to give the revolver back. I talked long to their hearts, and half with tears explained my position. Then the same man whose handcuffs I took off approached and said: "Don't cry elder, you are a good man. The revolver is in the toilet-room." In one jump I was at the door of the toilet-room. The revolver was tied to a string and hung down into the opening. When I drew it out it was in order, and all the balls were there. It was lucky that they had not killed some soldier, for they had an opportunity. I breathed freely and was very glad. I went to the office, where Piechocki had watched the Greek girl during the whole time of my search. I took his place, but I did not want to foolish any more, so I drove her out of the office, for I feared she would get quite drunk and cause me trouble. When we approached Aleksandropol the former under-officer began to beg me to forgive him, but I threatened to bring him in fetters to the chief. He wanted to kiss my hands, but I did not permit it. Finally I took the handcuffs off and gave him his arms back. I poured out the wine of which the Greek girl drank, for I was disgusted to drink after her. I handed over the prisoners and warned the soldiers to be silent about this incident, lest it should come to the ears of the chief. When we undressed, we sent for *zakąski* and drinking began. Others drank with us. The year 1906 revelled particularly, for after a few days we were to be set free, so we did not go to sleep during the whole night, but clamored, "Home, Home!"

On the night before leaving I could not sleep at all and spent the whole night in reflections. For, to tell the truth, I shared the joy that the service was finished, but where and for what should I return? I had sent long ago many petitions requesting to be admitted to some place, but everywhere I got the answer that they wanted nobody. I received, it is true, an offer to stay at Aleksandropol as a policeman, but I would not accept this job, for I could have the same in my country. I sent a petition to Siberia, for a place as forester in the province of Tomsk, but there was no place. I sent to Tiflis, for a place as railway-constable, but this also was in vain. I wanted to remain anywhere in order

not to return to my country,[1] and particularly to my family, for my own father wrote me to try to get a place: "You know, dear son, that there is no home waiting for you, and again you will be obliged to wander." Everybody sent me a little money. The most liberal proved Aleksy, for he sent me 15 roubles, Stach three, father two, Paweł ten, Lucus, mother and brother-in-law together ten. In a word I cannot complain about my family, for everybody sent me something.[2] Only sister Marya forgot about me, while I knew from letters that she had a place as kindergarten teacher in Powiercie. I had written also a few letters to Mrs. Dora, and received an answer to every letter. She wrote that she was succeeding very well, but they had no children at all. She asked me not to forget her. About Kazia I knew nothing, where she was and what she did, for I did not have her address. Paweł wrote me that Miss Pelagia was married and my cousin Mania of Łódź had married a barber.

I did not have it bad in the army, but I could not remain, so I had to return, willingly or not. And as I had no reason to go to my family I wrote a letter to Mr. K. in Kutno, asking him to take me to work again. I soon got a letter from him saying that I could come at any time. So I wrote that I would certainly come. I bought a nice civilian suit, a short warm overcoat, shoes, rubbers, a rather good winter-cap. I had a good valise full of linen and about 20 roubles of money. All my companions were going home in military dress; I alone had civil dress, for I had nobody to boast to with my uniform, while all of them were going to their native villages where their parents had some land and where they had girls, to whom they hastened to show themselves in their military outfit. To whom should I have hastened? Who was waiting for me? Nobody. I was not wanted by anybody. I felt pained and sad, and I began to cry, for crying was my only refuge, and in it I found relief. With such thoughts I was occupied on the night before leaving, when my companions were occupied with emptying bottles and singing.[3]

[1] He dreads the return to a milieu which subjects him to certain obligations, however limited, especially since his disorganization by the Prussian trip and the army.

[2] Helping the man who leaves military service is one of the traditionally established manifestations of solidarity.

[3] There is much of the *cabotin* in his composition. (Cf. Vol. I, p. 1029.) He enjoys playing with his loneliness and unhappiness.

[Embarks at Batum. Stormy passage. Received well in Kutno by Mr. K. and allowed to loaf and talk for two weeks with pay. Writes to his family.] After a time the older Miss D. looked at me rather often. I took it for good money and resolved to propose. With this purpose I composed a letter and sent it by mail. I had not long to wait for the answer, which came in the same way. She wrote:

"Resp. Sir: Excuse me, but you should have thought sooner about it, for you had time enough. Now it is too late, for I am engaged to a baker of Łowicz, and if you don't believe me, ask Mr. K. Yours, W. D."

So I was too late with my proposal. I regretted it much, for I thought about marrying her, starting a business on her dowry and ending thus my wandering, but I did not succeed.[1] There was indeed another sister, but this one did not please me at all, so I did not wish to court her.

Meanwhile I received a letter from Stach, that he had got another and very good place in Sompolno. He wrote that he did not need any better place, and invited me for a few days to him. Up to that time I had not thought about visiting, but now I felt the desire to visit my family. I was dressed rather decently. I had a few roubles of money, but I was not in a hurry to go.[2] But Mr. K. persuaded me himself to do it. [Engages a substitute for two weeks. While waiting for the coach in Kutno sees a veiled woman enter the railway-car whose figure resembles that of Kazia.] And in fact it was Kazia. I learned it later from her

[1] The opportunity which he neglected four years ago seems now desirable as a simple means of acquiring security without effort. We have seen that this passive regulation of life was what he sought in the army. Through all his adventures we notice a continual progress toward Philistinism, toward a regulation of life, not in the form of a subordination of his erratic tendencies to the tendency to advance, but of a passive monotonousness of existence in identical conditions. The tramp is often a discouraged criminal; Władek is a discouraged tramp.

[2] The family has lost all its functions. It is no longer an object of the desire for response, as in the original peasant family, not even the object of the desire for recognition, as in the original community, and as it was with Władek formerly. And since it is no longer connected with the idea of home as a resting place, nothing remains but personal affection. How little of this element is in Władek is proven by the fact that he is not in a hurry to go, after three years of absence, in spite of his pose of longing and loneliness.

parents. Angry with myself for not having accosted her, I left the station and soon departed to Łeczyca, thinking during the whole way about Kazia. For it was the first time that I had thought seriously about her. And if I should really marry her now? Well, never mind the marriage, but what living could I give her? But even if perhaps we should not die of hunger, I had a more important reason not to marry her; I did not love her at all. Long ago she had evaporated out of my head. I ceased to think about her and turned my thoughts into another direction. I asked myself whether I should ever have my own bakery and thought how to accomplish it.

[His father is on a farm, Brunowek. Władek attempts to walk from the nearest station, but is wrongly directed to Bruno. Weather unusually severe, he half freezes, falls, is rescued by the manager of Brunowek and driven thither.] On the way we decided to deceive my father and to tell him that I was a clerk and came to take his place, while father would be dismissed. . . . Soon we drove into the farm-yard of Brunowek and noticed my father near the horse-stable. The manager said to my father: "Well, Mr. Wiszniewski, I bring you a successor. You are free to go." Father looked at me but did not recognize me, for he had not expected me at all, and had not seen me for more than four years. To the manager he answered only: "Well, let somebody else try this bread," and he started to go, but I seized him by his coat from behind and said: "Why are you so proud and don't even greet me?" Father turned toward me, stretched out his hand and looked for awhile into my eyes, and only then cried out: "Władek!" — "Evidently I am," I answered, laughing and greeting father.

I stayed there three days, for living did not cost father anything. Thence I went to Sosnowiec for my passport. I called on Mr. and Mrs. R., Dora's parents, and they kept me for the night. During the night an awful snow fell, it was impossible to go afoot and there was no coach, so Mr. and Mrs. R. advised me to stay with them for another night. Next day I went to Koło, and there spent the night with Lucus, who treated me with a good supper. In the morning I went by post to Sompolno. My whole family, who lived with Stanisław, were gathered in the kitchen, whence voices reached my ears. They were so occupied with themselves that they did not hear my entering. I lighted a

cigarette and behaved as silently as possible. Thus I stood perhaps for half an hour in the dark, for the lamp was not yet lighted. Suddenly sister Stefa came in and passed near the stove. I caught her by the dress and pulled her. But she thought it was Stach, and asked: "Shall I light the lamp?" I did not answer but pulled her harder. Then she got a little afraid and went into the kitchen, complaining to mother that there was somebody in the room. Then mother came in herself and I hid myself behind the door. When the lamp was lighted they did not notice me at once, but my cap and overcoat betrayed me. They began to look about the room and saw me.[1] . . . Everybody was glad to see me. The next day Stach asked me what I intended to do, to marry or to go to America. "Neither the one or the other. I intend first to gather money, and only then I shall think about what to do."

At home, that is, in Stach's house, I spent two days. Just then the two weeks ended and I was in a fright. Still . . . I spent another night with Lucus and went to Marya, and spent a few hours with her. Alas! I came back late and lost the work, for the workman whom I left in my place was sick with a venereal disease and two days after my leaving went to the hospital. Mr. K. worked alone for a few days then he took another baker and could not dismiss him before the end of the four weeks. He could have done it, but he was angry with me, not for having come late, but for having left such a workman. He was ashamed that an infected baker was taken from his bakery to the hospital. I wanted to pay the baker for the whole four weeks, but he refused to do it. So there was no other way; I had to go wandering. I took my valise and went again to Sompolno in order to leave it there. I regretted much that I had lost a good place, and unjustly, for how could I know that my substitute was sick? But nothing could be done. Stach now tried to persuade me to marry and promised to lend me money for the wedding. He had even found a girl with a whole thousand of dowry, and he showed her to me. But she did not please me at all, and I did not want to think about it.[2]

[1] His usual preparation of an effect; there is never an immediacy of feeling that would cause him to rush to his family or friends.

[2] That his attitude toward marriage depends on his mood rather than the personality of the girl is shown by his behavior in the case of Wanda D.,

I wrote a petition to the head-forester who lived in Koło, asking for a place as governmental forester, . . . and after a few days left Sompolno. I wandered in the direction of Łódź, finding no work. In Łódź I went straight to the bakers' hostelry, but did not sleep there, for Paweł took me to himself and I spent every night with him. Paweł worked now with another merchant, a very rich man, named Bogdanski.

From Łódź I wandered in the direction of Warsaw. I wandered three weeks without finding work, . . . came back to Sompolno, thence further to Turek. In Turek I did not call on Mrs. Dora for I was not nicely dressed; I had still the suit which I bought in the army. From Turek I went to Łódź again, and there Paweł showed me a telegram from Stach telling me to come immediately to Sompolno to take a place as forester. I started back immediately. Paweł gave me money for the journey. But I came too late; another was sent in my place. . . . I did not know any more which way to go. I spent two weeks with Stach, and although he looked at it very unfavorably, I did not care any more. At the same time my father also lost his position and came to Sompolno, so there were too many of us now at Stanisław's expense. . . . I wandered to Turek in order to beg the governor for at least a place as policeman, but he refused, saying that he had no free place, but advised me to go to Łeczyca to the chief of the country-police, who would receive me certainly, for they lacked a few country-constables. I wandered to Łeczyca . . . and was received. The chief said that my pay would count from this day, but I might still return home until the governor confirmed my appointment. I left the chief's office, very glad that I should not wander any more, but I had a new trouble. I did not know where to spend those few weeks. I did not want to wander, for I was disgusted with wandering. I resolved to go to sister Marya. She was alone, perhaps she would keep me those few weeks. I went to Powiercie, found Marya at home and begged her for hospitality for a few weeks, telling her how my affairs stood. Marya accepted me, though not very willingly. I had room enough to stay, for Marya lived alone in a whole old manor-house. Marya asked the manager to send her a sheaf of straw, and from this straw I made

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in Kutno, in his many hesitations with regard to Kazia, and finally, as we shall see, by his marriage. There comes a time when he will select, but then the personality of the girl will play little rôle.

a bed in the kitchen. The living did not cost my sister much, for she received everything from the manor except meat, bread and sugar. I earned for cigarettes by writing letters for women who came to my sister often enough. For every letter I received 15 copecks. If sometimes I lacked money Lucas gave me some; I went very often to him, and he came from time to time to Powiercie. The rest of the time I spent in reading books, of which my sister had many, among them very interesting ones. . . .

But Marya did not prove a very good sister. She did not want even to cook a dinner for me, and if I wanted to eat I had to cook myself. Marya liked sometimes to bear tales between the manager and the gardener. Once I sat in the gardener's house, amusing myself with conversation, when sister Marya came and began to tell the gardener what the manager said against him. Then I said: "You should rather leave it, Marya, and not tell what people say against each other." Then Marya, like a fury, jumped at me and with her full strength struck me on the face, saying: "You tramp, don't mind my business." And she permitted herself to treat me thus in the presence of strangers. I arose from my seat, said, "Fury!" and left the room. Evidently I could have paid her back, but I did not want to do it, in order to appear wiser than she. And the gardener since then pities her, that is, her lack of reason. Such was, more or less, Marya's character. I never liked her. It happened that I had no money to buy cigarettes and asked her for 3 copecks, but she never once gave them to me, although I tried to be good and helped her wherever I could. More than once I taught the children during a whole day while she went to talk or to Koło to her friends. But she did not appreciate it. And I had to stay there, for I could not go anywhere else. Sometimes she went to the manager, to the gardener or to some woman and ate there, for she did not want to cook. In a word, my days were heavy with Marya.

[After two weeks invited by his brother-in-law to make a visit. Hospitably treated and makes a good impression. Reports for service.] Father lent me 6 roubles, for which I bought boots, and 1 rb. 50 was left. I had one rouble from my brother-in-law and Stach gave me one, and with this as capital I went to take my place. I came to Łeczyca in the evening. The police sergeant led me at once to a lodging where bachelor constables lived, and promised to come the next day and give me further information. In that

lodging there was a kitchen stove, so I cooked my supper and went to sleep.[1] Next morning the sergeant came and gave me constable clothes, for which I had to pay later, a sabre, an old-fashioned gun, a browning, a dozen packages of cartridges, and my service began. My whole occupation was to stand two shifts of six hours on the street; *i. e.*, twelve hours a day. But this happened only once a week, and the rest of the time I only loafed from tavern to tavern. The sergeant was very good and I crept rapidly into his favor. He told me to copy various circulars into a book. The chief was very severe, and God forbid that he should meet a drunken constable! Immediately he put him into prison. But he allowed tips, only without witnesses.

Winter approached and I had wasted almost a year in nothing. I was to get my first salary on the 20th of the month. I served on the following conditions: 15 roubles a month of salary, 40 roubles a year for clothes, 10 roubles for soap, oil and straw for mattresses. A married man received besides this 50 roubles for lodging. The salary was small indeed, 50 copecks a day, but we took tips, wherever and whatever we could, and it was almost possible to live on the tips alone. Moreover, very often somebody treated us with a glass of vodka, and with the vodka there was also a *zakąska*. I could not get any tip in the beginning, for I did not know all the ways, and I had to live on my salary. But I was satisfied even with this, for at least I did not need to tramp about the world.

Winter passed thus and summer came without any incidents. I wrote from time to time to my family, but corresponded mainly with Paweł, for bad fortune had united us much. He asked my advice, whatever he wanted to do, and I asked for his. Never a week passed without my receiving a letter from him. To Aleksy alone I did not write at all, and I had not seen him since I came back from the army. He came once to Sompolno, it is true, while I was there, but I went out in order not to meet him, for I was angry with him. If he had wished he could have found a much better place for me than the one I had.

[Sent temporarily to Poddębice to guard the post office.]

[1] The acceptance of a constable's position represents a further lowering of his social claims. The constable or policeman in Russian Poland was generally despised because he was serving voluntarily a hated government and because he took tips.

It happened often that many telegrams came to be delivered from Poddębice, and the postman could not carry them alone and took somebody to help him. The carrying of such telegrams was well paid, 15 copecks for every wiorsta, and I agreed with him to carry them, but secretly, without the other constables knowing it. I earned every day some money, sometimes as much as 1 rb. 50. But I had to run ten wiorsta for it, mostly at night, and I did not know the neighborhood at all. It happened that I got so wet that water streamed from me, but I did not complain and often treated the postman so that he would give me as many as possible. When Kukula asked sometimes where I was I answered, "With a girl," and put my money aside. So we spent a whole month there, and Kukula requested a change, for he was tired of staying in Poddębice where he could earn nothing. So Kukula left, and in his place I received another companion, a Moscovite. I did not want any change, for I was better off here than in Łeczyca. Living cost me little, for the priest gave me as many potatoes as I wanted; cabbage was not difficult to get either, for I went at night, cut a few heads with my sabre and brought them home, and if I asked somebody he sent me a whole *mendel* [15]. I got more and more acquainted with people and many treated me. My companion was not at all careful [did not know how to get anything], and I always told him that I bought the potatoes or cabbage and he had to pay half. I went into the field where people were digging potatoes and always knew how to talk with the manor-owner and get a few baskets. Then again when I carried a telegram in the day-time I went to some peasant woman and sometimes succeeded in getting a piece of butter or a chicken. If the chicken was fat I killed it, if it was thin I fed it, keeping it under the bed. Of course if my companion wanted to share it with me he had to pay. In a word, I tried hard on all sides to make money and was satisfied with my existence. I did not leave the butler at the manor in peace either, but went often to him for supper, and I did not cease to carry telegrams.[1] It happened but very seldom that

[1] His greed and activity become boundless and unscrupulous. He never had many scruples, and those which he had disappeared under the influence of the tipping system in the army. His greed is not altogether that of the miser, nor is it that of a man who collects money for a determined purpose. The idea of a bakery is revived later under the influence of Paweł. He collects rather from an interest in the activity — as an exercise of his wits.

even the postmaster invited me to dinner. And people began already to mate me, but I did not even think about it, for my ideal was to put aside enough money and then to establish my own bakery. And thus time flowed monotonously.

[Has a telegram to carry to the priest in Domaniewo and remembers that the Ds. now live there.] On the way I wanted a drink and went to a farmer, asking him for water, but he refused to give it at once, which astonished me, for I saw a well in his yard. He wanted to give me milk, but I stuck to my request, and the more obstinate he was the more I insisted. Finally I took a bucket to draw water myself from the well, and I wanted to learn why he was so unwilling to give me of his water. But the farmer ran after me, took his cap off and began to beg my pardon for having a well not covered with planks, for the law forbade such wells. "It is very bad, farmer. Somebody might have fallen in." — "Why, I know it, but one always prepares and cannot decide to do it. But I tell you, sir, in a week it will be covered, and forgive me this time." — "I won't do you any harm, I will only write your name down." And I took a notebook from my pocket and approached the tablet which was above the farmer's door in order to see his name. While I was occupied with this the farmer went into the house, but did not stay long, and when I was going away he put a piece of paper into my hand and begged me not to make any complaint about him. "All right," I answered, "I won't, but in a week I shall come back, and if it is not done you won't persuade me then to forgive you." When I was far enough away I looked at what he had given me and it was a three-rouble note. "Stupid farmer!" I thought, "for this money he could have covered his well." And I laughed at his simplicity, for if he had not given a reason himself I should never have thought about looking into his well. But it was all right, for he gave me the opportunity of earning, incidentally, 3 roubles.

[Welcomed by the Ds. Mrs. D. weeps from joy. Władek sends out for vodka. Learns that it was Kazia whom he saw in Kutno. She was on her way to Warsaw to Pelagia, who had married a workman. Kazia is now there with a dressmaker.] On the way back I thought about Mr. and Mrs. D. and still more about their daughters, who had no luck at all in marrying. Miss Pelagia married a factory workman, but made no career at all, and Mr. D. forbade them to talk about him at home. Kazia was

of my age and could not find a boy either, and now Miss Helena, young and very pretty, had no suitor at all; at least she said so. Bronis was also spending a life not to be envied. They had no luck.

After that I visited them very often and was always kindly greeted. Mrs. D. called me again her son-in-law, as in old times. Once I laughed saying: "Would you give your daughter to a constable?"[1] — "Why not? I don't see the constable, but Mr. Władek, and whoever he is I would give him my daughter. But he is not in a hurry to marry my daughter." And she was right. I was not in a hurry, for I had had her address for a long time and had not written a letter.

At this time I received a letter from my parents, who were again in their own home. Stach, Aleksy and Paweł put some money together and established a small shop for father in Ruszkowo, a village six wiorsta from Sompolno, in order to free Stach, for he wanted absolutely to marry.[2] At this time I was transferred to Ozorkow, and soon Paweł visited me there. After the usual conversation, Paweł asked me how much money I had. I told him the truth; I had at this time about 40 roubles. "Why do you not put them in a bank? The interest would grow." — "Is it worth while putting those few roubles into a bank? Moreover, I am today here, tomorrow in some other town." — "I will tell you something," said Paweł. "Give this money to me; I will put it in a bank in Łódź, and whenever you have a few roubles, and even one rouble, send them to me. I will put them in the bank and gradually you will gather enough for a bakery. I will give you a note every time." Paweł's suggestion pleased me, and I gave him those 40 roubles. From that time I sent him every month almost my whole salary, and had to do my best in order to live. Sometimes it was very difficult, for I did not succeed always in earning, but in some way or another it went on and Paweł was satisfied with me.[3]

[1] One of the many proofs that Władek is conscious of his low social standing as a constable.

[2] At last a solution of the family problem is found, but it took almost six years to find it. This shows the degree to which even the practical organization of life is dependent on tradition, and how difficult it is to make a practical arrangement that is not in the line of the old association of ideas.

[3] Paweł's influence arouses again the climbing tendency. Left to himself Władek would probably have remained a constable, unless stimulated by marriage.

[Becomes acquainted with a shoemaker, Mr. G., who has a rather well instructed daughter. She lives at home, but teaches the children of a factory owner.] Although I called there almost every day I did not know Miss Helena well. Although we talked with each other whenever we met we never shook hands. First, I felt well enough even without her, and secondly, she was awfully proud, never allowed any boy to call and never walked with any. She was not young any more, hardly one year younger than I. And I was also proud and did not want to try too much to get her sympathy. I was satisfied with a superficial acquaintance. Once when I was leaving their house sooner than she (for she came there every day for some time), I shook hands with her father, said to her only "goodbye" and started to leave. But Miss Helena stopped me, saying: "How is it, Mr. W.? Why don't you ever shake hands with me? I don't know why you act thus. Please explain." — "I beg your pardon very much, Miss Helena, but I did not think that you cared for it. And then you came home and found me here and never made the first step, never stretched out your hand, so I thought that you did not care for it at all. Moreover, women have priority." — "But I am not yet a woman and I have no priority," laughed Miss Helena. "Then let it be as you wish, and from today we shall shake hands." Saying this, I approached and stretched out my hand. After this our friendship grew, and there was not an evening, if I was not on duty, that we did not discuss serious questions. I met my match, for she did not allow herself to be "talked over," but had an answer to everything. Gradually the friendship grew into a little love and it went farther and farther. And her father praised much the qualities of his daughter. He did not forget to tell me that Miss Helena had in the bank 600 roubles, and showed me her clothes, of which there was a big chest full. I had not much against it, only it was my misfortune that I did not know how to love. On warm summer nights, we went into the garden of the factory owner and there we either sat or walked, listening to the song of the nightingale. Such evenings passed very pleasantly. I liked very much to talk with her, and we never lacked subjects of conversation, for Miss H. had read rather much and knew something to say about every subject. This was my first acquaintance with such a developed girl, and I can really call her a woman-man. Moreover, she was always in her place. In a word, I had nothing to reproach

her for, but up to this time I had not proposed, for I could not decide what to do, and days and weeks passed.

Meanwhile I was putting money aside and had already a rather large sum. But it happened more than once that after sending the money I had nothing with which to buy my breakfast and had to work hard with my head to find out where to get some money. Up to that time I had not denounced anybody to the court. I was judge myself. This did not please the other constables or the sergeant, but they could never catch me. I had a whole band of street-boys who informed me about everything that was happening against the law. Of course I had to give them a few copecks for drink, for I could not drink with them lest I should be noticed. I was thus informed about everything and always profited more or less. And how many means there were to earn! For example, it was forbidden to play cards for money, either in a private house or in a tavern. As soon as the players intended to gather anywhere I knew it beforehand, and when they expected me the least I entered as if to arrest them, but it ended in paying. Even if they crept into the narrowest corner I found them.

Meanwhile I received a letter from my parents saying that they would keep the shop in Ruszkowo only until New Year, for the house where they lived had been bought by somebody else and the new proprietor would keep the shop himself. So I reflected much upon what to do to help my parents. Finally I resolved to marry, establish my own bakery and take my parents to me. I did not want to lose any time, but resolved to propose to Miss Helena the same evening. I had a day off duty and I spent the whole of it composing what I would say to her. At the usual hour I went to Mr. G.'s home and according to our habit we played dominoes and at the same time wrote love-notes to each other. Upon each scrap of paper I gave her to understand that I intended to ask for her hand today and wrote once that when I accompanied her today I would tell her something important. She answered: "I am very curious; if it is not good rather don't tell me at all." The game ended sooner than usual and we went into the garden in silence; if we exchanged some words they were not at all adapted to our actual mood. Finally Miss H. interrupted this gloomy silence, saying: "Well, Mr. W., you had something to tell me and I am very curious to hear it." — "I intended to tell you, but since you are very curious I will say

nothing." — "No, no, I am not curious any more, only tell me." I wanted to tell her long ago, but I did not know how to begin the matter, for although we had known each other for a rather long time, and I was almost sure that I was loved by her, I was not bold in her presence and never tried to kiss her. Perhaps I did not love her enough and this made me timid. For I must confess that I had dreamed about a different love, not the one I felt for Miss H. For if I wanted to marry her it was rather a matter of business. She pleased me very well, for she was reasonable, serious, knew how to talk, was not ugly, and, what was most important for me, had a rather big dowry, for which a good bakery could be established. But there could not be a question of love, for I understood well what love was but did not know how to do it. Perhaps my time had not yet come. But now it was too late to retreat, or rather it was not too late, but I wanted to improve my existence and did not want to retreat. So when we approached a bench I said: "If you want to know, then please sit down here and hear what I will tell you. But first, I request you, don't interrupt until I finish." — "All right, I promise to do it." Saying this Miss H. sat down and I near her, and I began: "Miss Helena, certainly you could have guessed already my intentions with regard to you, for you would have been blind not to notice them. And although you knew them you did not avoid me. It means, in my opinion, that I am not repulsive to you either. As to me, I have felt respect and sympathy for you from the first moment, and today I resolved to declare my love to you. So, I beg you, deign to answer me positively whether or not you will go with me the way of life and share with me good or bad fortune." — "Indeed I don't understand what you want to say. Please speak more clearly," answered Miss H. Then I took her hand, pressed it to my lips and said: "Then I will speak clearer. Will you become my wife?" When I said this, and during this whole speech, I was as if in hot water. When I said those last words Miss H. did not tear her hand away, only answered: "Mr. W., I was not prepared for such a question and an answer requires some reflection. I hope you won't take it in bad part if I don't answer at once but reflect a few days about it and then give you a positive answer. For I confess sincerely that I am greatly afraid. I have seen so many unhappy marriages and I take from them a lesson for myself. I am not a very young girl, and from

this you can conclude that I am not in a hurry to marry. For I represent marriage to myself in a very different way from that of my various friends who think only about marrying, and don't care what their husbands are doing outside of their homes, provided they give them the money they earn. For me it would not be enough. I could not bear to have my husband spend his free time outside of the home, walking from tavern to tavern and finally return drunk and quarreling. And because I have not met such a man up to the present time I am girl to this day and feel very well. I prefer rather to remain an old maid than to make such a career as some of my friends." Here she named a few of them whom I knew also, and she was right, for their life was not a pleasure.

[Promised an answer in a week.] When I left her I did not go to sleep but near the river in order to reflect about what I had heard from Miss Helena. As the reader knows, we had talked very seriously for lovers. I was sure that after such a long speech I should receive a basket, for I belonged also to those who loafed from tavern to tavern while I was putting money aside, and she knew it well. But I considered myself excused, for I did not serve in order to serve forever, but only to earn enough to establish a business of my own; so I did not select the means which led to earning a few copecks. And in the tavern it was most easy to earn or to learn something. And I had also another benefit, for with a glass of liquor, according to the Polish custom, there was also a *zakąska*, and I did not need to buy any food. Therefore I did not avoid the tavern, and Miss H. knew it. But never up to this time had I got drunk, for the chief disliked it, and it was necessary to guard one's self against it. It was quite possible that Miss H. considered me a drunkard, but I did not care what she thought about me, for I was occupied exclusively with my ideal and often discussed this subject with her. But she knew my habits, and this, in my opinion, was why she asked for time to reflect. This had humiliated me a little. But again I asked my own reason whether I should lose much in losing Miss Helena forever. And I had also an answer to this question; I should not lose much. I had indeed besides her many other girls, but they were mostly factory-girls, impossibly spoiled. I should prefer to take the worst servant than such a factory-girl. There were exceptions, but where can you find them? Well, but Kazia

still lived, and should I not meet still better and richer girls than Miss H.? So thinking, I prepared myself for every possibility. She gave me a hope indeed that she would perhaps give me her hand, but hope is very deceitful. Even the shipwrecked man in the middle of the ocean has hope and with this hope goes to the bottom of the sea. How often I was deceived by hope during the twenty-five years of my life! The reader knows what I had enjoyed in this world. And my constable-service, was it agreeable, with those 50 copecks a day. How often it was necessary to give offense to people in order to earn a few copecks! How many insults and curses those people sent toward the constable! And how often some drunkard insulted the constable openly in the middle of the street, and the public witnessed it, and was merry that this had happened to a constable. And he had no more consideration than a dog, for the public even called us "dogs with mouthpieces." And I had to bear all this for the sake of bread. And it happened that some old woman got drunk, and I had to lead her to prison, and she clamored aloud: "You dog's blood, you thief, you drunkard, you whore's man! You get drunk yourself, and you don't allow me to do it?" And what could be done? It was impossible to shut her muzzle and she clamored until the prison door closed behind her. In a word it was not an enviable service. Therefore not a single intelligent or somewhat instructed policeman can be met in the whole Russian Empire, for nobody who knows how to respect himself wants to be a policeman. But for me it was better than tramping about the world, for as long as I tramped I was nothing, had nowhere to sleep and nothing to eat, while now, if I was nothing, I had at least enough to eat and a place to sleep; so I preferred this. All my brothers had ceased to write to me, except the wise Paweł; the others were ashamed of my being a constable. From my brother-in-law I received letters indeed, but in every letter he gave me to feel that I was a constable. So, after a good reflection, it was not so bad of me if I wanted to marry without great love.[1]

[1] While he treats the matter as a piece of business he misses the sentimental element he was accustomed to find in such relations, and his desire for response was rebuffed by the criticism of the girl. A period of reflection is due at this point under any circumstances, and the reflections are substituted for the response he failed to get. The poem below is a conscious effort to gain this response and a higher standing, and in this he also fails.

Thus I dreamed, walking on the riverside, and the sun was already high in the heavens, but I did not want to return to my home. I thought further about Miss Helena. Suddenly the idea came to me to compose some verses about her, as a proof that I did not sleep during the whole night but thought of her, and then to show it to her. So I drew a note-book from my pocket and began to write. I did not succeed soon, but after long labor I wrote what I wished about myself and my declaration:

I wander during a quarter of a century
As if not a man, but a bird, an eagle.
I had shattered more than one cloud
But I did not find what I wanted.

Once I met a dark cloud
And raised up my eyes;
I saw a star shining clearly,
And she tore my heart away.

So I took a decisive step
And asked the little star for her hand.
But she said: "O little man, I am not in a hurry;
As to this — I shall reflect."

And although this star shines in the azure,
There is death, not life, in my heart.
For she tore my heart from my breast.
I die from longing
While she capriciously hesitates.

So have pity on me, little star!
Let us make a nest together.
And decide it soon; let me not wait,
For with every day life flies away.

These verses, it is true, are not such as a poet or a learned man would compose, but only a constable composed them, so I beg the reader to excuse me for having put them here, but they pleased me, because they were true. I wrote them not for the world, but for myself and for Miss H.

After writing those verses I returned to my room, copied them upon a clean sheet of paper and put them in my pocket in order to give them to Miss H. during the evening. I kept the original as a remembrance for myself. When we met in the evening I said to Miss H.: "Please read these verses which I found in a book." But she did not let herself be cheated, and recognized at once that it was my own composition, for she recognized her own words. So she said: "Mr. W., you wrote them yourself, you did not find them in a book." She said only this after reading my verses. I wanted her to give them back, but she kept them for remembrance.

A week passed rapidly and I was to hear her verdict. Toward the end of the week I received a letter from Paweł in which he wrote me that he would come the following Sunday to talk over some business. I did not know what business it was, but I was sure that whatever Paweł said would be good. [She agrees to marry him if he will quit the constable business and establish a bakery.] I was raised to the fifth heaven by my success in reaching this "black cloud." For she was also a brunette, tall, strongly built, with a white and very delicate complexion. Her big black eyes had above them long arches of black eyebrows. She was not very beautiful, but not ugly — an average town girl. But she had an intelligence much above the average. After leaving my betrothed I returned home in order to reflect about what I had done, for the best ideas came to me while I lay in my bed with closed eyes. I did the same today and reflected long, but found nothing bad in what I had done.

On Sunday at ten in the morning Paweł was already with me. I had written him something about Miss H. and he was very curious to see his future sister-in-law. We went for breakfast to a restaurant, and Paweł spoke as follows: "Władek, you know that our parents will stay in Ruszkowo only until New Year, so I would advise you to establish a bakery in company with them. For you it would be better and for our parents it would not be bad. This is precisely the business on which I came to you." "But, Paweł, I have not money enough to establish a bakery and I am afraid to begin with such a small sum." — "It will be enough," said Paweł. "Now you have 145 roubles and it is two months till New Year; if you send me your salary for two months you will have nearly 200. I will lend you 50 more, and our parents have also

something, so it will be quite enough to establish a bakery. And if you still lack some money I will lend you more. Now it depends only upon you, whether you agree." [Agrees. Is to make a preliminary visit home. Paweł is to send him civil clothes. They sit until noon.] Just then I noticed Miss Helena going to the church. I said: "Look, Paweł, there is your future sister-in-law." Paweł looked and said: "Come, we shall also go to the church, perhaps I shall be able to observe her." . . . As soon as we were outside of the church Paweł said to me, "Do you know, Władek? Although I like you, I will tell you at once that your girl does not please me at all. (Paweł did not know that I had proposed already.) I advise you, as a good brother, leave her, while there is time. Why, she is rather old, looks like a cook, and you fell in love with her, you, Władek? Have you no younger and prettier ones? I am much surprised at you, and I will tell you truly that if you want to marry her the whole relation between us will be broken. Well, perhaps it is not so strange, for such old girls know well how to set snares for young boys." I was rather offended with Paweł in the beginning, but as he and I liked each other and usually told each other the truth, I was silent at first, and then began to relate Miss Helena's good qualities — that she was rather instructed, wise, serious. I did not forget to tell either that she had a rather big dowry, 600 roubles. "You are silly," cried Paweł, already half angry (and I must add that he was very impetuous), "I tell you that every old girl is wise and serious, sometimes even too wise. I advise you to leave off these silly dreams. I don't deny that she can be a suitable wife for a constable, for constables usually marry cooks. Have you already fallen so deeply in love with her that you cannot leave her?" Finally I told him about my proposal and explained the reason I did it. After listening, Paweł said: "I cannot blame or condemn your intentions, but now according to our agreement you have no reason to marry her, for you have other duties, duties with regard to our parents. Let them live with you for some three years, and during this time you can find a more suitable wife." — "You speak well, Paweł, but can I retreat now, when I have proposed already." — "Oh, you! Are you the only man who breaks off with a girl? There are cases when people separate at the moment of wedding. I have proposed already more than once, and don't think of marrying. If you don't want to break off try to make

her despise you; there are plenty of means. Tell me positively what you intend to do with your Miss Helena, that I may know what to think about you." After reflecting awhile I answered: "I will try to follow your advice. Be sure and count upon me." And we sat for a long time, emptying glasses which Paweł ordered at his own expense from joy that I had listened to him.[1] Meanwhile the evening came, and Paweł was to leave at ten. Now it was seven, so we went to walk about Ozorkow and arranged plans for the future, without mentioning Miss H. at all. We happened to pass before her house and only then I remembered that the formal betrothal was to be today.

[Explains to Miss H. that he could not come on account of Paweł's visit.] "And I was a little tipsy and would not come to my betrothed in such a condition." I tried to kiss her, but she pushed me slightly away. To tell the truth I was glad in my soul that she was angry with me. I did not try to get a kiss by violence, drew farther away and lighted a cigarette. "All right," said Miss Helena, "but why did you not tell me everything? I am very curious what your brother said about me after leaving the church." — "He said nothing which could offend you. You pleased him rather and even if it were not so, has my brother any right to select a wife for me? I am of an age to dispose freely of myself, and neither my brother needs to select a wife for me nor I for him. So I think that I have satisfied your curiosity." — "Only in part, for I see that you want to put me off with mere words. But be it so. And can I know what business your brother had with you?" — "Yes and no, for those are family matters about which you will learn a little later, and please be patient." Finally we became bored with talk which led to nothing, and I said: "So you won't be reconciled today and we shall separate in anger?" — "Let the person who is guilty beg for reconciliation." — "In that case let me be guilty." And I began to beg her pardon. Miss H. waited only for this, and forgave me at once. When I had kissed her

[1] The incident shows the power of familial feeling at this stage of culture. Władek was prepared to leave the girl anyway, but the criticisms of Paweł are irresistible. Standards of matrimonial eligibility — age, beauty, etc. — are traditionally determined, and the individual who does not follow them lowers his social standing and that of the family, since it is assumed that he could not do better. The situation is the same as in the case of the girl who will not marry an old man or a cripple. Pelagia would not think of marrying a man who was undersized.

hand and lips, she said: "Let it be for the last time, for another time you won't succeed so easily in getting my forgiveness." — "And perhaps I shan't need it any more." I thought.[1] After that evening I began to call more rarely and did not mention the engagement. Miss H. complained often about my indifference, but I excused myself always in some way. And after this I did not get a single kiss, and I did not try at all to get any.

[Gets a week's leave and starts to Łódź to join Paweł. Meantime Stach had married his Wanda, "who carried her chin higher than her nose," and had not invited Władek, fearing that he would come in his constable's uniform and disgrace the family. Paweł learned of this and refused to go to the wedding. In Łódź Paweł provides himself abundantly with wine, etc., and they start toward their parents in Ruszkowo, but stop in Straszewo to see their brother-in-law. Are enthusiastically received and announce that they have come to get drunk. Leaving, they take the brother-in-law and sister along, "resolved to seek impressions and not to omit a single tavern on the way." On the way they send a telegram to Stach in Sompolno: "Łódź, Ozorkow and Straszewo in Sompolno." Members of the party separately and secretly buy brandy and food for the parents. Plan of the bakery explained to the parents.][2] Everybody was glad, particularly mother, and

[1] Here as always Władek avoids radical acts or words that would produce an unpleasant response; and this is compatible with the most cold and brutal egotism. He does not care how much pain he produces, provided there is no outbreak.

[2] This trip suggests the old Polish "*kulig*," a form of amusement used by the nobility during carnival up to the last century and later, but whose spirit became traditional. A party went from manor to manor, staying for some hours and dancing, eating and taking their hosts with them, while some of those who had joined the party earlier might leave. Every one was supposed to receive the *kulig*, expected or unexpected, at whatever time it arrived, and failure to show the best hospitality led to a loss of standing equivalent to an exclusion from society. The function of the present trip was to establish a solidarity of emotions above the diversity of interests, and it is noticeable that this aim was largely conscious. They bought liquor "for the way," because they "feared they might get too sober," and "wanted to be in a very good disposition."

from all sides praises were given to Paweł for trying to help others. When we had eaten and drunk everything, we prepared to go to Stach, where we were to stay over night, either to sleep or to drink. At 12.30 we left Ruszkowo, taking with us mother and Stefa, to be with us at this "ball," as brother-in-law called the future amusement in Stach's house. I cried in our parents' house from emotion, well, and from abuse of *Schnaps*, but when we started I was already sober and merry. In less than an hour we stood before the school of Sompolno. We did not knock at the front but at the rear, for the bed-room was there. We knocked at the window, the maid opened the door and Stefcia went in. But although she stayed there some minutes no light appeared and Stach did not come to meet us. So we were sure that he was not at home, but Stefcia came out and said that Stach had no place to receive us, for the floor in the living-room was freshly painted and his wife slept in the bed-room. As soon as Stefa said this brother-in-law and Paweł were upon the street. But I would not believe what Stefcia said, and went into the kitchen. The door from the kitchen to the bed-room was open, so I stood in the kitchen and said: "Good evening, Stach." When he answered I asked: "Can I come farther?" But the voice of my sister-in-law answered: "No! No!" I did not wait any longer, but went out through the courtyard upon the street. There I found our coach, mother, Stefcia and Florcia. The latter asked me: "What did Stach say?" — "Nothing, only sister-in-law did not allow me to go into the room." Then we bade goodbye to mother and Stefcia, for they were to stay with Stach over night. Florcia and I mounted the coach, I threw the last words: "Remain with God, mother, and thank Stach for his hospitality," and we started. I noticed that mother was crying.[1] Soon we overtook brother-in-law and Paweł much downcast by this incident, particularly brother-in-law, for he pitied his wife who had to spend the night without sleep. We began to reflect where to go. "Do you know, boys?" said brother-in-law, "let us go to my

[1] As in the case of Aleksy, the wife is not assimilated to the husband's group and there is a struggle for solidarity between the large family and the marriage-group. In this case the isolation of the marriage-group appears not only as familial, but as communal, since they put themselves, not only outside of the family, but outside of the social circle of the family and into another class. This leads, as we shall see, to a boycott of Stach.

kum, Zawadzki's forester in the forest of Lubotyń." — "Let us go," we answered, and went, but not so merry as before. Nobody said a word more about Stach. [Entertained by the forester. Władek reaches Ozorkow] one day sooner, for I had expected to spend this day with Stach.

I wrote at once a request for dismission. I went to Miss H., but only to spend my time, and neither she nor I mentioned the formal engagement. Besides this nothing changed in our relations, only since that last reconciliation we had not kissed. When she asked me where I was I said that I was searching for a bakery for our common life. Paweł wrote me a long letter informing me how I was to act, and asked me whether I had a floor freshly painted and would receive him if he came. During the sixth week I was discharged. I had served one year and two months. I sold my household effects for 10 roubles, bade Miss Helena goodbye, promising her to write often, engaged horses and started to Ruszkowo. I had 80 roubles with me and 130 more with Paweł. This much I succeeded in putting aside during a year of service. And the recent visit cost me more than 15 roubles, and Paweł twice as much.

When I came to Ruszkowo it was the middle of October, so I had to hurry in order to find a place for the bakery. But it was not so easy, for it was too late, and moreover nobody wanted to build an oven at his own expense. During this search, which I made with father, we called once on Aleksy in Slesin. He received us well enough, but sister-in-law, after observing me for awhile, made a very disagreeable joke, saying to Aleksy: "Do you know, Oleś? This Władek really looks like a constable." — "Well, I am indeed a constable's son." And thus my conversation with my sister-in-law ended.

After more than a week of searching we found a place for a bakery in a big church-village, Sadlno, where there were two shops already. We agreed with the proprietor, Ochocinski, that we would build the oven at our common expense. [Władek shows a good deal of energy in pushing it to completion.] Three weeks before Christmas everything was ready. I agreed with my parents on the basis that the shop with various "colonial" [grocery] products would be theirs and the bakery mine, and we should keep the money for bread separate. My parents, after buying the goods, had almost no money left, while I had still 25 roubles.

Almost one half of our property was already in Sadlno. On Christmas eve Stach, with his wife, and Aleksy promised to come to Ruszkowo. I never went to Stach, for brother-in-law and Paweł wrote me so. We corresponded frequently, and almost in every letter there was some mention about the floor. Before Christmas I took Roman to help me and went to Sadlno. Roman was now almost fourteen, Stefcia two years older and Zosia four years older than Stefcia. So Roman was able to help me now a little in baking.

Meanwhile Christmas eve came, and I prepared to go to Ruszkowo for the holidays. I left some loaves of bread which were not yet sold with my neighbor's wife that she might sell them if anybody wanted them, and I sent Roman home first. It was noon when everything was ready, and the supper was to be at six. But I could not get out of Sadlno so rapidly. First my neighbor's wife invited me to divide a wafer with her and treated me with brandy. Then my landlord did the same [then the carpenter, the blacksmith, the dressmaker. He becomes rather tipsy, falls asleep in a tavern and reaches home late.] Aleksy was not there; probably he had been afraid of the rain. But Stach and his wife were there. I did not talk much with my sister-in-law but this did not hinder me from getting reconciled with her and with Stach, for now we lived too near each other. Stach tried to excuse himself, saying that he wanted to receive us, but when he went out we were not there any longer. He regretted much that it happened so, but it was too late and could not be undone.

After Christmas I wanted to begin baking at once, but a constable began to loaf about waiting for a tip, for Tanalski [competitor] sent him, saying that I was baking without a licence. So I preferred to wait till New Year. On New Year we moved to Sadlno, and things went on well enough. The trade was not so bad, although there were three shops now. I went to the priest and asked him to tell people from the pulpit to patronize my bakery and not to take bread from a Jew or a man of some other nationality, and I paid 1 rouble for this.[1]

[1] The pulpit was used as an instrument of nationalism, particularly against the Germans in Posen and the Jews in Russian Poland (the latter in 1912–13). The fact that the priest accepted money shows an exceptionally low moral level in him.

A year passed and, after a calculation, we had our own goods and more than 100 roubles of cash. For Sadlno it was very good. But I must write what profit I had had during this year. I had no profit at all. I lived, bought one suit, smoked for 35 copecks a week and spent some 20 copecks on beer. This was all I earned during this year. Besides this I was not even permitted to call myself the proprietor of the bakery, for father took the whole management upon himself and had me as journeyman. But he did not pay me like a journeyman. I had to beg my parents for every grosz or else to steal it and to buy cigarettes elsewhere, for I preferred to do it in order to avoid quarreling. In a word, I was not pleased with my situation and thought about improving it. But how? I must marry.

And now what benefit did my parents have? Oh, they had benefits, and large ones. I will describe them in detail. Roman was going to the school and the teacher received 5 roubles a month, and many sausages, etc. Stefcia was with Stach in Sompolno, but our parents had to buy clothes and books for her, and she wanted to dress nicely, for she was sixteen years old and wished to be a grown-up girl. Then Zosia, who was with us, needed also to dress nicely and fashionably. Father and mother needed clothes. But never mind; nobody can walk without clothes. But I must add that mother needed various linen for the table, the beds, for clothing, because everything was torn while they lived with Stach, and everything had to be bought. But I should not have cared so much for all this were it not for the robbing of the common fund, *i. e.*, putting money aside each on his own heap. Father was putting aside for shoes, mother for the future, Zosia for dresses or some other needs of which there were always many, Roman, I don't know what for. And did anybody earn even a grosz somewhere else? No; all this was taken from the common fund. And whence did the money come? A little, of course, for the grocery goods, but mostly from baking, for there were two other shops, and bigger ones. But my parents did not calculate all this, although I explained the matter clearly thousands of times and implored them to live with moderation and not to take any money. It happened that I cried, so painful it was to see what was going on around me. Sometimes I made a row. Then father said: "Take your things and go to the devil, and don't try to be master here." I yielded, but repeated it again the

next day. For, without offending my father, can an old man of seventy-three have talent for business? Perhaps, but very seldom. Father felt guilty more than once, but he would not admit anybody to the money. He loved to count money and nobody else could do this unless he was not at home. But even if he returned late he never forgot this function. It is true that he did not like this robbing of the fund either, but he did not behave with enough energy, for he had also some roubles put aside. How many times I took back this money! Once I took 15 roubles from Roman, and often a smaller sum from him or from Zosia. And then they complained that I was taking their money! It happened sometimes that I was going to buy flour in the town and had no money; then I made a search and always a fruitful one. And how much money was sent to Stefcia in Sompolno without my knowing it! And mother, when she put 25 roubles aside, lent them to some farmer, and during a year she had gathered thus 50 roubles. I had no right to this money, for she lent it in her own name. But I had no right to any money at all and was treated like a small boy, for I did not want to rob the common fund. Never more than 50 copecks could be found on me, and I had no money of my own any more, for I had put everything into the business. Once I was going with girls to a parish festival two miles away and I asked father for some money, and he gave me, as if in a joke, 6 copecks! I wrote often to Paweł asking him for advice. But he advised me always to let the money for bread be put into another drawer, and this could not be done, for I should have to sit in the shop the whole day from morning till evening, and I could not do this, for I worked at night and must sleep during the day. So there was no other way now except to marry, to take everything that was mine and to establish a bakery elsewhere.[1]

I regretted much having established the business with my parents. If I had been a constable for a year more I could have established a business of my own, while now my money was completely lost. My only salvation would be a wife with a corresponding dowry. It was precisely carnival and I began to look about. But on what conditions did my parents want me to

[1] The situation is interesting as showing a stage of evolution at which the members of a decaying familial organization still claim the rights but do not recognize the duties of this organization. *Cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction: The Peasant Family; Economic Life.*

marry? First they wanted me to marry any girl whatever provided she had money, and after receiving the dowry they wanted me to give them 300 roubles; then they would go somewhere else and establish a shop and would leave me my own bakery. And in leaving they were to take all the contents of the shop. It was well planned, but I was not so stupid as to agree to everything my father wanted. I was rather too good a son, and allowed everything to be done with me, but in the matter of marriage I opposed them positively. I wanted to marry only a girl whom I could really love and in whom I should have a good companion of life. As to giving money to my parents, I thought that we would talk about it when the time came.

Meanwhile during this year I got acquainted with a dozen girls, among whom were rich and poor ones, but none suitable to be my wife. I now spent almost all my free time outside of home. Among all these girls there were two, one of whom pleased me very much. She did not please my parents, but I began to love her really. The second was Miss Helena Pałaszyńska, the shop-keeper's daughter. This one pleased my parents very much, and I did not avoid her, although I did not love her at all. She was older, a good housekeeper, and she knew how to manage the business. She loved me strongly. I must add that Mr. P. took bakery products from me, and we lived in a rather good understanding.

Now I will try to describe my relation with the first girl, Miss Stasia, for this was the name of the girl whom I loved for the first time, and her family name was Lesiewicz. Her father was a blacksmith and lived at the end of the village. He had his own house and forge, three morgs of land, a very nice orchard, which he rented for 100 roubles or more, and some 100 roubles in cash. In a word, they were people of a middle fortune. Mrs. L. was a merry woman and knew how to show off a little, but sometimes she boasted too much and had a rather long tongue. But generally speaking she was a good woman and saw the whole world in her Stasia. I sometimes saw Miss Stasia when she passed by my bakery going to the church, and wanted to get acquainted with her. I knew her parents already, but had not been in their house up to the present. And when Miss Stasia began to please me more and more I went one evening to visit their home, where I was very well received. But I could not tear my eyes away from

Miss Stasia, for in her home dress she looked more like an angel than a girl — a tress of blonde hair falling down, a round face, very large blue eyes, a white and delicate complexion, cheeks pink as apples, a small and very delicate hand, not hardened with work. She still wore short dresses and her parents treated her like a child and petted her continually. Therefore Miss Stasia was a very spoiled daughter, and impossibly modest. She had just finished sixteen years and was somewhat too little developed for her age, for she had been for a very short time in school and did not like to read any books. So I occupied myself with her education. I related various instructive stories, taught her, explained everything, and induced her to read books. I read myself aloud to her, and when she did not understand anything I explained it to her. Her parents were very glad that their dear little daughter was getting more educated, for they liked books enormously, but none of them knew how to read fluently. Besides Stasia they had still two children; a daughter Lodzia, about thirteen, and a boy of five. Lodzia was still going to school, but she was more intelligent than Stasia.

I and Miss Stasia felt during these lessons that we sympathized more and more with each other. Mr. and Mrs. L. liked me much and I spent some hours with them every day. For the first time in my life I felt that I began to love Stasia the "duckling," and I was glad of it, but it could not yet be called a true love. Soon my parents got better acquainted with them, invited them to supper and then again were invited by them, and we lived in friendly relations. Zosia became even a great friend of Miss S. and brought me from her various secrets which I wanted to know. And thus time passed pleasantly at the side of Miss S. I had the intention of asking for her hand when she finished her eighteenth year. Even now the whole parish called us engaged and it came to our ears. Stasia was very confused, but said nothing, nor her parents either. I saw that they would be glad to give me their daughter; but not yet, for she was still a child. I should not have dared to marry her myself, for I pitied her. So I waited and watched, lest anybody else should take her from me. On Sunday there were always many boys in their house, but mostly sons of poor farmers, for whom Mr. L. did work repairing their carts, plows, etc., and thus on Sunday the boys all came to the blacksmith to smoke a cigarette with him and to listen to some story.

So when so many boys were there, I went and called Miss S. to a walk. Those boys were very angry with me, but they could do nothing, for I treated every one of them very politely.

Meanwhile I did not forget Miss Helena either. She was also a friend of Miss Stasia, but used all means to marry me. I went there, but not as often as to Miss Stasia, and only to spend time. Thence various gossip and anger arose. Miss Helena used various means to make me call on them as often as possible, and if I did not go she came to us herself, as if calling on sister Zosia. She knew so well how to please my parents that they wanted me absolutely to marry her. She was very good toward me, but she was an awful "teacher" and liked to talk only about impossible things, so her company bored me and I preferred to spend the time with Miss Stasia. Helena's mother teased me about this, but I did not care for it at all. It happened sometimes that I said something against Miss Stasia, and Miss Helena immediately took the opportunity to tell her this and to cause some anger between us, and sometimes she succeeded; then I walked with Helena and called more often on her. In general it would seem at the first sight that I was in better relations with Miss Helena than with Stasia. They could be called rivals, only Stasia was still a naive child and Miss Helena a grown-up girl, superior to the first in everything. And Miss Stasia repeated everything to me. Once Miss Helena told Stasia that I had called her a whelp [silly child; rather offensive] and said that I would marry her only if Mr. L. gave me a full 1,000 roubles of dowry. Mr. and Mrs. L. got very angry and began to reproach me with this when I came to them. From word to word we quarreled a little, for they loved their daughter deeply and did not want anybody to offend her.[1] Moreover my mother sometimes said something offensive about Stasia to other women. Once when I came to Stasia she began to reproach me because my mother did not like her and said that she had better play in the sand and bake mud cakes than to flirt with me. It is true that my mother always liked to say something against Stasia, but if the latter had been a little wiser and more experienced she would have guessed what my mother and Miss Helena were about. But Stasia cried instead. Sometimes she said in anger: "Why does he come here if he slan-

[1] His desire for response gets him into difficulties by leading him to say everything that will please anybody at a given moment.

ders me to people?" I had much grief from all this, and asked mother not to tell strangers anything. But mother said: "I will talk in spite of you, to keep you away from there. If Mrs. Lesiewicz took a broom and drove you away I should be glad, for you ought not to try to seduce such a whelp." And in general mother spoiled my plans and this pained me much, but I could find no way out of it.

In the winter Miss Stasia went to Kleczewo to learn cutting, for she knew how to sew already, and she spent three months there. I longed for her and wrote frequent letters, full of love. Alas! I received answers to none, for Stasia was still ashamed to write letters to a boy, and moreover she was ashamed of her handwriting, which was very ugly. But she cared much for my letters.

During the time when Miss Stasia was away I went oftener to Miss Helena, and people were certain that I would marry her. I must mention that Miss Helena more than once sent matchmakers to persuade me to marry her. They said that Miss H. would receive 500 roubles of dowry and the whole *wyprawa* [outfit]. Moreover her god-mother, who was also her grandmother, intended to add 200 roubles more. To tell the truth, it was a nice dowry for Miss H., but we shall see how much truth there was in it. Well, before Christmas in the first year of my stay in Sadlno I went one evening to Miss Helena. Her parents were not at home, so we were alone. Miss Helena treated me with good brandy, drank a glass herself, and after the *zakąski* we began to talk about various matters. It came to this, that Miss H. began to relate about her suitors, and said that she received a letter from one suitor in the army, who was to return in a year. Then, quite unintentionally and more as a joke than in earnest, I said to her: "Miss Helena, what would you say if I asked you for your hand? Would you become my wife?" — "Yes, I agree, for I thought about it long ago." And she stretched her hands out to me. Only now I understood what I had done, but I was not sure whether it was quite serious. I caught her hands and kissed one of them and later did the same with her lips. We kissed each other as much as we wished and before her parents came back we were really engaged. But I did not wait for her parents to come back, and went to work. I told my parents that I had proposed to Miss H.; they were very glad, but I was not yet convinced whether I had done it seriously or in jest. When

I went the next day to Miss H. she said at the first opportunity that she had told her parents what happened yesterday. I noticed that I was received in a different way, for when they treated me with supper the table was covered with a clean white table-cloth, and they were very talkative, but we did not mention the marriage at all. Thus a few days passed when suddenly their cousin Ludwika (who later became my wife) came from Wilczyn. She was a rather pretty girl, twice as much so as Miss Helena, but I did not pay any attention to her then, for I was occupied with Miss Helena. One evening I went to them and found everybody sitting in the room, but I don't know how it happened that when I looked around awhile later there was nobody except me and Miss Helena's parents. Then the idea flashed in my mind that it was arranged intentionally in order to give me the opportunity to ask her parents for their daughter's hand. I wanted to profit of this, arose from my chair, kissed Mrs. P.'s hand, shook hands with Mr. P., and began to explain my request. My legs shook as if upon springs, sweat broke out upon my brow. Mrs. P. noticed it and told me to sit down and not to be so moved. I was glad of this permission, for really I was ashamed to stand any more, my legs trembled so.[1] Unintentionally I looked toward the door which led to the other room and saw Miss Helena looking and listening through this half-closed door. But I went on: "You certainly know already that your daughter promised me her hand and agreed to become my wife. There remains for me only to ask you whether you will permit us to marry and won't oppose this." Then Mrs. P. called Helena and asked her whether she wanted to be my wife. "Yes, I will," answered Miss H. without hesitation. "If you will, my child, we have nothing against it and we agree." — "Yes, we agree," added Mr. P., and sent a sign of cross in our direction, *i. e.*, blessing us. We thanked the parents, kissed each other in their presence, and then Miss Helena went out and we again remained alone. Mr. P. took brandy from the cupboard and we drank a glass each, continuing our conversation. Mr. P. began: "Mr. Wiszniewski, you think perhaps that we shall give much money to our daughter. But we have not much ourselves." I interrupted: "Mr. Pałaszyński,

[1] He is sure of being accepted and he does not care (except for social opinion) whether he is accepted or not. So his emotion is due to the social importance traditionally associated with the act of proposal.

don't let us talk about it now; leave it for later." But he said: "No, I will tell you at once what I can give to my daughter. I shall give her 200 roubles in cash, 100 roubles for furniture, an outfit according to my means, and I shall help you in everything as well as I can." — "But, Mr. P., I don't ask you at all. You are Miss Helena's father and I think that you won't wrong her." — "And when do you intend to have the wedding?" — "I tell you frankly that I am ready at any moment, but I leave it to your decision." — "Then let us have the wedding in May. Do you agree, Mr. W.?" — "All right, I have nothing against it; let it be in May." I talked for awhile and returned home to share the news with my family. They were very gay, but I was very sad, for Miss H.'s dowry was too small, and what could I do with it? Father had decided finally to accept 200 roubles, and to leave me whatever was in the shop, and in my opinion it was not worth 50 roubles. I was puzzled what to do with the pledge that I held in my hand. If Miss Helena received as much as people said, that is, 500 roubles, and her grandmother added two hundred more, it would be a different matter. But now 200 roubles! What could I do with them? Give them to my parents and remain without a grosz? No, this could not be. Why, I was marrying only for business, and what a business it was! From the rain under the gutter. I prayed warmly to God that all this might be upset, for I would not and could not break without a serious reason. I had an honor which was also worth something.[1]

The next day I approached my parents in order to talk the matter over as was suitable. I said that I would positively not give them as much as they wanted. "For what shall I give you 200 roubles?" — "You will give them because with us you became a man. Were it not for us you would still be tramping about the world, and now you are in good conditions." — "Why, but I belong to the company, and one half of everything is mine. Give me my 200 roubles back; I will go and establish a bakery elsewhere." — "I don't hinder you; take your money and go. Moreover you have spent it on eating and smoking long ago." — "Well, and is my work nothing? I have worked for a year and earned

[1] We see here the practical significance of the ritual of official proposal; respect for the socially sanctioned form makes retreat impossible, and thus fixes definitely the line of behavior. The ritual was absent in the case of Helena, in Ozorkow, and the break was easy.

enough for my board, cigarettes and clothes." But although I gave proof of my rights, it helped not at all.[1] Finally I agreed to give 200 roubles but on the condition that father would take nothing except those 200 roubles and the goods which were in the shop. If father had agreed to it I should have had more than 200 roubles, for mother had 150 lent at interest, in the business there were 60 roubles besides the goods, 50 roubles more were due for goods sold on credit, there were two pigs in the sty worth 40 roubles. So I should not have been poor even if I gave the whole dowry to my parents. But they would not agree to it. So what could I do, being in such a situation? Take those 60 roubles from the business and go tramping again? This did not please me at all and I began to cry much because of the wrong which they wanted to do me. I, who had not eaten and slept enough during my constable service, who bore all the insults and bad names in order to earn a few roubles for my own business, I was to be robbed pitilessly of everything I had earned and driven away into the world. Why? and I was the poorest of all my family and they ought to help me, my parents as well as relatives, for I had no position at all except this bakery about which I had dreamed for a long time. But in spite of this I did not think about breaking my engagement with Miss Helena, for my honor did not allow me to do it. My mother made some concessions. She wanted 100 roubles in cash and 100 in notes; I could take for my wedding money from the business, and the pigs were to be killed and the money also turned to the wedding expenses. This was at least possible, though difficult to carry out. I resolved to talk about all this with Mr. Pałaszyński and to ask for his advice, for I was sure that he would not give me those 200 roubles in order that I should give them to my parents, for he intended to give them that his children might use them for their own benefit. Neither I nor any one in his place would have done otherwise. I did not cease to call on Miss Helena, and every day we went farther in our romance. The whole parish knew it already; the very spar-

[1] Contrast of the old and new attitudes toward work. With the peasant, his own work on his own property does not count; it is in a sense due to the property, and there is no idea of quantitative equivalence of economic values that are qualitatively different; the work done at home is not put on the same level as hired work and not evaluated in money. (*Cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction: Economic Life.*)

rows upon the roof twittered about it. Meanwhile Mr. and Mrs. P. intended to invite my parents on Christmas eve to have the engagement repeated in their presence. Miss Helena had to go to Sompolno to buy the necessary things and asked me to go with her. Mr. P. had a horse of his own, so he drove us. Miss H. went shopping and I called on Stach, who knew about my betrothal, and he had me invite them to dinner. Mr. P. excused himself, saying that he was not dressed well enough, but Miss Helena came, and Stach and his wife received her reproachlessly. After dinner we went out together, but I left Miss Helena in the town and returned to Stach. But he "sat on me like a blind horse" [gave a scolding] and told me not to marry Miss H., saying that if I did he would never kiss her hand. "What do I care? If you won't kiss my wife I won't kiss yours." But Stach began to blame Miss Helena in general. In my mind I agreed with him, but aloud I said: "It is not your business what wife I take. I have not selected yours." And we separated almost in anger, but a small one, for I regretted myself having gone so far. But there was no way to retreat.

Meanwhile Christmas approached. My parents were to come after supper on Christmas eve to this betrothal. I bought pretty gold earrings with corals for Miss Helena, which would mean that they were a betrothal gift. After supper, which I ate with my whole family, I went to some of my customers in order to divide the wafer with them. Of course it did not end with the wafer alone, but everywhere I drank some glasses of brandy, although I knew what awaited me. When I came to my future father-in-law's house I found all the guests there. Tea and sweetmeats were provided, and there was enough of everything.

I had already some glasses in my head, and wanted to get rid of this betrothal as soon as possible. At the first opportunity I took Miss Helena by the hand, arose and began: "Here, in the presence of Miss Helena's parents and my own, I announce that Miss Helena has been my betrothed for some weeks, and I ask both my own and Miss Helena's parents to bless us and to allow us to marry, if they have nothing against it." Then I kissed the hands of my parents and of hers, asking them for permission. Miss Helena did the same, and we stood in a humble attitude waiting for what our parents would say. My mother spoke first, saying: "My son, I and your father have nothing against your

marriage, and if you like it we like it also and we agree. We are even very glad and satisfied." Mrs. P. said the same. I and Miss Helena thanked our parents and the betrothal was finished, of which I was very glad. We drank a glass of brandy each, and I and Miss H. went to another room where our younger brothers and sisters were gathered. I had a few words more to say and returned to the first room. In entering I heard my father bargaining with Mr. P. The latter offered 200 roubles and my father stroked him familiarly on the shoulder and asked him to add 100 more. I said: "Leave off this bargaining, father, and talk about something merrier, for there is nothing for sale. Those 200 roubles will be just enough to pay my parents off." Saying this, I poured full glasses and gave them to everybody. I spent the rest of the evening kissing Miss Helena. We stayed in Mr. P.'s house till midnight. Then my mother invited them to come to us on St. Szczepan's day, December 26th, saying: "Please come to us, for there will be a still better brandy than yours."

Next morning we were to go to Wilczyn — I, Miss Helena, her cousin Ludwika, Mr. P. and one of his sons, Janek, sixteen years old. Mr. P. borrowed another horse and a nice *bryczka*. I was to be introduced to Miss Helena's grandmother. I rose early, put on my best suit and went to Miss Helena. They were waiting for me already with breakfast and brandy. I drank a small glass of brandy, we took a basket of various provisions and a big bottle of brandy with us and started to Wilczyn. But before the town Miss Helena told me to turn my mustache up in order to make a nice appearance before the girls of Wilczyn.

The grandmother lay sick in her bed. I was displeased at once, for everything was without any order. Ludwika's mother, who lived in the same house, came and made tea for us; Miss Helena drew the provisions out of the basket and we had a very fine second breakfast. After it I went to Ludwika's mother and spent the time there till noon, for it pleased me there much better than with Helena's grandmother. Ludwika's mother was a brickmaker's widow. She occupied only one room, but very cleanly kept. After me came Miss Helena with her eldest brother Stanisław, who was now eighteen years old and worked with his grandfather as a butcher's apprentice. We sent for brandy, Ludwika's mother fried some gruel-sausage and we ate. We went to the grandmother for dinner. The dinner was composed only

of one dish, *bigos* [stew], and not very good. The grandmother rose for dinner and dressed herself a little, but I was not pleased at all and was hungry as a wolf. I thought already about going somewhere to a tavern to eat, and said so to cousin Ludwika, but she withheld me saying: "Don't go, for if Helena's grandmother learns it she will be very angry." I listened and did not go. After two o'clock everybody went somewhere and I remained alone with the grandmother, who began to inquire about my situation and that of my family, how my baking was going on, how many Christmas cakes I had baked, etc. Finally I said: "Why, you will also prove a true grandmother and will help us with a few roubles in our new household; moreover, you are Miss Helena's god-mother." — "Oh, no, we cannot give anything, for our own condition is very hard; old age draws near and there is nobody to work for us." After this we talked a few minutes, some more persons came and we had to interrupt our conversation. But I felt that I did not please the grandmother at all.[1] For although she was sixty she had many claims, considered herself still young and liked to be considered such and to have her hand often licked. For my part I did not like it at all and did not know how to play politics. In a word, I hated playing the monkey. I must add that the grandmother was of less than middle height and weighed 250 pounds, so the reader can imagine how she looked. And if we add her pride, we can easily think of that animal which wanted to be an ox but could not, for it burst open. But Mr. P. was blindly obedient, and whatever she said must happen. He kissed his mother-in-law's fat hand some twenty-five times.[2]

After a rather bad supper we started back to Sadlno, leaving

[1] He had the right to talk about money, since she had started the business conversation.

[2] The grandmother, as the oldest and probably the wealthiest of the family, had developed a special attitude of despotism which we find in other solitary old women. The tendency to control the environment, usually suppressed by marriage, shows itself strongly when the woman is left a widow, and if not willingly satisfied by the environment may take various, even crooked ways, to attain its aim. (See the Kozłowski series, Vol. I.) This seems to result from the necessity of finding a secure basis of existence — a more difficult problem for the woman than the man. For the latter, independence of the environment may constitute a mere negative limitation of the claims of the environment upon him, while for the former it must assume the form of a predominance over the environment.

cousin Ludwika with her mother. I and Miss Helena sat on the back seat, Mr. P. with his son on the front one. Miss Helena covered herself and me with a big shawl, so that our faces were quite close and we kissed each other continually. Although, to tell the truth, I felt not much pleasure in these kisses, I could not avoid them, for Helena's lips were continually in search of mine. But in spite of these kisses I felt a cloud in the air from which a very cold wind blew and a storm was imminent, for Mr. P., although he was usually talkative, was silent now. Finally I said: "Mr. P., what does it mean that you don't say anything to us? Are you angry about something? For a strong cold comes from you." — "Well, it was not necessary at all to tell grandmother everything and to show yourself impolite toward her. What is worse, you talked about money. This was quite unsuitable. You have not pleased grandmother at all, for you did not ask her for her god-daughter." — "Mr. Pałaszyński," I answered, "have I to ask everybody, the whole family, for Miss Helena? I have asked Miss Helena herself, then you and your wife, then we had a formal betrothal in the presence of witnesses. I think that it is enough. It would be really too much to ask everybody in particular. Moreover it is not customary [fashionable] and in my opinion it is quite sufficient if the betrothed and her parents agree." — "But you would have lost nothing in asking grandmother also." [1]

The following day I dropped into Mr. P.'s house and noticed at once an awful cold, and Helena was crying. I asked her why she was crying but she promised to tell me later, and did not go to church. After the mass I returned home and told my parents that everything could be considered spoiled. In my soul I was very glad that it happened so, for I was not satisfied with my betrothal. I did not like Helena much, for she was too romantic and fondling, moreover the familial and financial situation did not permit me to marry, for it proved definitely that Helena would have only those 200 roubles which Mr. P. promised.

[1] The passage shows the disharmony introduced into social relations by the opposition of the old and the new attitudes. Pałaszyński takes the traditional standpoint of the large family — that the grandmother was supposed to endow Helena and consequently had the right to control Helena's choice. Władek takes the attitude of the patriarchal family, imitated by the lower-middle class from the upper classes. Therefore he introduces the term "customary" in the sense of "fashionable."

On this day Mr. and Mrs. P. were to come to supper to us. I invited Mr. and Mrs. Lesiewicz also. Mother tried as well as she could to make everything still better than it was at the Ps. In the evening the Lesiewiczs came (Stasia had not yet returned). They remained for a long time, and the Ps. were not to be seen. So I took my hat and went for them, saying nothing to anybody. But they did not think of coming and were not ready at all. I got very angry, but kept the anger in myself and said: "We have been waiting for you for an hour, for you promised to come, but I see that you are not getting ready and I don't know why." Then Mrs. P. said: "Mr. W., I will tell you openly that we have no reason to go to you, for your mother said that my brandy was not good and told me to come to her for better, so this made me very angry." — "Don't you understand joking?" I answered. "On the contrary my mother praised everything." — "I don't need anybody to blame or praise me." — "So you won't come to us?" — "No." — "All right," I answered, "this means that everything is over between us." And without waiting for the answer I opened the door to the second room where Miss Helena was and I noticed that she was leaning against the table and crying. I drew the ring from my finger threw it with wrath upon the table saying, "Take it, please," and went out. I heard Miss Helena calling: "Mr. Władysław! Mr. Władysław!" but I was already outside. Thus finished my betrothal and it is difficult to tell who despised the other [broke the engagement].

When I came home mother was still waiting for the Ps. But I said in the presence of the Lesiewiczs: "Don't wait, mother, for they won't come, and everything is over. I broke off positively with Miss Helena." — "Why then?" asked mother. — "Because you have offended Mrs. P. But it is not worth talking about. It is better that it happened so." — "But I will go to her tomorrow and ask her how I have offended her." — "Do as you please." Saying this I sat down at the table and asked mother to serve the supper, while I poured brandy into the glasses and asked everybody to drink on account of what had happened. But suddenly Mrs. Lesiewicz felt sick, and we brought her to consciousness with difficulty. I have never learned what was the reason of this swooning — whether the joy that my engagement was spoiled or the pain that she would not be at the wedding.[1]

[1] It is conceivable that a woman of this class, whose main sphere of

The next day mother went to Mrs. P. and they had a rather sharp talk. My mother said that Mrs. P. did not understand joking, and Mrs. P. said that she did not need to buy a son-in-law, and thus the matter ended. A week later the whole parish was talking about it, but everybody differently. Some said that I was rejected because I got awfully drunk in Wilczyn, so that they had to put me upon the *bryczka* like a ram, and I vomited upon the *bryczka.* Such was the gossip that the Pałaszyńskis started, for as I learned later, Mrs. P. told it herself in order to save her daughter's dignity. Others said that the baker rejected Miss Helena because her dowry was too small. It was my mother, as I heard, who told this. In a word, the parish had enough to talk about.

I now ceased to call on the Pałaszyńskis. If I met Mr. P., his wife or Helena on the street I saluted them always and they did the same. They continued also to take bakery goods from me. But I gave myself completely up to Miss Stasia who returned a few weeks later, and I noticed that she reciprocated my feelings more and more every day. I did not mention marriage at all, but I prepared Miss Stasia secretly for this idea. Miss Helena was very jealous, for she met Stasia often enough and she slandered me in various ways. Stasia believed much that she said and thus Helena interfered with my plans and undermined Stasia's confidence in me. Very often I had to excuse myself for things which I had never seen or heard. If any one asked me when the wedding would be I usually said that Mr. and Mrs. Lesiewicz would not give me their daughter for they looked higher. It happened even that I expressed myself, for instance, so: 'Let her first learn to cook, and only then look for a husband." For, in general, I disclosed to nobody that I was almost in love with Stasia. But whatever I said to people they added five times as much and repeated it to Stasia and her mother. Mrs. Lesiewicz often got very angry and I heard that she said, for example: "What is he, the baker, to dare to slander my daughter, saying that she ought to learn to cook? Let him ask first whether I will give him my daughter." And in general she said various things about me which people brought to me. I knew very well whence all this came, but I could not help it. This was the usual

interests is the doings of the neighbors, should have been upset by this important piece of news.

woman's gossip about which every reader knows enough, and I don't need to describe it. But it harmed me much, for if I had had to do with an older and more experienced girl she would not have paid any attention to it, but Stasia believed everything, and for this reason we quarreled very often. And Miss Helena did not lose her time. She tried by all means to make me call on her again, but I promised myself that I would never ask her parents for her hand again. Helena was in friendly relations with my sister Zosia and they called on each other; Helena often proposed to me to walk with her, but I would not and preferred to spend my time with Stasia. And when Helena succeeded in stirring anger between us, I walked alone and in such cases usually went to the teacher and there spent my time in conversation, or we both went somewhere to play preference.

Thus time passed until Easter. Paweł promised to come for the holidays, for he had not been in Sadlno yet, while Stach and Aleksy were frequent guests. Paweł wrote that he intended to be also in Aleksy's house in Slesin, for he wanted to ask him for a loan of a few hundred roubles. He intended to establish a shop of his own and wrote that he had already 1,200 roubles put aside. I was very glad of Paweł's visit.

Here I must mention something about Miss Helena G. from Ozorkowo. We wrote to each other from time to time, but Miss H. was very angry with me and in every letter teased me about having got drunk while leaving Ozorkowo. She wrote that she saw me very downcast when I was leaving the town, not because of the friends I left, but because of brandy. Those letters were of a very indifferent content; she mentioned my duty toward my family, asked whether I performed it well. In a word, those letters were as if not from a girl, but from a good friend.[1]

[1] We can understand the persistence of this relation in spite of Władek's behavior only on the ground that the untrained mind finds great difficulty in formulating in definite terms a new and undetermined situation. To the mind of this type the world, as undefined by tradition, appears as a vague complexity of undetermined situations and unclear happenings. In this case nothing had been said of a change in the relation, but Władek finally defines it as friendship, because the letters of the girl resembled that type of letters.

[For Easter Paweł and Stach and his wife come, and are reconciled. The brothers with their mother and Lucus visit Aleksy. Aleksy is the chief of the firemen's ball. He makes a speech and the firemen call: "*Vivat* the chief! *Vivat* the chief's mother! *Vivat* [sic!] the chief's brothers."] Soon the dance began and we were going to dance, but Aleksy did not allow it, telling us to wait till "bigger fishes" came. Meanwhile we were drinking at other people's expense, and there were enough people to treat us, for there were some priests and some rich merchants from Prussia. Only when the lights were kindled Aleksy called us to dance. He went ahead with mother, Stach with his wife, Lucus with Stach's wife, Paweł and I took strange ladies. When we danced everybody stepped aside to look at five brothers dancing, for really it must have looked nice. We danced two pieces, then Aleksy led mother to a seat and asked everybody to dance, and all those went who wished.[1]

As the reader sees, I don't mention sister Marya. It is because she was no longer among us, but had been already about a year in America. She had had no opportunity to marry suitably, old spinsterhood awaited her, so she went across the ocean in search of a husband. From time to time she wrote letters home, complaining awfully about America, and more than once mother wept over her letters. But now she wrote a little merrier letters, for a drug-store employee had fallen in love with her and she had some variety in her life. So I wrote her a letter, saying: "Reflect well before you marry him, and take your own advice. You are not a very young girl any more, consult your own reason and do as you think best. Your betrothed pleases us well enough from his photograph. If you marry, invite us to your wedding, perhaps some of us will come." [2]

I was considered quite differently by my family, but I did not forget either what had been formerly and what was now. Now

[1] This visit and dance put for the first time before Władek's eyes in a clear form the social advance achieved by his family, including himself. The situation is thus defined for him, and from this moment envy to some extent gives place to familial pride.

[2] He appreciates his recently acquired importance as a recognized member of the group and profits from the opportunity which, according to tradition, the engagement of his sister gives him to assume at least once an attitude of superiority.

some of my brothers behaved very diplomatically toward me, for while I was working for our parents they were quiet; our parents required nothing from them, and they did not ask me whether I had any benefit from this work or any views for the future. They did not care, because this was good for them. I could not improve my condition at once, so I pretended to believe whatever they said. They wanted our parents to exploit me as much as possible, for the more our parents had the less my brothers would have to help them.[1] [Describes a fire which burns fourteen houses in the village, threatens the bakery and the house of Miss Helena. The priests want to keep the fire-engine near the church, though it is not in great danger, but the firemen take orders from Władek and Paweł.] Without boasting, I helped them to carry out much furniture, and I was much helped by the teacher, who tried to be as active as he could. But as to the farmers and workmen, it is not worth mentioning; they begin to work sincerely only when they see the whip above them. Alas! the lack of enlightenment is the cause of it, and the lack of understanding how to accomplish one's duties from one's own will and desire.[2]

The next evening Miss Helena came to us and in the name of her parents thanked us for the help. . . . She invited me and Paweł to come to them, but we refused positively and went for a short time to the Lesiewiczs. When we left, Paweł expressed himself very nicely about Stasia, but said that she was not yet a ripe fruit to pluck — she might still remain a girl for some five years.

And again almost a year passed. I went almost every day to Miss Stasia and became more and more attached to her. I began also to call on Miss Helena again, but very seldom. She came, on the contrary, very frequently to us and tried by all means to draw me away from Stasia, but she could not succeed, although she blackened me impossibly.

[1] His analysis of the situation is sufficiently exact. He has attained a standing in the family because he performs an important familial function.

[2] Władek feels at this time a perfectly regular member of his society — morally, intellectually and economically on the level of his actual milieu. He has therefore a feeling of self-righteousness which in such proportions is new to him. He has just opposed the priests at the fire because he feels himself a representative of the interests of the community and backed by the latter, and he now indulges in moral preaching for the benefit of the reader, whereas up to this time he has recorded only his preaching to his environment.

About this time there came from Łódź a tailor, son of the organist, with whom I got rapidly acquainted. Kazimierz was twenty years old, very handsome, and knew how to play the monkey with girls. The day after our acquaintance he made me a confession of his life; I learned that he was already a father and his betrothed wanted him to marry her, but he had no money and came to his father for advice. He confessed that if he found some girl here he would marry her and go to America on her dowry. I took him to Miss Stasia; he went twice with me, and the third time alone, and began to court Stasia rapidly. I was rather angry with him for such a friendly reward, but waited for the result of it and occupied myself with spying. Soon I noticed that they had meetings in the darkest corners. So I considered it my duty to warn Stasia, for I knew what Kazimierz was worth. The next day I told her to meet Kazimierz rather at home than in corners, for it was not suitable for a well-bred girl. There were no witnesses of this conversation, but Stasia told it to her suitor and he told me, requesting me not to hinder him. He did not know that I had also the intention of reaching Stasia, but in another manner than he. But I ceased to interfere, without ceasing to spy. Alas! besides me somebody else noticed them and sent the gossip about the village that Miss Stasia would soon bring a gift to her parents in her apron. The gossip came to the ears of Mrs. Lesiewicz, who put all the fault upon me, saying that I was slandering her daughter; "For my daughter does not loaf about at night, nor does she stand behind the barn." But by some chance Mrs. L. stayed long with us one evening and asked me to accompany her home. I did it, and we were just passing near their barn when we noticed Stasia and Kazimierz. I led Mrs. L. near them and returned home. I don't know how it went with them, only when I met Kazimierz the next day he was awfully angry and cursed me, and asked me why I had led Mrs. L. to them. "Why? In order that she might give you her blessing."—"Yes, you laugh, and I should have persuaded Stasia presently."—"This is not nice of you, to persuade inexperienced girls and take their good name away. I have been calling for almost two years on her, and nobody ever noticed us in corners. I always go only to their house."—"Why should I care for Miss Stasia, since she does not care for herself? I am here today, tomorrow elsewhere. I have today Miss Stasia, tomorrow Miss Mania."—"You are

unwise," I answered, and left him. I would not tell him that I was in love with Stasia, and pretended that I was indifferent toward her. Since then I did not speak again with Kazimierz, and for some time called on Stasia more rarely. Kazimierz left soon, without obtaining anything except tarnishing a little Stasia's reputation.[1]

I began now to think positively about Stasia, for she had finished eighteen years. I was twenty-seven and a little too old for her, but not so much that she would be too young for me. I must say that I treated her always very seriously and in my presence she was very timid, for I made remarks about everything and this constrained her. For I wanted to see her more intelligent and wiser with every step. And it happened that when I came in and found her with other boys, she was different, and from the moment when I entered she became different again.[2] More than once I begged Stasia to tell me positively her feelings and often wrote notes to her, but all was fruitless; she never heeded my request.

Once when we were alone I said to her: "Miss Stasia, you have now finished eighteen years and you understand clearly that I am not coming here for nothing. You know from my letters how deeply I love you, and tell me whether I have to wait a few years still, or you don't love me at all and will never become my wife.

[1] Władek's attitude in this connection is not merely one of jealousy; he behaves as a righteous member of a community, condemning a behavior which he practiced while a wandering journeyman without a steady position in any community. During his stay in Sadlno he has tried to conform with all the social norms, he has had no sexual relations, and his behavior toward Stasia has been perfectly proper. His actual as against his past state of mind represents a contrast that on a higher level of culture is manifested by the opposition between the Philistine, complying with all the rules of social opinion and recognizing only the legal sexual relation, and the Bohemian, in whom the rejection of other rules of behavior is accompanied by a wide liberty in sexual matters. And this evolution can be taken as typical not only for Władek's class but for most men of the middle and higher middle classes — instance, the European student's life and the more or less sincere condemnation of it by the mature man, the Philistinization of artists along with their growing social success, and in general the substitution of the idea of career for that of pleasure.

[2] He behaves as if he were twice as old as he really is. This premature assumption of the old-man attitude toward a girl who wants, not mentorship, but love-making, is due to his growing Philistinism and his preaching tendency.

So tell me, Miss Stasia, yes or no. I am prepared for everything, and if you don't feel able to speak, please write on a bit of paper a few words: 'Wait so or so many years,' or, 'Don't bore me, for I don't want you?'" But Stasia would neither write nor tell me. When after a few hours of such conversation I pushed her to the wall, she answered only so much: "I cannot answer anything." — "Who can, if not you? Say only that you love me and I will do the rest. And if you don't answer me positively I will beg your parents for you." But Stasia begged me not to say anything to her parents, and answered nothing herself, though I used all my elocution. I was furious, but I could get nothing from her, and thus time passed. [Tries again with no result.] So I began to reason with myself during whole nights while working, and I came to the conclusion that I should throw Stasia out of my head. I tried to go to them as seldom as possible in order to break myself of Stasia a little. Meanwhile winter approached, boys came back from Prussia and began to gather in dozens in Mr. Lesiewicz's house. So I had nothing to do, for I could not adapt myself to them, for they were striplings. So I ceased to call on Miss Stasia, although we met from time to time upon the street. Almost every evening I took a walk to the cemetery, and there in silence and darkness . . . gave myself up to thoughts about Stasia. I confided to nobody, asked nobody for advice, for I had no true friends. I came to the conclusion that I should win more by leaving Stasia for some time. What had I reached during almost two years of calling on her every day? Almost nothing. My requests were like throwing peas against the wall, and Stasia preferred to stay with striplings. And I began to cry like a child whose toy is spoiled, for I had become seriously attached to Stasia and I regretted to leave her. But I had to do it with regard to my own person, and I did not call any more.[1] Meanwhile the

[1] The first and only time that Władek suffers through love, and this in spite of, or rather because of, the sincerity of his attitude, while young boys who are intellectually his inferiors and want nothing more than amusement, succeed. His insuccess is an illustration of the well-known literary observation that too much sincerity in love makes the individual less fit for competition in courtship. This observation must, of course, be qualified, for when love means purely sexual attraction it must be sincere in order to provoke response. It is evidently the whole social context of love which disturbs this originally harmonious relation between desires. What is usually meant by seriousness or sincerity of love is not the genuineness of sexual attraction

boys fought a war among themselves about Stasia. There were even real fights and the weaker one spread out various gossip which tarnished the honor of Stasia. But Stasia's parents were in the fifth heaven, since their daughter had such a success that boys were fighting for her, and they permitted every one to come to their house, even whelps who were besides very spoiled. Once I struck one of them in the face for having offended Stasia in my presence. It was as follows. When the boys were returning late in the night from Mr. L.'s house they wanted fresh rolls and came into my bakery. The rolls were not yet ready, so they waited and talked about Stasia. Finally one of the boys said to me: "Do you know, today Stasia allowed me to touch her breast, and if I wanted to I could persuade her to foolish." Without deliberation I drew my hand out of the dough and struck him on the face, then opened the door and threw him out of the bakery. Although there were five boys besides him they did not defend their companion; on the contrary they were glad that such a thing happened to him. Next evening I went to Mr. L. Stasia was not there, so I asked her parents why they allowed boys to come to their house who disgraced Miss Stasia, and I told them what that boy had said to me. Meanwhile Stasia came and I left. This was my last visit. Again great gossip began to spread about the village, and Mrs. L., in order to defend herself, said that Stasia refused me because I was too old, and said many other silly things about me, which finally made me angry. Thus finished my love story with Stasia. Even today I don't remember

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but the genuineness and richness of those attitudes which in the given social group constitute the objectively valuable accompaniments of the sexual desire — the romantic idealization, the idea of marriage and family, etc. The individual who has these attitudes strongly developed finds himself in a position of inferiority as against one whose love is less elaborate whenever the object of the competition has not the same attitudes equally developed. Then the process of courtship with too much emphasis on its ideal or social content appears to that person as tedious, slow, overcomplicated, etc. Thence the superiority of the ruffian over the refined man with the girl of a lower class, the preference shown by Bohemians and *viveurs* for women of the demi-monde, the usual lack of success of the intellectualist, etc. In the present case the situation is the same. Władek puts too much stress on the objective side of the relation (which is here its reference to marriage) to suit Stasia, who is too undeveloped not to prefer the simpler and less complicated and merrier company of unintellectual peasant boys, who even if they think of marriage do not give its content too much elaboration.

her without regret, for she pleased me very much and really I would have married her, but human stupidity did not let it happen.

Thus the second Christmas in Sadlno approached. I called on the Pałaszyńskis, but very seldom. Helcia told me more than once to ask her parents for her again, but I was deaf to this and went there only to spend time. Miss Helcia appointed meetings herself and tried to lead me to foolish with her and then to marry her, but I would not do this either. It happened that when I went to her in the evening there was nobody at home except her and she treated me with brandy and sat down upon my knees, but it finished only with kisses. Meanwhile I was calling on various girls in villages, whom some farmers [peasants] wanted to let me marry. These girls had rather large dowries. The largest which I had been promised was 1,500 roubles, the smallest 500. The dowry of almost each of them pleased me and I should have liked to take it, but without the girl. But alas! nobody would give it to me without the girl, and I did not want the girl, for none of them pleased me. None had any instruction, and there could be no question of love. Each of them wanted only to be the baker's wife, and that was all. I had called on five of them and received a basket from none, I was everywhere only once and I would not go any more. The horses cost me nothing, for the *swat* [match-maker] drove me without money, sometimes more than five wiorsta from Sadlno. I could have called not only on five, but on twenty-five, but I would not for I knew that in this way I should not find a wife.

[Helcia contrives to have Władek invited to the wedding of her cousin Wacław, at Ruda. A rivalry and a quarrel arises between Helcia and Wacław's sister Leonia, on account of Władek. Leonia is more attractive and he is flirting with her. While the others are dancing, Helcia invites Władek to walk with her in the forest.] It was about two o'clock at night, but it was not very dark, for snow lay upon the earth. When we were far in the forest she stopped, embraced me with both arms and began to kiss me and to beg me to ask her parents once more for her. In spite of her request and of her kisses I did not agree with it but

answered: "Miss Helena, I cannot do what you demand in any way, for then I should give the proof that I have no honor at all. I was slandered enough by your mother, so I cannot do it, although I love you." — "If you don't want to ask, go to Nowicki [her father's *kum*] and let him talk with my parents in your name." — "This is different and I can do it." And we agreed that I would send a mediator.[1] Helcia was very satisfied with the turn the matter took and almost strangled me in her embraces. She gave me the hint by her speech and by her behavior that she would be glad to foolish with me at this moment, within the forest and under the cover of the night. But I was indifferent and pretended not to guess what she wanted. The opportunity was splendid, for we had entered far into the forest, but if I had foolished with her I should have been obliged to marry her, for Helcia would certainly have told her mother that I had violated her and I should have found myself in a not very decent situation. So I pretended to be satisfied with the foretaste and not to foolish with Helcia, for I had no intention at all of marrying her. But if instead of Helcia there had been somebody else, I would have shown what I knew. While walking about the forest Helcia confessed to me that she had 25 roubles put aside, of which her parents did not know, and promised to give them to me immediately after her return to Sadlno. And she already addressed me by "thou," so sure she was that I would marry her. Amidst caresses and kisses we had walked for about two hours, and when we left the forest Helcia began to laugh at me, saying: "Well, Władek, you are very clever. You had a girl alone in the forest, who had called you out herself, and you did nothing to her. Evidently you have little blood in you. I thought that you would act quite differently with me, but I see that there is no reason to be afraid of you." I looked her straight in the eyes, with commiseration, for I had not expected her to be so silly as to talk about something like this. And after this I liked her less. She had gone a little too far in her love, and she did not know, poor girl, that she was losing much through it. Now I regretted not having foolished with her, for I ought to have foolished and then pushed her away from me, for she was not worthy of any respect, since she required from her betrothed — so she called me — a

[1] His typical fear of an unpleasant reaction. But the situation had again become undefined, and *cf.* p. 2187, note.

thing which condemned her in my eyes.[1] But I did not show it and said: "Miss Helena, this won't run away from me, and later it will taste still better." . . . Before we came into the village we met Mrs. Pałaszyńska who was searching for us. When she saw us she approached and said: "Mr. W., you have not acted nicely in calling Helcia to the forest. And you, Helcia, will get something from your father, for Leonia told your father that you went with the baker into the forest. Father is angry and he swore strongly, for he is rather drunk. I don't know what will happen when he sees you now." — "Why are you scolding so without need," I said; "nothing bad happened and you can be sure of the honor of your daughter. Have we done such a great sin in walking a little?" — "I don't forbid Helcia to walk, but why did you go so far? You could have walked near the house instead of going to the forest. And now I don't know whether her father will pardon her and what people will say, for Leonia has told everybody, and you know our father."[2] Saying this, Mrs. P. and Helcia went into the house, and I remained outside and turned around the house to pass through the rear entrance. At the corner I met Leonia kissing the musician. I drew rapidly back, spit, and went into the house. Helcia was already dancing and Mr. P. was sitting with other people in the next room at a table and talking. I put everything on one card and sat down near Mr. P., offered him a cigarette, and began a conversation. He accepted the cigarette and did not mention Helcia at all. Seeing that he did not mention the matter, I left off and went to dance. Leonia was also back from her *randka*. I regretted very much having met her in such an action, for now she had no value any more for me and I felt rather an aversion toward her. I intended really to court her, but now I would not even think about her and was angry with myself for having gone there without necessity. It would perhaps have been better for me if I had seen nothing. But it was done, and Leonia had spoiled the rest of my amusement. I was awfully angry with her and Helcia and the whole feminine species for behaving so inconsiderately. Among so many girls whom I knew I could not find a wife! And I had such a desire for Leonia! I walked about as if I had been

[1] Compare with the completely different attitude toward Dora, and *cf.* p. 2191, note 1.

[2] There is an evident exaggeration on the part of Mrs. P., in order to

beaten, and she noticed it and came near with the question why I was so sad. I asked her to take a seat near me and instead of answering asked her: "Who is that musician who plays the cornet? Do you know him well?" — "Yes, I know him," answered Leonia, "he lives in Wilczyn and plays at almost every party in Budzisław" [her home]. — "Is he married?" — "No, he is a widower and has three children. But why do you ask so about him?" — "Oh, I am curious, for it seems to me that you are much in love with him and I fear I have a rival, for I see that he is a rather strong man." Miss Leonia laughed and said: "Oh, you don't need to fear him for he does not court me at all and I would not marry a widower." — "Yes, perhaps he does not court you, but it may be the contrary case." — "It is not so at all and you suspect me unjustly, for I have no connection with him at all." — "I believe it, but tell me, is it nice when a girl lies?" — "No, it is not nice." — "And why do you lie to me?" — "I don't know how to lie, but why do you inquire so?" — "Because I saw you with the musician." — "Where did you see me and when?" — "This morning at the corner of this house. Shall I tell you also what you were doing?" — "Thank you, I am not as curious as you who spy." — "I beg your pardon, I was not spying at all; I was there only accidentally and I am angry with myself for having gone there, for if I had not seen you I should think differently about you, and now I am thinking differently." — "Why do you now think differently? Is a kiss such a sin? Did you not kiss girls and don't you kiss them still and nobody takes it badly in you. Why do you wonder then at having seen me? You ought not to mention [or remember] it at all." — "Perhaps you are right, but you see I am awfully mistrusting and jealous. But what is done cannot be undone, and I will tell you the sincere truth, that I regret it very much." Our further conversation was interrupted by Miss Helena, who approached and asked what we were talking about. "So, about everything and nothing," I answered and went to dance with her. Miss Leonia remained sitting for awhile in the same place thinking deeply, but I never learned what about, and went into another room. She asked me whether I would come to them in the last

make Władek feel bound, and to give him an idea of the importance of her daughter. She would not be opposed to a new proposal from him, especially as it is well to have a suitor in reserve.

days of carnival, but instead of answering I shook my head and went away, with pain in my heart.[1]

The next evening I went to the Pałaszyński's and Helcia said that her father had scolded her severely and forbade her to walk with me for a whole month, but we did not care for it at all. Helcia did as she said and gave me 25 roubles, asking me to tell nobody, which I promised her. She requested me once more to go to Nowicki, and I went the next afternoon. Mr. Nowicki was Mr. Pałaszyński's *kum* and they were in friendly relations, but he said: "We can ask all right, but I advise you to let Miss Helena alone. Why, the Pałaszyńskis have no money at all, and the old people both came to me asking us to lend them the 200 roubles which they had promised to you." — "I confess that I had no intention at all of marrying her, but since she begged me so to come to you I could not refuse, and when you are in their house, please mention something about me." [Paweł marries a nice but dowerless girl who worked in the same firm as himself. The wedding is beyond Łódź and only the mother goes.]

In the beginning of autumn I had to take a journeyman for a whole month, for I received an official order to appear in Kutno for a monthly drill, and from Kutno we were sent to Pultusk. As the reader knows already, I corresponded with Kazia, so I resolved to call on her in passing through Warsaw and if it proved possible to propose at once. Stach and our parents agreed with this.[2] [Finds Kazia, Pelagia and Helena living in the suburb

[1] We should not have expected this sentimental pain from Władek at an earlier age; he is growing old, at least socially old. Youth has its outbursts of jealousy and anger, but in a mature man whose life has assumed a determined direction and whose prospects for the future have become limited, every disappointment seems to mean a break in his vital interests and provokes sadness. In the present case the disappointment is particularly significant to Władek, because coming after a series of unsuccessful experiences with other girls and seeming to limit quite particularly his chances of finding the wife he wants.

[2] Another manifestation of maturity. He has never loved Kazia and never recorded anything but indifference toward her; she has no dowry, and he really needs money to pay his parents. But she now appears as a proper mate because married life with her would bring no surprises, would be foreseen and determined and thus in accordance with the settled system of attitudes which Władek has recently acquired. This security, which formerly would have been an undesirable element as against the youthful expec-

Praga. Pelagia's husband drinks. The girls sew. "Kazia lacked two front teeth, and on her and in every corner was seen dirt, disorder and great poverty." Władek promises to stop again on his return.] I did not mention the question of marriage at all, for I wanted to reflect well about what I had seen and heard, but Kazia gave me to understand that she would like to leave Warsaw at any time and to go to the country, and this was enough for me. [Returning] I found also Broniś and Mrs. Pelagia's husband. . . . Next morning Broniś and I went upon the street to buy cigarettes and to give the ladies time to dress. We walked about for a long while, and Broniś told me about his betrothed, who was more than fifty years old, but in his opinion was a rich widow, for she had 500 roubles in the bank and a shop where she was selling firewood. This betrothed was to come to them today. I thought in the beginning that Broniś was speaking in jest, but I noticed that he was serious. The breakfast lasted until eleven, and again we talked about the past, when suddenly that betrothed of Broniś came in, carrying under her apron a bottle of vodka and some apples. It was not necessary to observe her much in order to notice that she was one of the worst drunkards of Warsaw. Moreover she was very ugly. Her nose was very red and crooked as a hawk's beak, and tears flowed from her eyes continually. She was not fifty years old, as Broniś said, but in my opinion certainly over sixty. But they evidently did not pay any attention to it, for they received her with great respect, calling her "Mrs.," and they seated her at the table. Mrs. Pelagia prepared the vodka, . . . and the glass went around as long as there was anything to drink. When the bottle was finished the betrothed of Broniś sent for another, and when she drank some glasses more she was completely drunk. The three sisters and Broniś entertained her as well as they could, and she talked nonsense. She became impossibly ugly, and saliva showed itself at the corners of her mouth. If I had been the master here I would have thrown her out long ago, but I had to bear her company. And Broniś made declarations to her, and they talked about the furnishing of their home. And not seldom various curses fell from her drunken lips. It was growing dark when she went away and Broniś had to accompany her, for she could not keep on her legs.

tation of new experience, becomes now a sufficient asset to cause him to neglect the sentimental aspect.

I was very much displeased with all this, but I said nothing. In the evening again some persons came and they also brought liquor. Kazia introduced me to them as her betrothed, for Kazia had also drunk some glasses, and even the youngest Helena did not despise them. Finally one of them began to play the accordeon and we danced, I mostly with Kazia. When we finished dancing perhaps the fourth piece, Kazia said: "Mr. Władysław looks like a clodhopper dancing with me in his long boots, does he not?" turning to the others. They laughed, and I felt very offended, so in order to say something, I said: "You may joke, Miss Kazia, but you know that I am returning from military drill, and the soldiers in the Russian army don't walk in evening dresses and shining shoes." Saying this, I sat down and did not rise any more to dance, for I was very angry with the tipsy Kazia. I waited for the appointed hour to get away from these silly Warsavian girls, but I did not let it be noticed that I was angry, and related various anecdotes from the drill. Kazia sat down near me more than once and tried to begin a conversation about our future, but I answered her very indifferently and promised to write about it. Kazia's sister also asked me when I would come and marry Kazia. To such a bold question I did not know how to answer, and found nothing else to say except that I had first to arrange a suitable cage and only then come for the bird. Mrs. Pelagia was satisfied with this. But I did not think any more, even for a second, of proposing to Kazia after what I had witnessed. Why, Kazia was already twenty-seven and should have been more reasonable in her behavior and in her talk. Although, except for her having drunk those few glasses and having offended me, she had done nothing wrong, still she displeased me positively. She would not be such a wife as I dreamed of. And I noticed no love in her at all, not a hearty feeling toward my person. She would marry me only for bread. But I wanted something else besides a piece of flesh, and not even a very warm one.[1]

[1] There is a contrast between his expectations and the reality which would cause him to drop his designs even if Kazia were personally more attractive, and he hesitates only because he is not immediately able to define the situation. On the second visit the attitude of the family toward the old woman defines the situation with regard to the general respectability of the environment, the drinking of the girls confirms the impression that they have lost the decent and settled character of country girls, and Kazia's remark

I felt hot in the room and among these girls with whom I had spent the years of my childhood. Alas! I had met one more deception, and I was angry for having come here, for now the room was full of uproar. So I took my hat and went upon the street. Broniś followed me and we began to walk. He asked me for my opinion about his betrothed. Without circumlocutions, I said: "Do you know, Broniś, what I will tell you? I would not let this old woman into my house. Why, that thing is more like a fury than a real woman. You are young and you can get a younger and prettier one, not such an old witch." — "But you must know," said Broniś, "that she has money and a shop, so if I married her I should have a good life." — "Eh, don't talk about her money! Before you marry her she will have time enough to waste it on drinking." — "Oh no, for she has it in the bank and she showed me the booklet. She fears to keep money at home, for she has two sons who are drunkards and would spend it on drinking." — "Then I will give you this advice, Broniś. Persuade the old woman to give you the book, or else to draw the money and to give it to you for keeping, and then run away from Warsaw and give the woman a kick in the backsides. This will be more profitable for you than marrying her." — "I thought about that," answered Broniś, "but she won't give me any money before the marriage, and I hope that she won't live long, and in that case the money and the shop would be mine." — "In that case do as you please." [1] And I turned the conversation to another subject. Meanwhile Miss Helena came out on the street and asked us to the apartment, in which I stayed for two hours more, until my companion came, and we left.

Soon I wrote a letter to Kazia, saying that if she wanted to have a "clodhopper" for a husband, first to put 300 roubles aside. Kazia did not answer this letter at all, and thus our love-relation of many years came to an end. I never more wrote any letters

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about his dress helps him to define the third and most important element of the situation — lack of the warm familial atmosphere which he had expected.

[1] Broniś had been definitely exploited by his parents (kept at home to bring fire-wood, etc.) and this exploitation did not permit the development of any moral sense, but, on the contrary, makes him appreciate more than anything else the prospect of having money and doing nothing. This is the asocial individual, material for any antisocial influence, from lack of organization rather than from disorganization.

to her. And thus I had now no girl about whom I could think seriously, and at home things got worse and worse. [The family continues to take money from the business], my parents forgot completely that I was also a proprietor. . . . My situation became without an issue and I was almost sure that I should have to marry for money, without paying any attention to the girl. . . .[1] Meantime Easter was approaching, when we received a letter from sister Marya in America. She wrote that she intended to send 100 roubles to one of her friends in order that the latter might also come to America. I answered almost on the same day, asking her to send those 100 roubles rather to me, and I would go to America. Before Easter I had already received the 100 roubles, and now began to prepare seriously to go. I wrote letters to my family, saying that I would leave in the beginning of April. . . . My parents did not believe it and thought that I was joking, but I was not joking at all. Soon the whole village and parish knew it. But I had not yet all the money. I lacked at least 50 roubles, for when I put those 25 roubles from Miss Helcia and these from my sister together, there were 125 roubles in all, while I intended to take at least 175. I requested mother to give me the rest from her money, but she preferred to borrow and to give me rather than to touch hers.[2] When Miss Helcia learned that I was really going to America she wrote a letter to her brother Stanisław, who had been there for a year, and he promised to send her a ship-ticket.

Meanwhile I received a letter from Paweł, who invited me to come to him for Easter to bid him goodbye, and promised to pay the cost of my journey one way. [Goes to Łódź. Paweł takes him for the Easter celebration to the house of his employer, where everything is very impressive.] I had never seen such luxurious

[1] The situation is not so bad as this. He could find a suitable wife; he does not prove fastidious when he finally chooses. He is demoralized by his own continual hesitations, and there is certainly a revival of the old vagabonding tendency, stimulated by the letter of Marya below.

[2] Traditional attitude that money put aside for a determined purpose should not be touched. (*Cf.* Vol. I, p. 164.)

objects. . . . Meanwhile the hostess began to divide the egg with everybody, wishing something to each guest, and every one kissed her hand and thanked her. When my turn came she wished me to become rich in America and to come back to my fatherland, for she knew already from Paweł about my departure. I thanked her and wished: "May I receive you after my return as you do me." — "God grant it," answered Mrs. B. When she finished one of the maids carried in glasses filled with wine, the host offered a toast for general prosperity and the glasses were emptied. After this we began to talk in general until we were invited to the table. I did everything as the others did, . . . and don't laugh at me, dear reader, for acting like a monkey, but you would not do otherwise if you found yourself in a society higher than yourself. And then I was not acquainted with society life, I knew only the life of a tramp, a drunkard or a constable, so in order to avoid compromising myself I preferred to do like the others. [Describes in detail the supper; dancing after supper.] After the dance the ladies asked one young man to sing, but he refused. Then Paweł whispered something to his wife and the latter went to Mrs. B. After awhile Mrs. B. approached me and began to request me to sing. I reddened like a girl and tried to excuse myself, saying that I did not know how to sing, but other ladies asked me also . . and finally Paweł gave me some courage. He accompanied me on the piano and I sang three pieces. When I finished I was applauded, and some ladies praised me aloud. . . . Paweł invited Mr. and Mrs. B. to his house, and the party ended. . . .[1]

[Paweł begs Władek not to go to America.] I don't know yet whether it was Paweł's influence or their own brotherly feeling, but after Paweł they all began to beg me — Lucus, Roman, sister-in-law — and moved me so that I began really to cry. I rose from the chair, walked about the room, and finally answered: "My dear ones! I regret much to leave my whole family and I don't know whether I shall come back and see anybody of my family, but I prefer to die there far away, even in misery, rather than remain here the laughing-stock of my family. You know the

[1] This incident marks the culminating point of Władek's social career; it is now the brightest spot in his remembrances and the topic on which he expanded most gladly to the editors. It gives him now a standard by which to judge his past and present life. It would probably have revived his old climbing tendencies if he had remained in Poland.

best, my Paweł, what I have experienced here. You as well as the others were ashamed of me when I was in Łódź. Wait, don't interrupt me. I don't consider that it was bad of you, for there were reasons enough to be ashamed; I was ashamed of myself. But this is past. Then I was a constable and I have letters in which I was laughed at. But this is also past, and with your help I put some roubles aside and established a bakery in company with my parents. Now, after two years of my labor and of my endeavors, what is left for me? Either to go again tramping or to marry 'even a goat if she has money' [words from a song]. For my parents don't care. They tell me that I have spent this money long ago in drinking, eating and smoking; they simply drive me away from my own property. And this is not enough! They compromise me before girls whom I like in order that I may be refused, for they like it as it is now; they have a journeyman in me and treat me as such. And you see the profit I have from my bakery. I have not a copeck. To come here I took some of the money which was for the journey to America. I owe you 50 roubles and cannot give you back even a copeck. But this is not all. They require at least 200 roubles when I marry. And what for all this? Have I cost my parents anything? Have they spent money on me? It is a duty to help one's parents, but not so as to give one's last shirt and to remain naked. [Family robs the common fund, etc.] There you have my reasons for going clearly exposed. I have nothing to regret. Perhaps there, beyond the water, I shall earn enough for my own bakery. Then I will come back, and if I don't earn, I won't come." Paweł rose, stretched out his hand and said: "You are right, Władek, in claiming what is yours. I reflected about it long ago. I know our family, everybody has this hobby of putting money aside from the common fund, for I remember in Lubotyń everybody had his own fund and I was no better than the others. But I did not know that our parents refused you the right to a partnership. But listen and you will be the owner of the business. I will go with you tomorrow to Sadlno, we will pay father 200 roubles and let him go somewhere else in search of a shop. You see I want to help you and will lend you 200 roubles more, so that you may not have to go to America." At these words of Paweł all eyes were turned on me, and this convinced me that all this was planned before my arrival. They were sure that I would accept with joy those 200

roubles which Paweł offered me so generously, but they were much mistaken, for I shook Paweł's hand, thanked him heartily for his goodness and generosity, and said: "My Paweł, I cannot accept those 200 roubles, first, because you need them badly yourself, second, because it is not enough for me, and third, because I have already decided to go." — "How is that? You don't accept?" Paweł exclaimed, astonished, and Lucus rose to his feet. "No, I don't accept, for I told you that it is not enough for me." — "Why, you wrote that our parents want 200 roubles. If you don't believe that I will lend you this money, here you have it." And he took two notes of 100 roubles each from his pocket, putting them into my hand. But I pushed them away and said: "Listen, Paweł, to what I will tell you. Our parents want 200 roubles, it is true, but they want besides this to take all the money and everything in the shop. Just think how I should remain? As it is I have not a grosz. And on what should I carry on my business?" — "How is that? Our parents dare to demand this? In that case why shall you give 200 roubles?" — "I don't know, ask our parents. But never mind, for if even I succeeded in becoming the owner of the bakery there are two other obstacles. First, who will sell in the shop? And then, when shall I give so much money back? I owe you already 50 roubles, now you will give me 200, the money I have is borrowed, this makes 375 roubles. And if I go bankrupt, what then?" — "Why, you know how your business is going, why should you go bankrupt? Don't be afraid, but listen to me. Are you the only one who establishes a business on borrowed money? As to selling, you can take Zosia into the shop and then you can marry at once." — "Marry? It is not so easy for me as you imagine. For I cannot marry without dowry, and I don't want to marry for the sake of money alone. And as to Zosia, don't even talk about her, for I should have to keep a watchman for her. So in spite of my wish I cannot do as you propose." — "You can," answered Paweł, "only you don't want to, for you have already a taste for America.[1] But remember that you will write to me requesting me to send you money to come

[1] The rapid decision not to accept the money shows that other than merely rational considerations are at work. We have more than once seen the same unwillingness to stay in the old conditions when the decision to change them had been reached; the attraction of the unknown then makes the known particularly unattractive.

back, and then I will remind you." — "Well, nothing can be done. Then you will send me money." — "No, I won't send you even a grosz," exclaimed Paweł, already in wrath. Now sister-in-law said: "Hush, Paweł, don't get so much excited, for when I hear what Mr. Władek says, I think he is right." But Paweł still scolded against our family and our parents, saying: "*Psiakrew*, it is inhuman to drive one of us beyond the sea. But it is Stach who is so clever and knew how to instigate our parents. He is afraid he will have to help the old people." But finally he calmed down and only asked: "So our parents gave you nothing for your journey?" — "Nothing, I have told you." — "This means that everything of yours is lost." — "I think so." — "And nothing will keep you in this country?" — "Yes, I will remain, but on the condition that our parents give me one-half of the money that they took in in Sadlno, that they do not put money aside, each separately, that every year we divide equally whatever we earn, and that if I become the owner I shall have to give our parents only as much as would be due according to the calculation, and if I want to give more, it will be my business. These are the conditions which would keep me here, but it is impossible to fulfill them, for our parents won't agree. So I shall certainly go." — "Well, let it be so, if there is no other way, but I pity you very much. If I were rich I would establish a bakery on my own money and give it to you on your name-day, but I am only just climbing myself and it is very hard for me. But drink a glass more, perhaps you will sleep better." And Paweł put out a bottle of brandy and *zakąski* and we drank a glass each. The others went to bed, but I and Paweł stayed almost till morning, . . . got pretty tipsy, cried and kissed each other and went to sleep. . . .[1]

I was to leave next afternoon, but Paweł received a telegram from Aleksy, who had taken his son to the gymnasium in Turek, saying that he would come to Łódź in the evening, so I stayed to see Aleksy and bid him goodbye. I went with Paweł to the shop and we talked there. Then my old girl, cousin Mania H., came to the shop. I did not recognize her at once, she was so changed,

[1] We have in this episode a good example of the contrast between the demands of the old familial and the manifestations of the new personal solidarity — subordination of the individual in the former, acknowledgment of his rights in the latter. And we see how the whole content of the idea of justice changes according to the change of standpoint.

but Paweł, after giving her the goods she wanted, said to me: "Well, Władek, why do you not greet Mrs. M.?" I was a little ashamed, but approached and greeted her. Paweł asked her to sit down and I began to inquire how she was getting on. I learned that she was already the mother of two daughters and one son, and it was evident that she was not satisfied with her married life. For when I said: "You are already a mother, while I am still tramping," she answered: "Oh, I know how you are tramping, for I saw Janina (daughter of Aunt Nypel) and she told me about you. But I should prefer tramping to living as I am now." — "Why? Are you so unhappy? I heard from Paweł that you and your husband are succeeding well enough." — "Yes, I cannot complain about this, but it is better not to talk about the matter." — "Do you know that I am going to America?" — "I know, for Janina told me this also, and I came intentionally to buy butter in order to see you once more. But I must go, for my children are probably crying." I pitied her, for she was once so pretty, and now she was half-faded. Although she was not much over twenty-two, she looked thirty, and was not very nicely dressed.

[Alesky comes. The brothers visit the Grand Café and spend 50 roubles.] [1] We sat down at a table, and Aleksy ordered a bottle of cognac and *zakąski*. As soon as the waiter went away girls began to turn around us and to flirt, each prettier than the other, and with large décolletés, so that almost the whole breast was to be seen. Soon we selected one each and sat at a larger table. Aleksy pretended to be an employee of the treasury office from Petersburg, although he had never seen Petersburg; Paweł, a merchant of the first guild, although he was only of the third; I, a traveling Polish-American agent, although I had no idea about it; Lucus, the son of a rich manor-owner, although he was only the son of a tavern-keeper. . . .

During the dinner I asked each of my brothers to write down for me some advice for my future behavior. So Aleksy took his card and wrote the following words: "Work makes rich, drinking ruins." Paweł wrote: "Who is not married at thirty and rich at forty is a complete fool." Lucus wrote: "Civilize yourself." I would not accept any advice from Roman, for he was too young to give advice to his elders. I have kept this card up to the present and will leave it to my son. Aleksy left after the dinner . . .

[1] Imitation of the higher classes, in particular of the country nobility.

and I the following morning. . . . Paweł accompanied me to the station. . . . On the way I bought [gifts for people at home], and after a hearty goodbye, half weeping, I left the best one of my brothers.

. . . Passing through Ozorkow, I called on Miss Helena G. to bid her farewell. I did not find her at home, so I wrote a note asking her to come, and sent it through the first girl I met upon the street. Meanwhile I talked with her father, drinking some beer, for which we had sent. Miss Helena came and we talked about one hour privately. Miss Helena regretted much my going away and put to me the same question as Paweł: "Don't you regret leaving your family and your country?" — "I do," I answered, "but everything must be done for money." And I am sure that if I had told her at this last moment that I would not go if she agreed to become my wife she would not have refused; I concluded it from her conversation. She asked me to write a letter from America — how it was there — and perhaps she would then like to go. I promised to write certainly and left her. In Sompolno I went to Stach and stayed there for two hours. I gave him some of the gifts . . . and promised to call again . . . Soon afterwards I was in Sadlno. My parents and sisters were very much pleased with the gifts I brought. [Secures a baker for them.]

On the last evening I went to bid my acquaintances goodbye. I did not call on the Lesiewiczs, but stayed long enough with the Pałaszyńskis. Helcia gave me 1 rouble, and as a token a handkerchief embroidered with her initials. When she asked me what token I would give her, I answered: "I leave you faith, hope and love, for I did not find any suitable token for you." Then once more I assured her that she ought not to abandon hope, for perhaps the time would come for us to marry, and I left, promising to call once more. Mrs. P. gave me two packages of cigarettes, asking me to give them to her son Stanisław, who was also in Chicago, where I was going. . . .

I slept little this last night . . . and arose before sunrise. Mother got up immediately after me and was crying the whole

time. My sisters did the same, and even father wiped some tears secretly, as well as I. . . . At half-past seven we went to the church to pray to God for a happy journey. When I returned the horses were waiting. I ate the breakfast and began to bid my family goodbye. But who can describe this separation, full of tears? Mother hung herself upon my neck, began to kiss and to bless me, as if she did not expect to see me any more. Oh, dear mother, you have in your heart love enough for every child, even for the worst one! . . . Don't think that your son can ever forget your last kisses and blessings! They will accompany me in good or bad fortune to the grave. And now, when I describe this, far from you, dear mother, every letter is wet with tears, and thoughts are crossing my head, whether I shall see you any more and press myself again to your heart. . . . I cannot write any more from tears. With my father the separation was also sentimental, but not so much so as with mother. Then came my sisters, and I went away.[1] After a few steps I looked around in order to see once more, perhaps for the last time, her who had nursed me with her breast, and I heard the words, said with tears: "Go with God, and don't forget your old parents." Through the village I went afoot, for I wanted to drop in at the Pałaszyńskis. My acquaintances stood before their houses and everybody wished me the same: "Go with God." I did not stay long with the Pałaszyńskis. There also everybody cried, particularly Helena. The whole family accompanied me to the cart. I mounted, said for the last time: "Remain with God," and we started. Once more I looked around and saw my parents standing on the threshold of their house. Mother sent the sign of the cross, my sisters waved their handkerchiefs, . . . I answered with my hat . . . and soon the trees of the cemetery covered Sadlno from my eyes. . . . I began to cry much, but the driver tried to comfort me, so I mustered my courage and crossed myself. . . .

[Voyage without special features. Plays cards on the boat, "and always with benefit to me, for I played with calculation."] It happened that I spent whole nights sitting upon the deck and looking upon the ocean and into the infinite space. Nobody

[1] The sentimental character of this farewell, in contrast with the economic hardness of Władek's parents — the dissociation of the personal and familial attitudes — results from the character of primary-group organization sketched in the introduction to Volume I.

hindered me there in my evening-prayer, for the passengers had gone to sleep in their berths. But what passengers they were! The ship was full of them, but they were unenlightened or quite poor people, who did not understand at all what they had left and where they were going. Each one of them left two mothers, the mother who had bred him and spent many sleepless nights at his cradle, and the other mother, his native country, which had fed him with her fruits. . . . But no one with whom I began a conversation about our country could or would understand what I was saying, and I did not find a single man with whom I could feel any sympathy. And I don't wonder very much, for they were like chaff which at a puff of the wind flies away from the pure grain. And they were fleeing, this chaff, carried by the wind to be scattered here. And Poland did not lose much when useless criminals, thieves, or tramps like me, cleared the country of their undesirable persons. . . . And how they were treated, these people! The last ship-servant pushed them, insulted, cursed, and there was nobody to care for them or to intercede for them. . . . For it happened also that some honest farmer who worked quietly upon his great grandfather's farm sold it for the money to get out of the slavery, without knowing that perhaps a still worse slavery was awaiting him; and such a citizen was treated in the worst way by some servant whose only task was to wash the spitting-boxes. And seeing this, the heart of the man who has some ideas bleeds, and raising his eyes to Heaven, he calls: "God and Creator, for what do you punish this poor and ignorant people? Why do you not send your lightning upon the oppressors of this nation? Why do you not cut off with your sword the heads of those who bear them high and scorn at these orphans who have no father upon the earth? . . . O God! have pity upon these poor people who through their own will, through persuasion, through necessity leave their country, their parents, wives and children. With what regret many of them were leaving their parents, wives, children, the farm houses in which they and their fathers saw Thy light! And they left it in order to improve their existence, to earn some roubles and to come back to all that which they had left. . . . It is true that they are dark and uninstructed, but even, therefore, they have not a king, a father of their own, who would try to educate his children. They have step-fathers, not one, but three tyrants who hold their step-children in a hard

slavery. . . . This slavery, this lack of understanding of life, divests them of shame and ambition." [Two pages more of reflection on the same subject — defenselessness and ignorance of the Polish emigrant as a result of political conditions.] [1]

[Met in Chicago by Marya's husband, a very amiable man.] I spent almost two weeks in the best love with my sister and Stach, when once sister, returning from a visit, began to scold me for not searching for work, but sitting lazy. "You must know that in America everybody lives for himself. I gave you food without your paying for only one week, but after that you must pay $15 a month. And try to get work, for I am also poor." — "All right, but where shall I go for this work? You know that I am going every day to the *Dziennik Chicagoski*. Twice there were advertisements that bakers were needed, I went to these bakeries and was not taken. I have called on many bakers and all said that if they need me they will send a postcard. They may send for me at any time. Allow me to rest a little and to get a little acquainted with America, for I don't know where to go in search of work. In the evening Stach will tell me where the Polish bakeries are and I will go tomorrow." But sister flew into a greater rage and said: "You *psiakrew*, lazy-bones, you want to wait for Stach?" And she began to abuse me and to insult me more and more, getting impossibly furious. Seeing what was coming and not wanting to quarrel with my sister, who was now possessed by something, I took my hat and went out, . . . weeping.

[Marya follows him, also crying, begs him to return, and says she was instigated by Mrs. Moraska.] The Moraskis were great friends of my sister and they came very often to us, particularly the wife. . . . They were people devoid of everything which a man ought to possess, and moreover they belonged to the sect of hakatists [2] or baptists, for I could not learn the truth from them.

[1] The inconsistency of his reflections — first treating his companions as "chaff" and then as worthy unfortunates — is the typical method of peasant generalization. An addition of contradictory unqualified statements, each expressing a side of the truth, always precedes a single qualified statement. The universal categorical judgment is the simplest logical form of the generalization and one that immediately presents itself to the untrained mind. (*Cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction: Theoretic and Æsthetic Interests.*)

[2] Władek's failure to know that this is the term applied by the Poles to their oppressors in Prussia is significant in view of his claims to enlightenment and patriotism.

Mr. Moraski was over fifty years old, his wife perhaps ten years younger, but she considered herself still younger. He was always occupied with studying the Bible and would not even hear the Roman Catholic Church mentioned. Mrs. Moraska was occupied with gathering and carrying gossip among all her acquaintances, and as my sister did not despise it either, they were inseparable friends. Mrs. M. came to us four times a day, and my sister went as often to her. Stach simply hated Mrs. M., and the cause was this: Once sister had stayed with her longer than usual gossiping, and said: "I must be gone, for my husband will soon come back and I must cook the dinner for him." Then Mrs. M. said: "Why should you hurry, Mania?" (for she called her thus because of their old acquaintance), "why should you take any trouble with a man? If one dies you will get another. I would intentionally give as little to eat as possible to a dog's blood of a man so that he would croak [German: krepiren] sooner." My sister repeated this conversation to her husband, who since then could not bear the woman . . . and waited only for an opportunity to throw her out of his door.[1]

[Tells Stach of Marya's explosion and says that if there are more such days he will be obliged to live among strangers.] "It won't be so bad. You will quarrel and then get reconciled, for you are brother and sister," he said, for the reader must know that it is difficult to find such a character as my brother-in-law Staś had. He was not an instructed man, he had very little instruction, read and wrote with difficulty. He was originally from the province of Grodno and was the son of a rather poor farmer. At eighteen he got a place in a pharmacy in Grodno as a worker. He never was any druggist and never said it, only my sister made a druggist of him. After his military service he went to America, and found work in the McCormick factory, in which he had worked up to the present. As he was not a drunkard and had a decent appearance, he pleased my sister and she put nets to catch him. He fell in after some time, poor Staś, for he was worthy of a much better wife. She gave him often to understand who he was and from what family he came, while she considered herself something better. This pained him enormously,

[1] We have studied elsewhere (*e. g.*, Vol. I, Kozłowski series) the abnormal situation where a member of the family allies himself with an outsider against the family.

but he did not quarrel with her, for he knew both her sides, the bad one and the good one. He had passed a hard school of life and knew how to persuade and to excuse others. In a word, he was a man seldom found, and our characters were completely alike, with perhaps the one exception that he was less developed, which did not hinder him nevertheless from being good, polite and indulgent.[1] I must mention also that he was no less of a weeper than I, and when sister said something painful to him he at once wiped his eyes with his handkerchief; and this did not happen very seldom. . . . It is painful and even not nice of me to write thus about my family, but it is necessary as a lesson for others. I must add that the company which my sister kept, that is, Mrs. Moraska, was something quite unbearable, and such a character as mine was needed to live with her. For from Mrs. M.'s lips fell continually "thunders," "choleras" and other curses and maledictions. Happily they were harmless, for half of mankind would have perished if they had been put into effect. But "the dog's voice does not reach heaven."

In the third week I got work in the bakery of Mr. Z. I owed my sister almost $75, and needed clothes, shoes and a hat. For the first week Mr. Z. gave me $10 and a rather big *babka* on Saturday, and later I earned $12 every week, but I had no holidays. . . . In the first week I gave my sister $9 and kept $1, and later I gave her $11 every week, keeping only $1 for the car and tobacco, and other needs. Sometimes once a week I bought beer for 5c, sometimes Staś bought it.

I was to pay Marya $15 a month, but . . . in the second week of my work she came home from Moraska's crying, and "sat down upon me like a blind horse" [scolded] for paying her too little. I had gone to bed. "How is that?" I asked; "you said yourself that I should pay you $15." — "Yes, I said it, but Moraska says that you drink so much coffee and ought to pay more." — "Go to the devil with your Moraska! I don't board with her, but with you, and it is not her business how much coffee I drink. If you think that it is not enough and that you are losing on me, then say plainly how much you want and don't

[1] In spite of the naive conceit of the comparison, there is an external similarity of behavior in the two men. But we know sufficiently that Władek's kindness has its source in the wish to avoid trouble, to provoke only response that will be pleasant to him.

blubber about it." — "Then pay at least one dollar more and let it be sixteen." — "All right," I said, "I will pay you sixteen, but don't say again next week that you have not enough." But after a month she raised again one dollar and I paid $17 for some months, and finally $18.

Meanwhile Miss Helcia wrote me not to write her any more letters, for in a month we should see each other in Chicago and talk. [She has three uncles in Chicago — Kazimierz, Franciszek, and Wincenty — and Władek meets her at the house of Wincenty.] After a dozen kisses we decided as follows. Helcia would also try to find some work and would work until I could put $100 aside and buy clothes enough, even if it should take a whole year. Helcia agreed and we gave our word not to change this plan. Then Helcia asked me to give her those 25 roubles back which she gave me to keep, the rouble which she gave me on the evening of separation, and 4 roubles which my sister Zosia had borrowed from her. This made 30 roubles, or $15. I had no money yet, for Helcia came in less than two months after me and I had given all my money to my sister, but I resolved to pay her this debt on next Tuesday, for this was my pay day. So I borrowed $11 from my sister, and added $11 from my pay, and went with the money to Helcia, but she would not take it and said: "Buy something for yourself, for I don't need this money yet." [Loses $10 of the money. Scolds Helena for not taking it when offered. Pays her off gradually.] I visited Helcia twice a week. But she could not stay long with her aunt; they quarreled so that Helcia and her brother went to board with strangers. Helcia did not work, for her brother and her uncle Franciszek did not permit it, but paid board for her. Once Helcia asked me to go with her to her other aunt, whom I did not yet know. Helcia's aunt received us rather coldly and toward the end of our visit insulted Helcia to the last degree, not only her, but even her father, calling them "Hams" and gossips, and cursing Helcia in the worst way, for she said that Helcia had spread gossip about her. I was very much ashamed to be the witness of such a quarrel, and I learned things which a betrothed ought not to know. The aunt told Helcia the

whole truth — that Helcia was running after men and loafing with boys, that she would not work but wanted somebody else to work for her, while she was only crawling about the family and making gossip. . . . I heard there many other things, and evidently Helcia was guilty, for she did not know how to clear herself. When we left I said a few words to Helcia also, advising her not to mix into the affairs of the members of her family, for something worse might happen with her than what happened today. Helcia promised to improve, for she was awfully ashamed, but alas! she did not improve. Soon after this incident she wrote home that her uncle Franciszek was wasting money on girls, and he received from his parents a letter full of reproaches. Franciszek got awfully angry at this and stopped paying Helcia's board. In a word, Helcia quarreled with her whole family. Her brother could not earn enough to pay for the board and clothing of himself and Helcia and they went to live with their uncle Kazimierz, who had a house of his own. But here also Helcia would not go to work but required her brother to work for her. But he refused positively to give her any more money and she was obliged to go to work. This did not please Helcia much, for she wanted to play the lady at other people's expense. Then she found a new way. She persuaded her uncle to persuade me not to wait until I earned those $100 but to marry her at once. But I refused positively to think of marriage until I put a suitable sum aside. Helcia was very much displeased and began to look for some other boy.

I went to her as usual twice or three times a week. Mr. Stanisław was not at home in the evenings, so we were alone and sat on his bed and even lay upon it, for I did with Helcia whatever I wanted, and it was difficult to hold out. But I did not begin to foolish although I was sure that Helcia would not defend herself at all. I don't know myself why I would not do it. And thus the time passed until I received a letter from sister Zosia informing me that my parents and Helcia's parents had quarreled because my mother was said to have told that Helcia went to America following me. Mrs. P. got offended, and, as Zosia said, wrote a letter to Helcia forbidding her to marry me. But Helcia did not show me this letter, and I did not care for all this, and did not cease to call on her. But once I met there another boy who was telling her fortune from cards and talking to her rather familiarly.

This displeased me at once, and I resolved to leave Helcia, but had no opportunity to do it.

Precisely when I was thinking how to do it a companion of my brother-in-law was marrying and invited my sister and her husband to his wedding. They had planned to go to Helcia, who had invited them more than once, so they resolved not to go to the wedding, but to Helcia. But I wanted to be at this wedding at least for a few hours, for I was curious to see how these weddings were celebrated here in America. . . . I drank a little at this wedding, but not so much as to be drunk, and went to Helcia. She began to reproach me for not having come with my brother-in-law. "Is it suitable to act so?" she asked me. Only now I said: "Miss Helcia, is it suitable to have a betrothed and to walk with other boys and to receive them in your house?"—"Why, I am not yet your wife and you cannot forbid me to walk with other boys or to receive them here."—"I don't need to forbid you; you are not the only girl in Chicago; there are many and I can find another."—"I can also find another boy, for boys are not lacking in Chicago either." Our conversation was interrupted by the entrance of my sister.

I then ceased to think about Helcia, but sometimes I went there on Sundays and always found some other boy with her. We were not angry with each other; we never mentioned the question of marriage, but we were always equally familiar in our behavior.[1] About that time Helena received a letter from her cousin Ludwika, whom the reader knows a little already, for she was at my betrothal with Helena in Sadlno. Ludwika had been in America, at Niagara Falls, for some months. That other cousin with whom I was at a wedding was with her. They came in the same month as Helcia, and they wrote that they were succeeding pretty well. Ludwika asked Helcia whether I was calling on her and whether we would marry. When Helcia's brother read this letter he resolved to bring Ludwika to Chicago and marry her, and he sent a letter with this proposal.

I met Helcia's uncle Franciszek very often and told him that I would not marry Helcia. He was very glad, and said: "You will do well, for she is not worthy. She cost me more than $100 which I spent on gifts for her and on her living, and in spite of

[1] The same vague situation as in the case of Helena G. (*Cf.* p. 2186, note.)

this she wrote gossip about me to my parents. She expected to marry you at once and would not go to work, and now she works and it is good for her, *psiakrew*." Meanwhile I received a few letters from my family. Zosia wrote back various gossip — that I was here in America driving in cabs from tavern to tavern, that I was drinking impossibly, that Helcia had driven me out of her house. Such letters I received from Sadlno. . . . In a word, Helcia had described me also.

I continued to call from time to time, and she had perhaps the sixth suitor here in America. She walked a few days or weeks with each of them and they separated. But now she was really to marry a certain Mr. W. and was waiting for the parents' permission. Mr. W. came from the same part of the country as Helcia and they knew each other very well when they were children; Helcia's parents knew him also. He had been eight years in America, but he did not own even a cent of money. Now he was working and earning well enough, for he belonged to the blacksmith's union. But his past in America was not very enviable. As I learned from uncle Franciszek, he had sat in prison here, had quarrels and fights in taverns, where he was leaving his pay. . . . This incident [betrothal] happened toward the end of October of the year when we came to America. Once when going from Helcia, I met uncle Franciszek, who invited me to a saloon for a glass of beer. When we drank half a glass each, he said: "Well, it seems as if you really did not intend to marry Helcia, for I hear that W. is giving money for the banns." And here he related what I described above. "But let them marry. Perhaps the man will teach her some better sense." — "Mr. Franciszek, do you know what Miss Ludwika answered Stanisław — whether she will come to Chicago?" — "I know, for Stanisław told it in Kazimierz's house. Ludwika answered that she was all right there and would not come to Chicago. But do you know, Mr. Władysław, what I will tell you? You could marry Ludwika. She is also my cousin, a still nearer one than Helcia." And he began to persuade me to marry Ludwika, about whom I had not thought up to the present. I answered: "I will see. Perhaps I will write to her, and we shall talk when she answers."

I now began to think seriously about Ludwika, and I would have written at once to her, but I had no address. So during the week I asked my sister to go to Helcia and to bring me Ludwika's

address. But I begged her not to tell that this address was for me, only that Zosia wrote from our country and asked for it, for she wanted to write to Ludwika. . . . When Marya brought this address, I wrote a letter at once and proposed in the first letter, saying: "If you are still the same as I knew you in Sadlno in your aunt's house, if you are such as you were then and if you have not forgotten the baker Wiszniewski, I beg you very much, deign to answer me, after a good reflection, whether you will become my wife and share with me good or bad fortune. I don't promise you, Miss Ludwika, a very rosy life, for I am not a rich man, but a workman, and I can give you only a life suitable for a workman. I beg you answer positively, yes or no, and whether you are free of any love." Then I added a few love-words and mailed the letter. In less than a week I received an answer. Ludwika wrote that she agreed with my proposal and would become my wife.[1] Finally, in my fourth letter, I asked her to come to Chicago that we might marry here, but I received an answer that Ludwika would not come here alone, but asked me to come and take her. She asked me not to hurry, for she had still $15 of debt to send to her mother. I did not like to postpone the matter, so I wrote that I could send her those $15, but let her not demand my coming for her, for it would cost much and

[1] Władek has been for a long time ready to marry in general; the maturity he has attained, with its tendency to conform with the social organization, demanded marriage. But there were still personal demands forming obstacles to this tendency — the demands for love, respectability, and money. Now it is not particularly difficult to satisfy all these demands if the individual, as in the case of the higher classes, does not make his marriage dependent upon the arrival of the period of his social maturity, either because he marries before this period (social maturity coming much later among the intelligent classes and being to a large extent conditioned by the previous marriage itself) or because — if social maturity has come without his marrying — he can afford to wait indefinitely, for the higher classes have a place in life for the single individual. But Władek would not marry before social maturity and will not wait after it. Therefore he is obliged gradually to drop or modify all his claims. The claim for love was dropped after his insuccess with Stasia and in connection with Helena G. and Helena P. He no longer needs money as he did in Poland. Finally, the demand for social respectability is limited to the desire to get a nice, "orderly" girl, for in America the petty social distinctions prevailing in the lower European classes tend to disappear. This explains the sudden determination of Władek to marry. Perhaps the immediate stimulation came in the wish to get what the brother of Helena had failed to get. In this whole connection, see Vol. I, *Introduction: Marriage.*

this money should be kept rather for the future. But Ludwika would not hear about coming alone, so seeing that I could not persuade her, I resolved to go on New Year, and asked her to be ready.[1]

Meanwhile I prepared for this important event. I told neither Miss Helcia nor her brother, but uncle Franciszek knew it and was glad that we should belong to the same family. [Is permitted to make the trip by his employer, but is fearful that he will lose his place, as the owner's brother, a baker, has arrived.] I went with an awful heart-beating, for an important change was to happen in my life. I took with me $64 and left $70 in the bank. I had not a cent of debt, having paid about $70 to my sister and $15 to Miss Helcia. Moreover I lost $10, bought clothes, shoes, linen, a hat, etc. This was almost $150, yet I had succeeded in putting almost $140 aside in less than eight months at $13 a week. So it is easy to understand how I wasted money on drinking, as Helcia wrote to Sadlno. I was almost sure that I should be able to give my wife a suitable support, for even if I lost my work brother-in-law promised to find me some in the McCormick works.

So I reflected during my journey, but I was not afraid. "It won't be worse than it has been, and God's will be done!" I said almost aloud, quite decided. In Buffalo I changed trains and about eight in the morning I was in Niagara Falls. I went in search of Ludwika's uncle, who had a saloon. I went in, ordered a glass of whiskey and asked where Mr. Pradelski lived. I was shown upstairs and found the whole family at breakfast, except Ludwika. She was on duty in a different part of town. But I met Leonia, whom I knew from the wedding, and she introduced me. We telephoned for Ludwika, who came an hour later. Our meeting was rather indifferent, for we only shook hands and looked into each other's eyes, as if we wanted to know each other's thoughts. Ludwika had not given up her place, for she was not sure that I would really come. We did not stay long in the house, for we felt rather uncomfortable, and, moreover, Ludwika had to hurry and settle everything rapidly. So she went back to her mistress and I accompanied her a little way. Only upon the street we could talk, and Ludwika agreed to go with me. [Gives

[1] According to the tradition she would have shown a lack of self-respect in coming.

Ludwika $15 to pay her debt, and in Chicago gives her $40 for dress, slippers, etc.]

Franciszek came the same evening and almost invited himself to be bridegroom, promising to bring brandy, beer, wine, and to pay for the auto. And all would have been quite well if it had not been for another trouble. On January 14th I was dismissed. And the reason was the following: This year the winter was rather hard, so it was very cold in the bakery, for we baked little. Every night I had to wait three or four hours after making the rolls, and having nothing to do I lay upon the table near the oven and fell asleep. It very seldom happened that I overslept even a little, and I had never spoiled anything and the rolls were always in time. This time I did the same, but I slept perhaps half an hour longer than I needed, and Mr. Z. found me sleeping. He got angry, although I should not have spoiled anything even if I had slept two hours more. This happened after the second banns and since then some Fatum has hung above my head. During this week I did not try to get work, for I had occupation enough at home, preparing for the wedding. First Ludwika and I went to her relatives, inviting them to the wedding, and they all promised to come. We invited Miss Helcia also, but she refused positively under the pretext that she could not come since Franciszek would be present. Then we invited some acquaintances, among whom was Moraska with her husband and two daughters, twelve and fourteen years old. The wedding was performed on January 28th, 1914, in the church of St. Anna, for we belonged to this parish. From the church we went to a photographer and there I left my last $2. There were twenty-two persons at the wedding, not counting my people. Franciszek did as he promised, and he also lent me $10 before the wedding and brought two musicians. The wedding festival was very decent. Before leaving uncle Wincenty put $10 into my wife's hand, Franciszek gave her the money which he had lent me, and one family gave $5. This is all I collected at my wedding. Six families gave not a cent, nor any gift either.

A week after our marriage the first banns of Helcia with Mr. W. were published, and three weeks later they were married in the parish of St. Marya. Helcia's betrothed and her brother came to invite us also. I would not go, for I had no money, but Helcia's brother gave my wife $5 to be given to Helcia during the

collection, and we resolved to go. Helcia's wedding festival took place in a hall, and there were eighty guests and five musicians. But I was not pleased with this wedding at all, for it was done only for business. Helcia collected $324, and the cost was $375, so in spite of her hot desire to get rich at her wedding she did not succeed and had to pay the rest of the wedding debt from her husband's work. But nevertheless she had the honor of having many guests at her wedding and collecting $324. But this money was drawn almost by violence from every guest, for Helcia approached every one and took him to dance, and he had to put something upon the plate.[1] But after the wedding she succeeded better, for her husband worked steadily, and soon they moved into a nicer apartment.

And with me things went on worse and worse, for after my wedding I remained with $5, while my wife gave $10 to the butcher. I could not find work in spite of my efforts. Brother-in-law could not or would not get work for me; I went from one cousin of my wife to another, asking them to get work for me, but they could not or would not either, although all of them worked in the stockyards. . . . I had no money to pay the agent, . . . and thus March came. Sister fell sick at child-birth, some other sickness developed and she was ready to bid farewell to this world. The priest had already prepared her, we knelt, weeping, and said the Litany for dying persons, while two doctors worked at her bed. But who can describe the despair of my sister's husband, not to mention mine! He was almost killed by a car. He had to run to a drug store for medicine and when returning tried to mount a car, but was dragged half a block. When he came in he put the medicine upon the table and fell upon the floor. The doctors brought him to consciousness with difficulty and ordered him to be taken into another room. There Stach threw his arms around my neck and began to cry violently and I did the same. Finally I began to calm him and to persuade him that crying does not help: "Look at this image of God's mother upon the wall. Let us appeal to her and pray her to avert this misfortune." We both fell upon our knees before the image and began to say aloud the prayers which I knew by heart. Thus we

[1] A complete degeneration of the old custom of making wedding gifts; an expression of solidarity is converted into a business enterprise. *Cf.* Vol. I, *Introduction: Economic Life*, p. 175.

knelt for an hour perhaps and this calmed us greatly. I don't know whether our warm prayer was listened to or the doctors helped but [she recovered. The illness cost $130. During her convalescence Marya is very cross with Ludwika.] When I returned from my search for work I usually found my wife crying, and when I asked what was the matter, she answered that Marya abused her, called her a *Ham*, a servant who carried out the pots when serving, and teased her in various ways. She said that my wife had not helped her enough in her sickness, that she did not clean the apartment properly. In a word, my wife complained very much about my sister. I had not a cent, so against my will I had to stay and to bear all this. It happened that I did not eat during a whole day and did not come home, for when I did not look upon this misery into which I had led my wife I felt better. Sometimes I tore my hair from my head in despair, I cried, and more than once I thought about throwing myself under the car in order to end such a life once for all. But again other thoughts came to my head. "Why, I married only a short time ago, I have not even enjoyed married life, and already I will die? Perhaps tomorrow I shall get work and everything will be changed!"

[Insists on cooking separately; otherwise will board with Helcia. After an uproar this is arranged.] But now there was a new trouble — where to get the money for living. My wife got some work and earned $3 a week, so we lived only so as not to die of hunger, for now that we were boarding ourselves my sister never treated us with even a potato. The butcher, who was also a grocer, gave us credit for $15 and would not give any more, so we lived only on the money which my wife earned. She did not earn always $3, but often $2.50 or even $2. . . . I borrowed $15 from Franciszek, but I had to buy shoes for myself and for my wife. . . . We went nowhere, for we had no money and no clothes. And sister teased us more and more. I could not find work although I spent every day in searching. . . . Only in the autumn, my brother-in-law lent me $5 which I gave to an agent and got work in a saloon as a workman. I worked there five weeks and was dismissed. Winter approached. . . . My wife stopped working for she was pregnant. . . . About this time I read an advertisement in the paper *Dziennik Chicagoski* that whoever had letters from the old country could bring them and would receive for every

letter 10 to 15 cents. I had some thirty letters and resolved to sell them in order to buy bread. Sister gave me hers also, from mere avarice, for she did not need to sell them, since she had enough to eat. I carried these letters to the address which was in the paper. This gentleman was very polite and paid me $5 for the letters. . . . I was very glad, having earned thus easily for a whole week of living. I gave $2 to my sister and kept the rest.

Toward the end of November I got work in the stockyards, but I earned very little, for I was paid 17½ cents for an hour and worked only twenty-two to thirty hours in a week. . . . I expected my wife's sickness very soon and had no money. . . . Then I wrote a letter to Dr. Z., asking him about the address of a hospital and complaining that I had nothing to live on. I soon received an answer. Dr. Z. gave me three addresses of hospitals where such women were received and wrote me at the same time that if I wanted to earn a few dollars I could describe my life, sending first a few sheets to try. Of course I set to work immediately, wrote five sheets and sent them, waiting for the results. Soon I received a letter asking me to come. Dr. Z. told me that he was satisfied with what I had written and promised to give me $30 for two hundred sheets. I was awfully glad, for now I needed money very much. I began to work earnestly and slept little at night but wrote continually, except when I had to go to my work in the stockyards.

On December 13th my wife gave me a big son. [Marya continues ill-natured.] I wrote still more assiduously in order to earn as rapidly as possible and to move from my sister's. I wanted also to arrange a christening of my son, but my sister did not want me to have the christening; she called me a speculator, saying that I wanted to arrange the christening only to have the guests give me money, and she envied me beforehand this money which I should receive. But I did not pay any attention to her tongue, and resolved to baptize my son on January 10th. I went to invite the *kums* and a few guests. I invited uncle Wincenty and Franciszek's wife to be my *kums*. For Franciszek had married meanwhile a widow with five children. I invited also uncle Kazimierz and his wife, and went to Mrs. Helcia. But I did not invite the latter at all, for she intended to arrange on the same day the christening of her little daughter born three weeks after my

son, so they could not have come even if they wanted to. I invited also a friend of my brother-in-law, and those were all the guests. The *kum* wanted to hire an auto, but I asked him not to do it, for the church was near. I expected still another person, a friend from Sadlno who came to America before me and lived now in Milwaukee. We wrote from time to time to each other and he was even to be my *kum*, but he was late with his letter, and not being sure whether he would come, I invited others. Suddenly, on Thursday, I received a letter from him saying that he would certainly come and asking me to order an auto. I was very troubled for I regretted to disappoint him. So I resolved to have two pairs of god-parents for my son. I had already one, and I asked my sister to be the second with Mr. Leon (such was the name of my friend). Sister agreed, although unwillingly, and so it was decided. Stach ordered an auto for Leon, for the latter was still a bachelor and could pay. But before this Sunday came I quarreled more than once with my sister, for she would not allow me to do anything and would not give me coal for baking and cooking until I paid her 50 cents. I baked two cakes, two chickens, five pounds of pork; I bought three pounds of meat for soup, some ham and sausage, a small keg of beer for 75 cents, half a gallon of whiskey and some fruit. All this cost me $9, but as I had not so much money, I bought for $2 on credit. Nothing was left in my pocket. It was a bad entertainment, but what could I do, poor fellow? I could not act otherwise, and thanked God warmly for having allowed me to organize at least such a christening for my son. On Sunday Leon arrived about ten o'clock. It was my duty to beg his pardon for having already another pair of *kums*. He was pained, but not angered, and agreed to be in the second with my sister. I was very glad of having satisfied him more or less. After breakfast I went on the street to see whether other guests were not coming. I stood until the car passed, but nobody came and I returned home. Through the open door I heard my sister's voice: "Don't agree to go in the second pair, Mr. Leon, for the second pair has no importance whatever." I did not wait for more, but came in and in Leon's presence scolded my sister well. But I had again to beg Leon's pardon and to persuade him. I succeeded in explaining to him the importance of the second pair, but now he was not so easily persuaded and said: "Let there be rather no second pair. Let

those go to the church whom you had asked." But finally he agreed. Now I did not leave my sister alone with Mr. Leon even for a moment lest she should spoil everything. After a short time uncles Franciszek and Wincenty arrived with their wives. I felt my heart getting lighter. Before evening one more pair came, my brother-in-law's friends, and these were all the guests. We amused ourselves rather merrily until eleven. Then the guests went away, except Mr. Leon, who remained over night. The next day I went with him to South Chicago to his friends, . . . and the following day he left, with a cloud upon his brow and anger in his heart toward me. But it was not my fault; it was the fault of his letter, which came too late. I could not have waited until the last day without writing the *kums*. But what is done cannot be undone.

When I returned home after Leon's departure my wife showed me $28 which had been given her. Uncle Wincenty gave $10, Uncle Franciszek, $6, his wife the baptismal dress, worth at least $4, my brother-in-law's friend $2, and Leon $10. So now I was very rich. My wife paid the debts to the midwife and to the grocer, I bought a cradle, we used $2 on living and I put $20 aside for moving away from my sister's, for she made too much trouble and it was impossible to hold out. Sister wanted me to give her those $20 on account of my debt, but I did not agree. . . .

In the stockyards we were working less and less. . . . Fifty men were dismissed, among them myself. I received $9 for the last week. Now I searched for work in the morning and wrote in the afternoon. Soon I wrote again some pages and received $10. Now I began to search for an apartment. I found one on Leavitt Street. . . . I had to pay $5 monthly. It comprised a kitchen and a bedroom, but even so I was very satisfied, for I had an apartment of my own, and I cannot even describe the joy of my wife. We moved on March 20th, and since then we have lived only on the money which I earn by writing. . . . It would be really better if I had died long ago, for I have no hope of getting work. Perhaps I shall get some work from the agent, but there I shall be allowed to work only until I earn a little above the $5 paid to the agent. It is awfully difficult to get work without protection, because of the terrible crisis brought by the European war. . . . I cannot even now take a walk with my wife, for she has not even shoes to put on her feet, but wears my old shoes.

And she must bear all this through me, for I brought her to this. And only sometimes tears flowing from her eyes show what is going on in her heart. She never reproaches me and I love her still more for this, for she is worthy of this love. She suffers for me, like a slave, and nobody pities her. We don't go now to her uncles, for we have neither clothes nor money, and nobody cares for poor people. From time to time we see my sister and brother-in-law. Brother-in-law sometimes tries to comfort us, but sister . . . always says something painful to my wife. . . . Thus I have improved my lot in this America which our immigrants adore![1]

[1] The letters to Władek from his family do not add any important points to his narrative and do not contradict it in any way. We add only a few typical extracts:

"We see that you are glad because we have trouble with the journeymen. It is true that we have trouble with this whole bakery, but with you there was trouble enough also. We have now a journeyman who does not cost us much." [Parents.]

"You write me that I did not like you. How did you reach that conclusion? On the contrary, I love and appreciate you all equally. If your behavior did not please me [my judgment of] that cannot be applied to your person. Because a man, in whatever direction and in whatever career he works, can always merit regard and respect. And you, my dear, have no one to blame but yourself if you are so unfortunate and have to struggle with life. We all had the same fortune, the same education, the same father and mother. Whose then is the fault? Your own only. Because, see here! I sent you to Konin to practice as a surgeon-assistant; you ought to have been patient. And later on in the army, you could have got a diploma as surgeon-assistant. Should you be badly off? There are governmental surgeon-assistants in districts, in hospitals and in factories, and so far as I know they are getting on very well and their income approaches 1,800 roubles yearly. So, my dear brother, don't complain about anybody, but pray, work and be sober, and you will be a man of medium fortune." [Aleksy.]

"But I know that if a man wishes to work he can find a profitable occupation even here in the kingdom [of Poland]. He must only have the wish and the patience to work, be honest, do his duty conscientiously; people will appreciate him and reward him justly. But you must sit patiently and for a longer time on the same spot, and not run from place to place, like you, you nomad. But do what you think best; I don't mean to persuade or dissuade you, I only say that 'Everywhere it is well where we are not.'" [Paweł.]

"Don't praise your work so much, my dear Władzio, during the time you were at home; you drank more than one glass and you smoked more than one cigarette, and remember how much [bread] you spoiled." [Zocha.]

CONCLUSION

We have determined analytically in the notes the most important facts in Władek's personal evolution, and we add at this point a brief synthesis of this evolution.

In so far as his temperamental background is concerned, Władek is perfectly normal, in the sense that there is neither a striking lack nor a striking excess of any temperamental attitude. His organism is healthy without being particularly powerful, and he shows great physical endurance. His sexual impulses are rather intense but never overwhelming, and are subordinated without difficulty to the demands of practical life. Like the average members of his class he uses alcohol freely, but no permanently disorganizing biological effects are noticeable in his behavior. And we find in his temperament neither any exceptional buoyancy which would push him to search continually for new experiences in any one line nor any exceptional depression that would lead to a too great stability. The relative proportion in which these two desires manifest themselves alternatively in his life seems to be quite average; whatever abnormality their manifestations present is social, not temperamental, results from an insufficient organization of the activities determined by these desires, not from an abnormal prevalence of one desire over the other. His intellectual abilities are above the average, as is shown by the facility with which he learns in school and in the army and by the clever way in which he handles the superficial notions about the world and life which he gained from his unsystematic reading

and occasional intercourse with more instructed people, and by his ability to work out general ideas about social conditions on the ground of his experiences and observations. His intellectual limitations are simply due to the lack of systematic training in theoretic thinking, not to insufficient inborn capacity.

Thus Władek's temperamental predispositions did not exclude in advance any possibility of his social development; he was not biologically predestined to become a Philistine, a Bohemian or a creative man, but could tend in his evolution toward any one of these limit types. Certain social conditions being given, Władek's evolution would depend on his attitudes toward the social values constituting these conditions, and *vice versa*, given certain attitudes toward social values, the social conditions in which he found himself would determine his evolution. The relative importance of different personal attitudes on the one hand, and of different social values on the other hand, may vary within wide limits, and in trying to reconstruct synthetically his personality we must determine first of all the attitudes and conditions which played the greatest part in his evolution, and characterize his type in terms of these. The synthesis might be further pursued, taking less important facts into account, but we are forced by the limits of this work to give only the most general indications. And we do not claim ultimate validity for these indications; until sociological analysis has succeeded in determining a number of social laws of various degrees of generality, sociological synthesis must be in a large measure hypothetical.

The most important attitude — or rather, set of attitudes — by which Władek's evolution is conditioned is the "social instinct." He is always completely and

exclusively dependent upon society. Even if at moments he isolates himself voluntarily, it is either only a temporary reaction to some rebuke or the desire to attract attention by withdrawing to the background. His social instinct does not prevent him from being egotistical; the social environment counts only as a source of pleasant or unpleasant experiences, not as object of altruistic activity. The case is rather frequent. Real altruism is usually met among those who have enough of the attitude of personal independence not to count exclusively upon others for their pleasure and pain. But Władek's exclusive dependence upon society is not abnormal at all; it is, as we have seen in Part I, the typical attitude of the peasant. And, as in the peasant, it manifests itself in two ways—as desire for response in immediate personal relations with individuals, as desire for recognition in relations with a group.

The first makes Władek particularly adaptable to the demands put forward by other individuals. He is unconscious of the source of this adaptability, and often claims as meritorious a behavior whose only reason is the desire of meeting a pleasant or the fear of meeting an unpleasant response. As there is often no expectation or fear, or practical consequences, the act done to please others seems disinterested; the real interest lies in the reaction provoked and is based upon a permanent attitude almost as fundamental as the sexual desire, although, like the latter, becoming conscious and objectively defined only in contact with other living beings. Thus, he boasts of his obedience to parents and elder brothers and sisters while a child. We do not need to appeal to the fear of punishment for the explanation of this attitude; unwillingness to

meet anger is a sufficient explanation, and upon this primary attitude the concept of duty was easily grafted. The same desire for response is shown in his relation to his mother, but while he speaks of loving his mother particularly, what he calls love is really this search for response, for there are few cases of any actual sacrifice made for her or even of any desire to see her for her sake. He does not love his father, and yet in later years any proof of trust or affection makes him happy. During the period of his vagabondage he naturally clings to his family more than ever, and his whole mood depends upon the reception he expects and meets at home. Finally, the point we have noted in our introduction — the variation of his attitudes toward the members of his family — shows with particular clearness his dependence upon their response, for these variations are clearly conditioned by the positive or negative, pleasant or unpleasant, attitudes manifested by them toward himself.

His childhood relations with the family of the teacher D. — even more cordial than those with his own relatives — are based on the same desire for response. There are in this relation no considerations of family pride, economic success, etc., which frequently cause his own family to assume unfavorable attitudes toward him. As a small boy he is the favorite of the teacher, a little later, of the priest. During the period of his apprenticeship he won the favor, if not of his masters, then of their wives and daughters. For the same reason he succeeds in winning the favor of his superiors in Germany (*cf.* p. 2120, note) and in the army. He thus shows a particular adaptability in securing response from his superiors. With regard to equals, his desire for response does not always lead

to so complete an adaptation, partly because he feels more able to impose his personality on them by provoking some respect and admiration (recognition); the "social instinct" can obtain satisfaction both in the form of response and in that of recognition, and the individual is less dependent on the first when he is sure of the second. It is true that during his stay in Germany, when he gets from his companions an unprecedented amount of recognition, he nevertheless consciously tries all the time to please them, to provoke friendly and sympathetic responses. However much intoxicated by his successes, he does not neglect his efforts to keep up a friendly intercourse (cf. p. 336, and note). But in that case the very mass of the people was an imposing factor, and we usually find that he becomes relatively independent of the response of his equals when he has superiors with whom he is on good terms. Thus, more than once he shows himself indifferent to a hostile attitude of his fellow-journeymen (for example, in Kutno) when he enjoys the favor of his master. But the contrary is not true; we never see him taking sides with his equals against his superiors, except for a short time in the army, against one man whose superiority he does not recognize. There is nothing of the spirit of class-solidarity in him. And when there are neither superiors nor equals with whom he can associate he falls back upon the response of inferiors. He even adapts himself in this respect to the drunkards and vagabonds with whom he associates.

The desire for response is particularly clear in his relations with women. His search for the company of women seems motivated not only by sexual but by social desires. He is usually surer of the response of

women than of men, probably because, not being a permanent member of any community, he has no powerful emotional interests in common with the men he meets (except his brothers), whereas the sexual instinct gives a strong emotional background on which sympathetic responses can develop. And his behavior toward women is typical. He never dares reject any open or half open advance from a girl, even if he is not interested in her and if he has another love affair going on, and he never dares to break a relation openly. This does not hinder him from being mean, from leaving a girl without a word, from breaking an engagement tacitly, without reason or explanation, etc. The only thing he fears is to face an unfavorable attitude of the woman; what she may think or feel when he is away he does not mind.

In general the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the desire for response is dependent chiefly on the expressed attitudes of others. Curiously enough, Władek seems seldom, if ever, to doubt the sincerity of an expression, and the expression is immediately taken at its full value. No distinction is made between temporary moods and permanent attitudes, and, of course, the former find more frequent expression than the latter. This dependence on the expression is a general feature of people with a relatively low intellectual development, and explains many sudden friendships and enmities, breaks and reconciliations. The inconsistency which we have noticed in Władek's relation to his family depends on this in a large measure, and this is also one of the causes explaining the many changes in his relations with strangers, the rapidly acquired pleasure or disgust in connection with a social milieu, etc.

The desire for recognition expresses itself in Władek in a facility of adaptation to any standards recognized in the group in which he finds himself, not in an opposition to those standards and not in any superior type of activity through which he might gain distinction in the group. Recognition represents the response of the group, and as Władek never developed any distinguished intellectual, economic, æsthetic or moral qualities, and never had a career embodying any special attainments, his methods of getting distinction remain of the elementary and "showing-off" type. He is influenced by the external signs of respectability — decency of behavior, regularity of life, good clothes, etc. — attaching to his class and giving this class a position in the hierarchy of classes, and these signs and standards of respectability he never completely loses during his wanderings. He later assimilates other standards. Those of wealth and education, as two means of progress in the social hierarchy, were partly imitated from his brothers. Still others — politeness, interesting conversation, external nicety—he developed largely in his association with girls. In the company of vagabonds he found different standards prevailing, to which he adapted himself for a time. His life as constable gave him still others. When he became a steady member of a relatively permanent community standards of moral integrity in sexual and economic matters appeared for a time, etc.

Besides accepting the common standards of his milieu he tries to display higher standards borrowed from a superior milieu, and thus to show off not by what he is but by what he stands for. He becomes a moral preacher by emphasizing moral ideas which

he has in practice assimilated no more than his environment, but which he had the opportunity of better observing; he makes a show of knowledge which is not sufficient to win recognition from people of a middle education, but which is sufficient to make him shine among peasants, soldiers, or girls of his class; while not adapted by his manners to any superior class he shows off among lower class people by such occasional mannerisms as he has succeeded in acquiring; he is patriotic, in Germany, in Russia, when this will secure recognition from his countrymen. But in whatever he does there is a theatrical attitude, a strong cabotinism which he does not lose at the most important moments of his life, and which explains the lack of directness, of immediate sincerity in his emotions. He much resembles Walenty Piotrowski, whose character we briefly analyzed in Volume II.

In general, then, Władek seems to have no interest that would not be subordinated to the two fundamental tendencies to secure response and recognition. His economic interests, usually the first to emancipate themselves from the "social instinct," remain closely subordinated to the latter. If he wants anything beyond the satisfaction of his immediate needs it is because of the effect it may have on the attitude of the social environment. His desire for wealth, or at least for a secure position, is always aroused when he notices the social recognition attached to material success. His attitude toward his work is one of perfect indifference; only once he shows interest in being skilful — when it is a question of showing his skill in a large bakery before a crowd of bakers. The only time he learns anything new (in Zgierz) he is forced to do so because he cannot find a job in which

this is not required. Consequently the economic ideal is not a sufficient basis for his life-organization.

His intellectual interests are also completely subordinated to social life. He never thinks of acquiring a higher instruction for its own sake (though his occupation gave him plenty of free time) nor of making instruction the basis of a career. His literary efforts are limited to the composition of occasional verses for girls or for his masters, and he is quite satisfied with the amount of knowledge he has as long as it is enough to show off before his environment. So there is no possibility of his developing spontaneously any intellectual ideals.

With moral life it is the same. A commonplace, negative morality, hardly keeping pace with the legal code, is his attainment in this field. Occasionally he rises to the point of playing the moral preacher among less instructed people; self-righteousness and hypocrisy are the results. He participates in no way in the movement for national liberty. Moral life means for him only a minimum of adaptation to his milieu or an occasion to show off. Religion is also no more than a social rite — in childhood the obligatory ceremonies of the church and family prayers; in later life it is associated with a certain type of regulated milieu and dropped with the change of milieu. Władek lacks the spontaneous mystical interests to become ever by his own desire a really religious man.

Even his sexual interests, beyond the mere demand for sexual satisfaction, depend upon the same social tendencies. His interest in women depends as much on those things which in his eyes are the basis of social superiority as upon qualities able to provoke sexual desire. For a time he refuses to have any relations

with women of a low social standing, such as maids serving in Jewish houses. Except for a very young girl, the two women in whom he was most interested were above him in the social scale, and both foreigners. When he plans to marry, differences in education which seem to us quite insignificant determine his choice, and he wants response not only from the girl but from her whole family. The lack of this leads him to break one of his engagements. He breaks another because the girl does not please his brother. He finally marries on the advice of a friend, the girl's uncle. He is thus unable to develop spontaneously a romantic ideal of love, as he is unable to develop an economical, an intellectual, a moral ideal that would be independent of the social desires.

Władek is thus in his fundamental tendencies a typical member of a primary group. He cannot organize a personality by his own devices, but needs the continual help of the social environment, because his spontaneous tendencies themselves push him to rely upon the examples and standards of others in defining situations and constructing schemes, because every situation is for him first of all a social situation, and only secondarily an economical, intellectual, moral, hedonistic one, because the most important element of every situation, the one that determines its meaning, is the actual or imagined attitude of some other individual or of some group. No doubt this seeking for response is over-emphasized in Władek's behavior. He evidently showed in his childhood sneaking, indirect and egotistic traits, and we have pointed out elsewhere (Vol. I, p. 484) that almost every numerous family of this class selects one child to be worst treated, least loved and most exploited. Probably his early

traits singled Władek out for this position in the family, and his desire for response and recognition were partly a struggle against this treatment, just as an organically inferior person may attempt to compensate by abnormal forms of behavior.[1] This does not mean that the prevalence of the desires for response and recognition was a defect preventing organization; on the contrary these desires would have been the necessary basis of a life organization containing a prevalence of intellectual, economic, moral or hedonistic elements if he had found a favorable environment or even stayed long enough in one environment to have his behavior systematized.

And in spite of the fact that his life shows a chaos of divergent and even contradictory attitudes, we must not lose sight of the fact that this primary group organization of attitudes was sufficient to prevent his ever becoming completely disorganized. His family was a decaying primary group, but he had derived from its influence enough stability never to become an out-and-out vagabond or criminal. Vagabondage is his permanent danger, but he cannot become a permanent vagabond, for even this needs some definiteness of purpose, in the form of at least a negative determinism — not worrying about the lack of regulated life, treating vagabondage as a definite form of existence. This is what characterizes the true tramp, for whom the security of a settled position has lost all interest. Władek, on the contrary, worries all the time while vagabonding He vagabonds not for the pleasure of having continual new experience, but from the expectation that something new and good that may happen; when nothing in particular happens he

[1] See Alfred Adler, *Ueber den nervösen Charakter*. Wiesbaden, 1912.

feels more and more disappointed, and when the discomfort of wandering is added, his desire to settle grows more powerful every day. As we pointed out in the note upon his wanderings with Walek, he is a tramp through a partial disorganization of attitudes, while Walek is a tramp from the lack of any organization of attitudes. The fact that Władek feels so keenly the disruption of his home is sufficient proof of a primary organization of attitudes. His persistent preservation of some standards throughout his life shows precisely the power of the early familial organization of attitudes. But none of the milieu through which he passed could help him sufficiently in developing personal ideals, for in none were these ideals general and systematic enough. The fact that his brothers succeeded in stabilizing themselves and rising in the social scale is not conclusive. The parents had made a deliberate investment in the education of Aleksy and Stach, intending to benefit from this in their old age. Paweł certainly has a more positive character than Władek, but at the same time he was more fortunately placed; he was associated with a business organization in a city. Władek's first ventures in his apprenticeship were unfortunate, for reasons which he could not control, and the whole guild organization was at this time in a state of decay, and itself a source of disorganization, as we have pointed out in our introduction and notes. In the baker's trade also the very independence in matters of work, the lack of regularity, lack of determined standards of quality and quantity, were factors of disorganization; they developed a carelessness which communicated itself to other lines of individual activity.

Władek's attitudes might have been organized and

his behavior systematized in two ways. He might have found a permanent milieu which would have organized his life on the basis of his fundamental desires for response and recognition as that of a perfect conformist, a Philistine, or he might have found a set of influences in which personal ideals were given him, in which through the presentation of the example of others his intellectual, moral or æsthetic interests would have been strengthened and systematized, and would have become sufficiently independent of the actual and immediate social reactions to persist in spite of any changes of environment. If the latter had happened the possibility of Władek's becoming a creative man is not excluded. There are organizations in Poland which might have assisted him to a personal organization of life, but he came into contact with them in only a casual way, and we do not assume that he was preadapted to their influence. It is almost certain that he was not.[1]

[1] Mr. Malicki, in Łódź, evidently represented the revolutionary type of these organizations. The young countess who tried to interest herself in Władek and his family probably represented the "movement for enlightenment," but she was quite helpless herself, and otherwise Władek never came into contact with this movement. We shall study the activities of these movements in Part II. They are able to give a higher organization, and on the contrary they are able to produce a more complete disorganization. Zygmunt, in the Piotrowski series (Vol. I, p. 1029 ff.), represents the organizing effects of the movement for enlightenment, and Jasiński (Vol. I, p. 1102 ff.) is an example of the disorganizing effect of revolutionary teaching presented to an unpreadapted person. We know far too little of the psychology of "conversion," of the inoculation of the individual with ideals. We know that at a certain point an obscure, ill-conditioned and underfed boy may assume a definite life direction and pursue it with the certitude of the homing instinct, while a boy with the choicest opportunities of life may convert them into the apparatus of his personal disorganization. We know, superficially, that example, employment of leisure time, etc., are important factors in producing the former effect, but we do not know how to produce the effect. The evident preliminary of a scientific study of this whole question is the collection of a series of typical life-records.

During his whole life there is an oscillation of the personality of Władek between Bohemianism and Philistinism, between the desire for new experience and the desire for security, and we have indicated these movements sufficiently in our notes. But at the same time there is always a supremacy of the economic interests over others — of course, on the basis of the social tendencies. That is, the question of the economic situation is the most important of his social questions, for a lack of stability in this line prevents him from getting the social response he wants, and a good position would be a basis of social recognition. He consequently tends to a settled Philistinism, accompanied by a growing subordination of all interests — sexual, moral, intellectual — to the economic interest. The subordination is not perfect; for example, he marries without dowry in America, instead of waiting, putting money aside and marrying with a dowry after his return. But this is only because there is a lack of consistency and lack of ideals in general, and we can foresee as one of the possibilities of his future evolution a state in which his life may be exclusively based on the desire for social security, of which economic security will be the foundation.

There are, of course, various types and composites of Philistinism — economic, intellectual, moral, political, etc. — but we usually and properly associate Philistinism with the predominance of economical interests over others, because perfect social security can be attained only on the condition of a regulated economic life. It is the person with a secure material position who has to care for the harmony between his character and life-organization and the social norms and systems. It is only when this minimum

is attained that the group pays serious attention to the individual's conformism or non-conformism; it is little interested positively or negatively in the professional, moral, sexual, intellectual, religious life of the vagabond, the tramp, the thief. Now, this economic security, which normally is and should be only a means of making other activities possible, may become for the Philistine the main content of life when other interests have not appeared, or have atrophied, either as a result of an early suppression of such attitudes as would make the corresponding activities interesting, or as a later result of an insufficient schematism which did not permit new interests to develop after the social maturity of the individual, and thus produced a gradual exhaustion of even the interests which had been preserved. Then the individual's part in social activities limits itself to an abstinence from certain acts, to the substitution of words for actions in all lines where conformism with the social system is demanded — particularly in the political, moral, æsthetic, intellectual, and to some extent in the professional spheres — to the observance of certain forms, such as religious rites and social ceremonies, and to economic contributions to social ends — taxes, church-collections, charities. We know that by conforming to this minimum the individual can live relatively undisturbed in any society, while his real sphere of interest is absolutely limited to the most egotistic, coarse and monotonous satisfactions procured by a secure material existence.

Władek's later evolution, as we have indicated in the notes, shows a gradual dropping of his ideal claims and a tendency toward the economic type of Philistinism. But his life-record shows also one typical

way of producing Bohemianism. We see an individual with a marked dependence on social examples and social schematism who cannot develop all his possibilities, and at the same time attain a consistency of character and a unity of life organization, because his environment gives him neither a sufficiently strong and consistent social frame nor helps him develop a personal ideal. His life is therefore a series of objectively unsuccessful, subjectively inconsistent, endeavors to realize various individual possibilities and to profit from various social opportunities. Here the failure of the individual to fit into the social framework is due to the lack of development and organization of attitudes, to an insufficiently consistent social framework. The contrary case is found when the social framework is consistent while the individual shows much independence and a tendency to self-assertion; he then becomes Bohemian by the negation of society. These two cases of Bohemianism usually correspond to two different states of society. Władek finds around him a society whose ancient forms are rapidly dissolving, while new forms are not yet established. Under these conditions an individual whose disposition makes him dependent upon the social environment goes astray unless he has a sufficient degree of culture to develop a life-organization himself or comes under the organizing influences of the higher classes. On the contrary, an individual with strong personal initiative may find the same conditions very favorable to his development, since society in this period of formation has not much power of suppression. And such an individual may easily become a Bohemian in a society which has a high degree of stability, a strong

and complete schematism, where a type like Władek will prosper and develop.

It may seem strange that in his actual conditions Władek should finally become a Philistine. But we must take into account the fact that if none of the social milieux in which he found himself was organized strongly enough to give him a positive life-organization, none put sufficiently strong demands on his faculty of adaptation to make conformism really difficult if he wanted to stay. So the problem was simply whether the desire for new experience making him change his milieu would remain strong enough to keep him a Bohemian through his whole life, or would finally give place to the desire for security. And here we must appreciate two factors helping the desire for security to get the upper hand. The range of new experience accessible to a man of Władek's class was relatively limited; experiences began to repeat themselves after a time, particularly as he did not develop sufficiently to see new points in old experiences. We must remember that the subjective ability to notice new situations as well as the objective variety of experiences counts, and on Władek's level of culture a change of external conditions means much less than it would mean to a man on a higher stage of intellectual development; he does not, for instance, really get many new experiences from his coming to America. Of course a continuation of new experiences would be possible even for a man on this stage of culture if he had either material means and opportunity to travel much, or if he were not limited by his tendencies to social conformism and became a criminal. As it was, his desire for new experience began to exhaust itself because he ceased to expect interesting happenings,

and the unknown thus lost its attraction. The second factor of the growing desire for security was the numerous unpleasant experiences connected with his vagabonding life, particularly the humiliations and physical discomforts. He might have become accustomed to both but for the persistence of the early familial attitudes and the fact that he kept a connection with people who had a regulated life, and had himself periods of relative comfort. Thus he is never a complete Bohemian and is destined to settle. And not having developed the faculty of life-organization and adaptation to social systems, only the lowest type of Philistinism is open to him — the one demanding the least effort — economic Philistinism.

His final subsidence is thus again the product of his individuality and of the social conditions. If in a social group without stable and complete organization an individual with a strong dependence on society becomes easily a Bohemian, he can as easily "reform" and become a Philistine, for little is demanded of him; in a strongly organized group it is difficult for him to become a Bohemian, but still more difficult to settle afterwards, for the demands are too high. On the contrary, in the first group a socially independent personality finds easily a way to rebel, but cannot be brought back to Philistine conformism, for the existing conditions cannot satisfy it, while in a strongly organized group it may rebel, but when broken and brought back to the social organization it often becomes one of its firmest pillars.

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